

April 94

A
COLLECTION
OF
Several Tracts
AND
DISCOURSES,

Written in the Years

1678, 1679, 1680, 1681, 1682,
1683, 1684, 1685.

By GILBERT BURNET, D. D.

To which are added,

A Letter written to Dr. Burnet, giving an Account of Cardinal
Pool's Secret Powers.

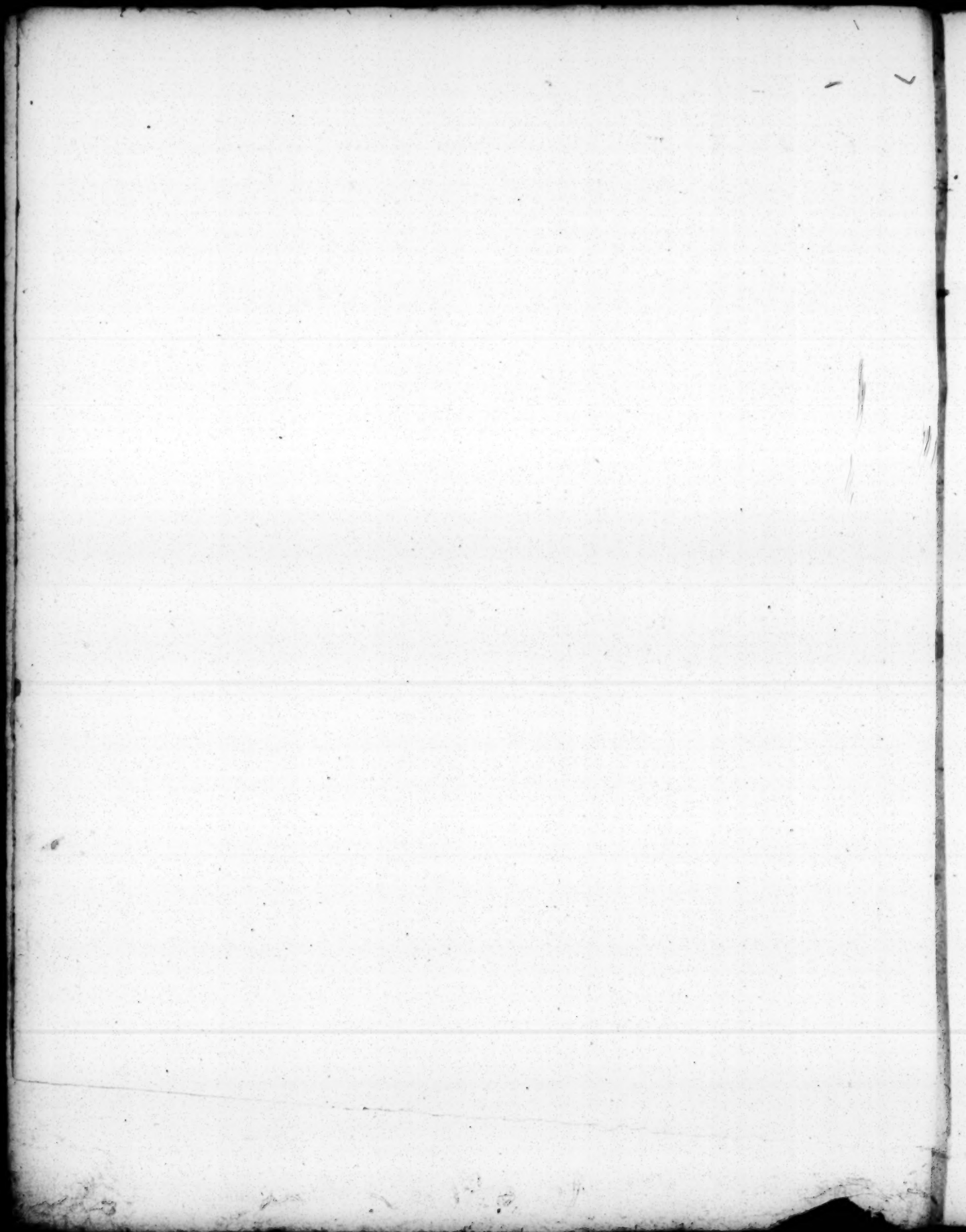
The History of the *Powder-Treason*, with a Vindication of the
Proceedings thereupon.

An Impartial Consideration of the Five Jesuits dying Speeches, who
were Executed for the Popish Plot, 1679.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *Wic. Chiswell*, at the *Rose and Crown* in
St. Paul's Church-Yard. MDCCLXXXV.

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A
LETTER,
Written upon the
DISCOVERY
Of the Late
PLOT.

Licensed W. Jane, Octob. 17. 1678.



L O N D O N:
Printed for *H. Brome*, and *R. Chiswell*, both living
in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, 1678.

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1878

(1)

A

LETTER,

Written upon the DISCOVERY

Of the Late

PLOT.

SIR,

I Heartily thank you for the News your last brought me, of the discovery of that horrid Plot, both against his Majesties Person, and the whole Kingdom. I doubt not but all good men are offering up their acknowledgments to God, for so great a Blessing; which is a fresh demonstration of his care of this Church, and State: and that all our Crying sins have not provoked him yet to abandon us: of which I pray God make us all sensible, that we may not continue to pull down such judgments, as the malice of wicked men would readily become instrumental in, if the Providence of God did not so wonderfully and seasonably interpose.

There is only one Passage in your Letter, that I wonder at. You tell me every body is surprized with this Plot now discovered. I confess I am not of their mind; for although I know there are persons of high Honour, and untainted Loyalty of the Roman Religion, who abominate the thoughts of all secret Assassinations, much more of

A 2

Murder.

Murdering his Majesty ; yet such practices are so necessarily consequent to the Principles of that Church, that no Member of it, who thoroughly understands them, can, while they continue in that Communion, avoid the being involved in Conspiracies, as oft as a fit occasion presents it self.

These several years past they have boasted much of their Loyalty, and their Services and Sufferings for his Majesty, during the late Civil Wars. All this was necessary to make the Government put confidence in them, that so they might more secretly lay their designs : which were to take effect, when a Conjunction was offered that seemed favourable. But I must again and again repeat, what I often told you in discourse ; That no Member of that Church can thorowly understand and believe the Principles of it, and be a good Subject even to a King of his own Perswasion : But he can be much less so, to a Prince whom he looks on as an Heretick, who thereby lies under a general Excommunication, and may be brought under a particular and Formal one, before he, or any body else, but such as are fit to be entrusted with the Secret, shall know it : And then the Prince is at the mercy of all his Popish Subjects, who if they consider aright the Doctrine of their own Church, must depart from their Allegiance to Him, and be ready to do any thing that is laid on them, by those who are either directly their Superiours, if they have taken Religious Vows ; or at least, have some authority over their Consciences.

This I shall open to you in as short and plain terms as is possible ; and the rather, that you may communicate it to some persons of Honour of that Religion, who I hope upon so fresh a Discovery of these practices, may be now not unwilling to examine a Point, the consideration of which they before rejected, as an Imputation cast on their Religion. This will now, I imagine, move them so far to demur, as to consider impartially whether such practises flow only from

from the ill Tempers of particular Persons, or from the received Principles of their Church. This latter I undertake to make out, from the undeniable Maximes, to which all of that Communion are bound to adhere.

There are Two Principles, which I may well call the Fundamental Principles of the *Roman Church*: since all Opinions that are not inconsistent with them, can be tolerated among them: But whatever strikes at these, must needs be Abominated, as Destructive of that, they call *The Catholick Faith*. The one is, *The Authority of the Church*, The other is, *The Certainty of Tradition*. If then the Doctrine of Deposing Kings, and by consequence Killing them (for if they are justly deposed, it's as just to kill them as to kill any Usurper) is such, that without denying the Authority of the Church, and the Certainty of Tradition, it cannot be denied; then all men must resolve either to acknowledge it, or to renounce their Subjection to a Church that must needs believe it.

About the Authority of the Church, Two things are to be observed, that serve for clearing what I design to make out.

The First is, That the Church in any one Age has as much Authority as ever it had, or can have in any other Age: For if Christs Promises, together with the other Arguments they bring for the Authority of the Church, be good, they are alike strong at all Times, and in all Ages: And therefore though in writing Books of Controversies they muster up Authorities out of the former Ages, because we profess we pay little esteem to the latter Ages: Yet among themselves all Ages are alike, and the Decrees of them are of equal authority.

Secondly, The Authority of the Church is as little to be disputed in moral matters, that fall under practice, as in Articles of Faith that only fall under Speculation, and in a word,

word, The Church must be the Infallible Expounder of the Ten Commandments, as well as of the Creed. All the Arguments from Christs Promises, from the hazard of trusting to our private Reasonings, and the Necessity of Submitting to a publick Judg, are by so much the more concluding in Practical matters, as it is of more Importance, That Men think aright in Practical than in Speculative Opinions. If then there arises a Question about a Moral matter, or the Exposition of any of the Commandments, The only certain Decision must be expected from the Church. For instance, a Question arises about Images, Whether it is lawful to use them in the Worship of God, upon the seeming Opposition which the worship of them has to the 2d Commandment? Since the Church has once Determin'd that it may be lawfully used, it is Heresie to deny it, on this pretence, that we fancy it is contrary to one of the Commandments. So if a Controversie arise upon the Fifth Commandment, How far a King is to be acknowledged, if the Church has determined the Limits of that, it is Heresie to carry it further. If also another Question arise how much the Sixth Commandment obliges? It must be carried so far and no further than the Determination of the Church allows. I confess by the Doctrine of that Church, even a General Council may err in a point in which any matter of Fact is included: Because they may be deceived by a false Information. But in a General Rule about Morality, and the Extent of any of the Ten Commandments, The Decision of the Church must either be certain, and for ever Obligatory, or the whole Doctrine of the Infallibility of the Church falls to the ground.

Concerning the *Certainty of Tradition*, the general Opinion of that party, is, That Tradition is an Infallible Conveyance of Divine Truth: and that whatever any Age of the Church delivers to another as derived from Christ and his Apostles,

Apostles, must be received with the same Veneration and Obedience that we pay to the Holy Scriptures. And for the ways of distinguishing a Tradition of the Church from any Imposture, or Novelty: There be four of them.

The first, That is the most doubtful, is, That the greatest and most esteemed Doctors in any Age deliver as a Divine Truth. Nor is it necessary that they formally say, This is a Tradition: but if many of them mention an Opinion, and declare their own assent to it, this passes as a sufficient proof of the Tradition of any Age of the Church. So in all points of Controversie between them and us, the greatest part of their Writers, (some few later and suspected ones only excepted) think they have sufficiently justified their Church, when they bring Testimonies out of any of the Writings of the Fathers, that seem to favour their Opinion: and will call it unreasonable for us to reject these, because they only deliver their own opinion, and do not call it the Tradition of the Church, but conclude, That many Writers in any age asserting an Opinion, it may well be looked on as the Tradition of that Age.

But, because this is more liable to exception, there is another way, that is more infallible to judge of Tradition: and that is, by the conveyance of the See of *Rome*, which they judge the chief Depository of the Faith; and for which they fancy they have so many proofs, from the high things some of the Fathers have said about the dignity of that See. Now if these conclude any thing, it must follow, That whatever has been delivered in any Age by a Pope, as conveyed down from Christ, or his Apostles, must either be so indeed, or the See of *Rome* is not a faithful Transmitter of Tradition.

But, there is yet a more certain way of judging of Tradition, by what the chief Pastors of the Church have delivered, when assembled in a general Council. This being the
Supreme

Supreme Tribunal in the Church, there can lie no appeal from it: Nor can the Doctrines delivered or approved by it be questioned. For instance, If it were under debate, How the Tradition about Transubstantiation can be made out in the Thirteenth Century; it is needless to seek any other evidence, than, That one *Almerick* is condemned for denying it, and in Opposition to that, it was formally established in a general Council. This is as much as can be had, and he were very unreasonable that were not satisfied with it: So if it be asked, How can the Tradition of the Doctrine of Deposing Kings, and giving away their Dominions in the same Century be proved? The Answer is plain, That same very Council decreed it: Upon which a great Prince was deposed, and his Dominions were given to another.

These are the Common Standards by which Traditions are Examined. But to these a new one has been lately added: which is indeed a much shorter and nearer way: And that is, whatever the Church holds in any one age, as a Material point of Religion, she must have received it from the former age, and that age from the former, and so it climbs upwards till the days of the Apostles. If this be a certain Track of Tradition by which we may infallibly trace it; Then for instance, If in any one age, it hath been believed, That *St. Peter* had power from Christ, which he left to the See of *Rome*, by which his Successor in it can depose Kings, then this must be an Apostolical Tradition, and by consequence of equal authority with any thing written in the Scriptures.

To these General Considerations about the Authority of the Church, and the Certainty of Tradition; I shall add Two other, about the Nature of Supreme and Sovereign Power: By which we may judg of what Extent the Popes Power must be, if he have an authority to depose Kings, and transfer their Dominions to other persons.

First,

First, When the Sovereign Powers proceed in a Legal way against its Subjects; If either they abscond, so that they cannot be found; Or have such a Power about them, that the Sovereign cannot bring them to punishment; He may declare them Rebels, and set Prices on their Heads; And in that case it is as lawful for any Subject to kill them, as it is for an Executioner to put a condemned Person to Death. These being the several ways the Law provides in those several cases. So when a *Pope* deposes a Prince, He may as lawfully set on private Assassins to kill him, as oblige his Subjects to rise with open force against him. For if the *Pope* has a Power over him to depose him; this clearly follows from the Nature of Sovereign Power, and it is the Course that sometimes must be followed, when the Rebel can be no other way brought to deserved punishment; and if the *Pope* has the power of deposing, then a Prince who after such a Sentence, carries himself as a King, is a Rebel against his Supreme Lord: And is also an Usurper. For his Title being destroyed by the Sentence, He has no authority over his Subjects: and therefore may be as lawfully killed as any Rebel or Usurper.

Secondly, The Supreme power may in cases of great necessity, when the thing is in it self materially just, pass over such Forms as ought in ordinary Cases to be observed. I need not tell you, That in a great Fire, Subordinate Magistrates may blow up Houses. But doubtless the Supreme Power of all, as a King in an absolute Monarchy (and such is the Papal Power if these Opinions be true) may dispence with some Forms, when the Matter is in it self just, and if the chief design of a Law be pursued, the circumstantial parts of it may upon extraordinary occasions be superseded: Therefore, if the *Pope* is Supreme over all Kings, and has this deposing Power; Then though by the Canon, a King ought to be first a Year Excommunicated for his Heresy

or favouring Hereticks ; and at the Years end he may be Deposed by the Pope, (There are also other Rules for Excommunications, tho the Summary way in some cases may be used) yet all these are but circumstantial and lesser Matters. The design of that Law, is, That no Heretical Prince, or favourer of Heresie, be continued in his Power ; The other, are but Forms of Law, that cannot be indispensibly necessary in all cases. Besides, the very Canon Law teaches, that when there is both a *Notorietas juris & Facti*, Summary proceedings are Legal ; when then it is Notorious, that the Doctrines of the Church (of *England* for Instance) are Heretical, and that the King is an Obstinate Favourer of these Heresies, and will not extirpate them, Summary and Secret proceedings are justifiable. There is no hope that Bulls, Breves, or Citations would do any good in this case : These would on the contrary, alarm the State, and bring all the Party under great hazards : Therefore from the Nature of Supreme Power, it is most justly Inferred, That though there have been no publick Sentence of Deposition (according to the Forms of the Canon Law) yet all these may be dispensed with, and a Secret and Summary one may do as well.

These Positions are such, that I cannot fancy any just Exceptions to which they are liable ; and from all these laid together, the Inference will undeniably follow : That according to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the power of Deposing Kings is lodged with the Pope, by a Divine Authority ; and that, by consequence, private persons may conspire to take away the Life of a King so deposed : Even though there be no publick Sentence given about it. But before I bring the Evidence for all this, I shall desire the Reader will a little reflect on the Positions I have laid down : in which he will find an Answer to all the Exceptions, that can be made against the following Evidence.

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By the first, The Authority of the Church, being the same in all Ages; he will see it is to no purpose to pretend these were dark Ages: So that what was done in an ignorant time, cannot oblige the World when things are seen in a better light. But if the Church has an Authority from Christ, that shall last till the end of the World, it must be the same in all ages. The Ignorance of the age is a very good answer when made by a Protestant, but can signify nothing in a *Papists* Mouth.

By the second, Of the Churches authority in setting Moral Rules for practice, it appears how fond that distinction is, which they make between a Canon and a Decree. It is true, a Decree about a particular Case, in which there is some matter of Fact, may be wrong according to their Principles, and yet the authority of the Church remain entire. For instance, in the deposing a Prince, or condemning a Man for Heresie, the Church may either by false Witnesses, or mistaking a Man's words, be drawn to pass an unjust Sentence, by reason of a mis-representation of the Fact. But that is nothing to the purpose here, where a Decree is made as a perpetual Rule of Practice; this must be of the same authority of a Canon about any article of Faith. Otherwise it will follow, that the Church may mislead the People in matters indispensably necessary to Salvation: For such is the Obedience to the Ten Commandments.

By the first way of judging of the Tradition of the Church, from what the most received Writers in any age deliver, as the Doctrine of the Church, it will appear; That the Schoolmen and Canonists are as competent Conveyers of Tradition from the twelfth age downward, as the Fathers were from the sixth Age upward; and laying this for a Principle, That the Church is the same in all Ages, they are really more competent Witnesses than the Fathers were. First, Because they write more closely to the subject they

have in hand; they consider what is said for, or against an Opinion in a more exact manner, than the Fathers did, who being carried with the heat they are sometimes in, go off from the purpose: and generally affect Eloquence, which is the most improper Style for nice Matters: Whereas the Schoolmen write in a blunt way, only considering the purpose they are about, coining the most barbarous words they can light on, when they think them the fittest to express their Notions. Secondly, They were divided into two famous Schools, among whom there were great heats, the *Scotists* and *Thomists*: So that if either of these had asserted any thing that was not the received Doctrine of the Age they lived in, the other Party had such Emulation against them, that they would not have failed to have laid them open: as they did in the matter of the Immaculate Conception of the B. Virgin. Whereas the Fathers writing only against Hereticks, or other Enemies to Christianity, they might have mistaken some things, without so publick a discovery as was likely to happen among the Schoolmen. 3dly. The Schoolmen wrote on purpose to deliver the Doctrine of the Age in which they lived, to those who were to succeed them. Their Books being generally the Divinity Lectures they read, either in Colledges or Religious Houses, to their Scholars, whereas the Fathers wrote upon Emergent Occasions, either Letters or Treatises to private Persons, regarding more the present, than the succeeding Age. In which we cannot expect that exactness, that is to be looked for in a Publick Lecture. Upon all which I assume, That allowing the Church to have the same Authority in all Ages, the Schoolmen are more competent Witnesses of the Tradition of the Church in their Ages, than the Fathers were in theirs.

By the second Rule for judging of Traditions, from the Conveyance of the See of *Rome*, it does undeniably follow,

low, That the Popes from *Gregory* the Seventh's time downward, were as sure *Depositories* of the Traditions of the Church, as were the Popes from *Gregory* the First his time upward. They were both alike Christ's Vicars, and *St. Peter's* Successors. So that all the high words that the Fathers bestow on the See of *Rome*, were either Complements, in which they are not wanting, or were said because of the worth of the Bishops, whom they had known in that See. But if they be to be understood in that sense in which the Writers of Controversy obtrude them on us, then it will follow manifestly, that as to the Conveyance of Tradition, *P. Gregory* the 7th is as much to be believed, when he says any thing in the Name of *St. Peter*, or of Christ, as any of the Popes are. For in the Preamble of Bulls and Breeves, the Reasons are given of what follows, which are most commonly vouched from Apostolical Authority and Tradition. So let the Pope be ever so ignorant, or so corrupt in his Manners, what he asserts to be Apostolical Tradition, must be either received as such, or the authority of that See is overthrown: therefore they must either cease to press us any more with the Authority of the See of *Rome*, or acknowledg that all the Popes' Declarations, which they make about Traditions, are to be received. It is an Answer to be made use of only to ignorant Persons, to say, These *Depositions* were the Deeds of some Popes, who might be ill Men, and the Church is not concerned to justify them. I confess, whether this or that *Deposition* was justly or lawfully made, is a personal thing, in which only the Pope who decreed it is concerned. But if he declares in the Preamble, that the Power of deposing upon those reasons, is grounded on an *Apostolical* Tradition, then the See is concerned in it: for either he declares true or false; if the former, then that Power of deposing comes from *Apostolical Tradition*; if they acknowledge he

he declares false, then we are not any more to be urged with the Authority of that See, as the certain Depository of the Traditions of the Church.

By the third Mark, to judge of the Tradition of any age from the Decision of a General Council, it appears, that the Decisions of the fourth Council of *Lateran* are as Obligatory as the Decrees of the first Council of *Nice* : the Church having the same power in all Ages. If it be said, it was only a Council of the Western Church, the like may be objected against the first General Council, which were generally made up of Eastern Bishops, and very few of the Western Bishops sat in them. And if we esteem a Council *General*, because it was received by the Church, then the whole Church of *Rome* having received that Council, it must be acknowledged to be *General* as much as any ever was. But to this, others answer, That a Council is only Infallible, when a thing is decreed by it according to the Tradition of the Church. If this be true, the whole Controversie between the *Roman* Church and us, about the authority of Councils, is decided on our Side. For if a Council has only authority to declare Traditions, then it is free for every Person to examine, whether this Declaration be according to truth or not? And if it be found that it is not so, they may lawfully reject such Decisions. For instance in the second Council of *Nice*, the worship of Images was established upon a mock-shew of Tradition : and yet all the World knows, there were no Images allowed in the Church the first four Ages after *Christ* ; and even in the sixth Age *P. Gregory* declared, That though they might be in the Church, yet they ought not to be worshipped. Nor was there any contest about it, before the eighth Century. This being thus examined, and found to be True, then according to the foregoing Answer, that Decision was of no force, though made by the second Council of *Nice*. In a word,

word, if this Maxime be true, That Councils are only to be submitted to, when they decree according to Apostolical Tradition, then they have no Authority in themselves: and their decisions can have no more force than this, That it may seem probable that they were not mistaken, and in an Ignorant Age, even this probability will vanish to nothing

No Body will reject the Decision of a Council, when the Decrees are just and right: But if it be upon that score alone, that they are to be submitted to, then none are bound by them, before they have examined them: And if upon a Search it appear they decreed against Tradition, then their Decrees are to be rejected. So it is apparent this Answer does plainly, according to their Principles, lay the foundation of all Heresie; since it gives every Man a right to question the Decrees of a General Council.

Besides, How can those Persons be assured, that the fourth Council of *Lateran* did not decree according to Tradition? The Acts of that Council are lost: so we cannot know upon what reasons they made their Decrees. And it cannot be said, that because there is no mention made of any Tradition in the Decree, that therefore they considered none. It is seldom found that the reasons of any Decree are put with it. But we may reasonably enough believe, that they followed the Method in this Council, that had been used in some former ones (particularly in the second Council of *Nice*) which was this, a Writing was read, penned perhaps by the Pope, or a Patriarch, in which the Tradition of the Church was confidently alledged; and some Quotations were brought; and very oft out of some later Writers. The Paper was no sooner read, than a loud and often repeated Shout of applause followed, without any further search or canvassing about these Authorities. And upon that the Decree was made. This was the practice both
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of the second *Nicene*, and of some more ancient Councils ; whose Journals are hitherto preserved ; and where the Journals are lost, we have reason to believe they followed the same method : so that it is very probable there might have been some such Writing read in the Council of *Lateran*. And if they did not found their Decree upon Tradition, they were much to blame ; for they had as venerable a Tradition, as either the second Council of *Nice*, or some other Councils had : a practice about 150 years standing from the days of *Pope Gregory* the VII. so that it is not to be denied but they had as good authority from Tradition, to make this Decree, as to make most of the other Decrees, on which they insist much, in the Books of Controversies that are written by them.

By the fourth Rule of judging about Tradition, the matter is yet much plainer : for if the generally received Belief of any Age of the Church, is a good Thread to lead us up to the Apostles times, then there needs no more be said. For it is certain, that for near four Ages together, this was the universally received Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*. And the opposition that some Princes made to it was condemned as Heresy, Rebellion, and every thing that was evil. And it is remarkable, that both *Ockam* that wrote much for the Emperors cause against the *Pope*, and *Gerson* and *Almain*, no great favourers of Papal power, are cited by Cardinal *Perrom*, as acknowledging the Ecclesiastical power of deposing, if a Prince were guilty of spiritual crimes. So that the Controversies in this matter that were managed between the Writers for the Popes and Emperors, were not, whether the Pope in cases of Heresy might depose a Prince ? but were concerning two things very remote from this.

The one was, whether the Pope had a direct Temporal power over all Kings, by which as being Lord of the Sea, he could

could proceed upon any Cause whatsoever against a King, and take his Dominions from him. To this indeed *Gregory* the 7th pretended tho more covertly, and *Boniface* the 8th more avowedly. There was great Opposition made to this by many Writers; but at the same time they all agreed on it, as an undeniable Maxim, That the Pope had an indirect Power over Princes, by which in the Cases of Heresy he might excommunicate and depose them; nor was there so much as any Debate about it.

A second thing about which there was some Controversy was, whether the Particulars that fell under debate came within the Head of Heresy, or not? So in the Case of Princes giving the Investitures into Bishopricks, the Pope brought it in within the Head of Heresy, and condemned those Persons as *Simoniacks*. The Writers on the other side denied this, pretending it was a Civil Matter, and a right of the Crown. The like Debates fell in, when Princes were sentenced on any other account. The Authority of the Sentence in the Case of Heresy was not controverted; all the Question was; Whether the Point under debate was Heresy or not? And concerning these things, any who have read the Writings in the great Collection made of them by *Goldastus*, will receive an easy and full Satisfaction. By which it appears, that the Popes Power of deposing Kings in the Case of Heresy was the received Doctrine of the Church for several Ages, and by consequence it must be looked on as derived down from the Apostles, If the Doctrine of any one Age of the Church can lead us backward in a certain Track to discover what it was in the Apostles days.

By the first Position about the Nature of Supreme Power, it is apparent, that in the Case of Heresy, a Prince deposed by the Pope, if he stands out against the Sentence, may be as lawfully killed as any Tory or Moss-
C
Trooper,

Trooper, or Bantito, may be ; for he is a Rebel against his Lord, and an Usurper over the People, from that day forward. And therefore tho *Mariana* told a Secret too publickly, yet it cannot be denied to be a certain Consequent of their Principles. It had been indeed more discreetly done to have ordered this only to be infused unto Peoples Consciences, by their Confessors in secret. And for *Mariana*, tho the Book in gross is condemned, as they give out, yet the Opinions set down in it are not censured. But (a) *Suarez* writing against K. *James*, tells him in plain Terms, *That a King, who is canonically deposed, may be killed by any man whatsoever.* This was not only published with an ordinary License, but the whole University of *Alcala* declared every thing in it to be according to the Doctrine of the Church. *Valentia*, tho he disguises it a little, yet says, *That an Heretical Prince may by the Popes Sentence be deprived of his Life.* (b) *Foulis* cites ten more Doctors for the same Opinion of killing Kings by private persons.

(a) In regiam
Majest. Br. l.
6. c. 4. sect. 20.
à quocunque
privato pote-
ris interfici.

In Thom. Tom.
3. Diss. 151.
q. 12. p. 2.
(b) Romish
Tre sons, l. 2.
cap. 4.

I do not build upon the Assertions of these Jesuits, as binding Authorities in that Church, but make use of them to shew, that some of their own eminentest Writers acknowledg the force of this Consequence ; which is indeed so evident, that nothing but good Manners, and some small Care not to provoke Princes too much by such bare-faced Positions, keeps others from asserting it. Few Princes are so tame as *Childeric* was, to go into a Monastery after they are deposed. Therefore this Doctrine is but a lame provision for the Churches Security from Heresie, if the Lawfulness of killing does not follow that of deposing Kings. And it was so generally received, that it is told of *Gerson*, that he was at great pains to get it declared that no private Cut-throat might kill a King, and that by consequence it was only the

The Life of
Gerson before
his Works, and
Tom. i. p. 375.

the Popes Prerogative to order them to be destroyed.

By the second Position about the Nature of Supreme Power, that in extraordinary Cases Forms of Law may be superseded ; It is also clear, that tho we know nothing of any Sentence of Deposition given out against the King, yet he is not a whit the safer, for he lies under an yearly Curse every *Maundy Thursday*. The Notoriousness of his Heresy will sufficiently justify a particular Sentence, without any further Process or Citation, according to the Maxims of the Canon Law. And there may be for ought we can know, as valid a Deposition as Parchment and Lead can make it, already expedited. And if it be not yet done, we are sure it may be done very suddenly, and will be done whensoever they see any probability of Success.

Bellarmino hath very sincerely told us the Reason why Heretical Princes are not deposed, because the Church has not strength enough to make such a Sentence good, or does not think it expedient ; that is to say, They will do it whensoever they find a Prince who will execute the Sentence, and yet by that Conquest not grow so strong, as by that means to turn the Ballance. So the two Considerations to which we owe our Security are, the want of Force, and the Fear of another Prince his becoming too powerful by the Conquest. But I must add, that *Bellarmino*, while he was a Jesuite, had taught, that Heretical Princes were not to be deposed, except they endeavoured to turn their people from the Faith: This was all his Bounty to them, of which we could not pretend to a Crumb, since there were such Laws made against Popery among us. Yet when he became a Cardinal, he considered better of the Matter ; so that in his Recognitions he retracts that, and says therein he followed *Durandus* his Opinion, who maintains it against *Aquinas*,

Recog. in lib.
5. de Rom.
Pont.

but he thinks the latter was in the right, and says, *Even in that Case they may be deposed, only the Church does it not always ; either because she wants Strength, or does not judge it expedient.* But he concludes, *If Princes endeavour to draw their Subjects from the Faith, they may and ought to be deposed.* So in our Case there is no Mercy to be expected, unless we repeal all Laws against that Religion.

(e) Philopater
p. 106, 107.

But after all this there is another Device in the Canon-Law, called, *Ipsa facto*, by which a Sentence is incurred immediately upon the doing of a Fact. This began in the Priviledges granted to Monasteries or Churches, in most of which this Clause is to be found, *That if any King or Prince, &c. did any thing contrary to these Priviledges, he thereby fell from his Power and Dignity.* Now that Heresy is one of the things upon which a Prince is *ipso facto* under Excommunication and Deposition, we have the Authority of Father(e) Parsons, or Creswel, who tells us, *That the whole School of Divines and Canonists agree in it, and, That it is certain, and of Faith, That a Prince falling from the Catholick Religion, and endeavouring to draw away others from it, does immediately fall from all his Power and Dignity, even before the Pope has pronounced any Sentence, and that his Subjects are free from their Oaths of Obedience, and may eject such an one as Apostate and Heretick.*

But there is a clearer Evidence for this; the great and famous College of the Sorbon, (seventy Doctors being present) when consulted, whether the People of France were not freed from their Obedience to Henry the third, upon his putting the Duke and Cardinal of Guise to death ; they, before ever the Pope had given Sentence, declared, *That they were absolved from their Obedience, and might with a good Conscience make War upon him for the defence of the Catholick Faith.* Upon which the Parisians wrote

wrote to the Pope to desire the Confirmation of that Decision. From all which it appears, that if the deposing Power be in the Pope, the King is not a whit the safer, because we know nothing of any such Sentence pronounced against him.

And thus having made good and illustrated the Positions I laid down, against all the Exceptions which that small and condemned Party of *Widdrington's* Followers make use of, to cover themselves from the Charge of Treason, that lies against their Church; I go next to lay open the Evidence, after which I shall leave it to every Man's Conscience to pass the Verdict.

There are in (f) Pope *Gregory* the Great's Works, (1) *Greg. M. l. 2* four Priviledges granted; one to the Abbey of *St. Medard*, another to the Hospital, a third to the Nunnery, *post. Ep. 38. lib. 11. Ep. 10, 11* a fourth to *St. Martin's Church of Autim*. In which *12. Siquis Regum, &c. contravenire tentaverit potestatis honoris- que sui dignitate careat. --- in alio honore suo privetur.* after the Priviledges are granted, a Sanction is added in these words; *If any Kings, &c. shall endeavour to countervene this Writing, let him lose the Dignity of his Power and Honour. Or shorter, in that of St. Medard, Let him be deprived of his Dignity.* These are to be found both in all the MSS, and Printed Editions of that Popes Works. It is true, the first of these to Saint *Medard's* Monastery, is looked on as a forged Piece, both by *Cardinal Perron, Sirmond, and Lannoy*. But as it went for a true one till of late, and is still defended by others, *Baronius* in particular, concluding from thence for the Popes Power over Kings; so the other Priviledges are not denied to be true by any, except *Lannoy* of late, for ought I know. These have been for above 600 years looked on as the Grants of that Pope. But this may seem a private Writing, and not of such force.

About 130 years after that, Pope (g) *Gregory* the 3d (g) *Baron. ad An. 730. n. 5.* deposed *Leo* the Emperor, from all his Dominions in Italy,

Italy, because he would not tolerate the Worship of Images. And if that single Heresie merited such a Sentence, what may we look for, among whose many imputed Errors this is but one, and none of the most considerable? Not many years after that, did his Successor *Zacharias* upon a Message he received from *France*, absolve that Nation from their Oaths to *Childeric*, and ordered *Boniface* to Crown *Pepin* in his stead. And not long after that Pope *Adrian* gave the Empire of *Rome*, and of the West to *Charles* the Great. As (b) *Bellarmino* proves from above 30 of the Historians of that time, and the Testimony of many Sovereign Princes. Yet these being dark Ages, in which there was more of Action than Dispute, we do not find the Grounds laid down, on which those Proceedings were founded. But the constant Maxim of the Papacy, was, once to begin a Practice, and then to find Arguments to defend it, among which the Practice it self was no inconsiderable one; for he was a mean spirited Pope, that would in a Tittle fall short of what his Predecessors had assumed. About 250 years after *Charles* the Great had assumed the Empire of the West, there arose a Pope (*Gregory* the Seventh) that resolved to make the most of his See that could be: and reckoning, That the Empire of the West was the Gift of his Predecessors, and building on that known Maxim, That none can give that which they have not, he looked on the supreme Dominion of it, as one of the Perquisites of the See, which he would by no means part with. And therefore in his (i) *Dictatis*, in which he asserts the several Branches of his Prerogative, these be three of them: That the Pope only may use the Imperial Ensigns. That he may depose Emperours. And, That he can absolve Subjects from their Fidelity to wicked Princes. And to shew he was in earnest in these Doctrines, he began soon

(b) *Bellar. de*
Transf. Imper-
rii Romani.

(i) *Dictatus*
l. 2. post Ep.
55.

to lay about him: His first Threatnings were against King *Philip* of *France*, who was a vicious Prince: In a Letter to the Bishops of *France*, he requires them to admonish the King for his Faults, and if he did not mend them, to put the whole Kingdom under an Interdict: And if after all that he continued still Disobedient, he Swaggers out in these Words, (k) *We will have none to be ignorant, or doubtful, what we intend to do upon it; for by the help of God we will endeavour by all Means, to wrest the Kingdom of France out of his Possession.* But upon the submission of that King, these Threatnings came not to any effect: Yet he went on against the Emperor, *Hen.* the 4th, at the rate he had threatned the King of *France*. I need not tell what all the World knows: That he first Excommunicated and Deposed the Emperor, in the Year 1076. Then upon his doing of Penance, he received him into his Favour. But upon new provocations he deposed him a second, a third, and fourth time, in the years 1080, 1081, and 1083. In all which he had the concurrence of so many *Roman* Councils, and set up against him, first *Rodolph*, after that *Herman*: as his Successors did; first *Conrade*, and then *Henry*, that Emperor's unnatural Sons.

(k) Lib 2.
Ep. 5. ad Ep.
France.

The prosecution of the History, is needless to my Design. But in his Letter to *Herman*, Bishop of *Mets*, (l) we meet with that which is more considerable. For there he largely justifies his Proceedings, which he grounds on the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, being given to *St. Peter*; and the power of Binding and Loosing joined to them. More places of Scripture he sought not, but his Successor, (m) *Boniface* the 8th, made use of *Ecce duo Gladii*, and the power given to the Prophet *Jeremiah*, *Over Kingdoms, to Root out, Pull down, Destroy, Throw down, to Build, and to plant*: And they took

(l) Liv. 8.
Ep. 21.

(m) Extra. de
Major. &
Obed. cap. 1.

took it in great dudgeon, if any would compare a single Prophet under the Law, to Christ's Vicar under the Gospel. But *Gregory* goes on in his Proofs, to the Tradition of the Church: And says, The Fathers had often both in General Councils, and in their particular Writings acknowledged, That this Power was in the See of *Rome*; That it was the Mother and Head of all other Churches: That all matters were to be judged by it, from whose Sentence no Appeal could lye: Nor could there be a Review made of the Judgments passed in that See. And to confirm what he had asserted, he cites some Passages out of *Gelasius*, and *Julius*, and that Clause in the Priviledges granted by *Gregory* the Great, formerly mentioned. So here he very fully and formally delivers the Tradition of the Church, and builds upon it. He also cites the Precedent of Pope *Zacharias*, his Deposing *Childeric*, not for any fault he found in him, but because he thought him not fit to Govern. From that he goes on to some Reasons, (such as they are) for the justification of his Proceedings. The Pope having thus declared the Tradition and Doctrine of the Church, it is not to be wondred at, if both the Schoolmen mixt it with the Instructions they gave their Scholars, and the Canonists made it a part of the Law of the Church. (n) *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, *Alexander Alensis*, *Bonaventure*, *Durand*, *Peter of Aliac*, *John of Paris*, *Almain*, *Gabriel Biel*, *Henry of Ghant*, *John Driodo*, *John de Terre-iremata*, *Albert Pighius*, *Thomas Waldensis*, *Petrus de Palude*, *Cajetan*, *Franciscus Viçtoria*, *Dominicus a Soto*, and many others, (in all 70 are reckoned by *Bellarmin*, but *Foulis* enlarges the number to 177, whom he cites, who) did formally assert it. *Aquinas* also taught it; tho' in some places he contradicted himself. But (a) *Boniface* the 8th, thought his Predecessors had

(n) *Bellar.*
de Pont. Rom.
lib. 5. c. 151.

(o) *Cuspinian*
in vita Albert.

had proceeded in this matter too cautiously, and therefore he went more roundly to work. In the Jubilee in the year 1300, He shewed himself the first day in the Pontifical Habit, but the second day, he was clothed with the Imperial Habit, a naked Sword being carried before him, and cried out with a loud voice, *I am Pope and Emperor, and have both the Earthly, and Heavenly Empire.* This upon so publick an occasion looks very like the Teaching the Church *Ex Cathedra*: But because words vanished into Air, he left it in writing, in these terms : (p) *We say and define and pronounce, that it is absolutely necessary to Salvation for every humane creature, to be subject to the Bishop of Rome.* This being put into the Text of the Canon Law, in which it is continued to this day ; we cannot think it Strange that *Panorimitan, Ostiensis, Silvester*, with all the other Canonists assert the Popes direct Dominion over all the World. And what can they say less, Believing him to be Christs Vicar on Earth, to whom all Power in heaven and earth was given of his Father, therefore the power in Heaven being judged enough for Christ to manage himself, they thought all the power in Earth was Committed to the Vicar. This passed down without Contradiction among them, but was not received by the rest of the Church : yet the Indirect, or as they termed it, the Ecclesiastical power in cases of Heresie was Universally agreed to : not one person Opposing it, till *Luther* and his Followers came, sawcily to look into the Popes Title to this, and many other pretended Rights of the See of *Rome*.

But because the Plea for an Indirect Power, was not Sufficient, Since if a Prince did not Favour Heresie, it was of no use: And the pretention to a direct power was of an harsh sound : Therefore a Title of another kind was set up. It was pretended, That all the Kingdoms

(p) *Cap. de Major. ut Obd. Exter.*

in the Western and Northern parts of *Europe* were by formal Surrenders offered up to St. Peter, and St. Paul; And therefore whatever the Popes did, was said to be done in Defence of their Rights; which made *Gregory* the 7th fly to them in that flanting Address, with which he begins his Sentences against the Emperor.

First of all, the Donation of *Constantine* the Great was forged: By which the Power of all the West, *Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Germany, France, Spain, and England*, were given to the Pope. This was put into the Text of the Canon Law: and was stood to, by all the Canonists. It is true the Civilians wrote generally against it. Among whom *Bartholus* may be reckoned, for in his Preface to the *Digests* having mentioned the Opinions of some against it, when it comes to his own, he delivers it thus; *Take notice that we are now in the Territory of the Church (for he taught at Bulloigne) and therefore I say that Donation is valid.* But till *Valla* discovered the Impostures of it so manifestly, that they are now ashamed to maintain it any longer, their plea from it was never laid down. But *Augustinus Steuchus*, who undertakes the Vindication of that Donation against *Valla*, does likewise alledge from some Instruments in the *Vatican*, that both the Kingdoms of *Spain, Arragon, France, England, Denmark, Muscovy, Sicily, and Croatia and Dalmatia*, did Subject their Crowns to the See of Rome. (b) *Kranizius* tells us, that *Lakold* King of *Poland*, made it Tributary to Rome. And for the *German* Empire, tho *Steuchus* says nothing of it, perhaps that he might not offend *Charles* the 5th, yet there is both in the Canon Law, and the Letters of Popes, more to be said upon that Head, than for any of the rest. They pretend the Popes set up first the Empire of the West: Then gave the Princes of *Germany* the Right of choosing the Emperor, and does still give the Imperial

(b) In *Vandal*
l. 8. c. 2.

perial Crown, upon the Emperors Swearing an Oath of Homage to them, according to the verse under that Insolent Picture set up by Pope *Innocent* the 2d. In the *Late-ram* (r) of the Emperor lying prostrate at his feet, and receiving the Crown from him.

(r) *Chron. Hbr.*
saug. in vita
Abb. Harti-
ingi.

Post homo fit Papæ, sumit quo dante Coronam.

But all these Surrenders were made use of only to strengthen the great pretention they had of being Christs Vicars, and St. *Peters* Successours; which from the end of the 11th Century, till the beginning of the 16th. for above 4 Ages together was as Authoritatively asserted by Popes, as positively taught by Divines, and as tamely received by the whole Church, Emperors and Kings not presuming to contradict it, as any other Article of Faith. And for proofs of this we need appeal to no other witnesses than those 3. great Cardinals *Baronius*, *Bellarmin* and *Perron*, who may be presumed to have understood the Doctrine of their own Church, better than any body else.

The First of those, through his whole work strains his Industry, to discover as many Instances as he can of it: and never parts with any without expressing the particular satisfaction he had in so pleasant a Discovery. I shall only set down what he says on the two 1st. occasions that he met with. When he takes notice of *Gregory* the Great's priviledges formerly mentioned, he adds, (s) *You see Reader, That the Popes can make Laws, to which if Kings themselves do not yield Obedience, they shall lose their Kingdoms.* Upon the first Deposition made by *Gregory* the 3d. He adds, (t) *The Faithful in the West being awaked by this Thunder, do immediately fall from the Obedience to Leo, adhering to this Apostolical Pope.* So this

(s) *Bar. ad*
Ann. 593.
Num. 86.

(t) *Bar. ad An.*
730. Num. 5.

Gregory left a worthy Precedent to Posterity, that Heretical Princes, be not suffered to reign in the Church of Christ, if having been often admonished, they continue to persist obstinately in their Errors. Such strains as these do so often occur afterwards, that they can scarce be reckoned. It is well known what advice he gave P. Paul the 5th in the quarrel with the *Venetians*, applying the voice to St. Peter, *Arise and Kill*, to the case in hand; and that, with his Insolent *Paranesis* to that Republick, are clear Evidences of his sense in this matter. What *Bellarmin* taught more shortly and obscurely in his Controversies, was afterwards made more plain both by his Writings, about the Translation of the *Roman Empire*, upon the Interdict of *Venice*, and against King *James*, and *William Barklay*: And Cardinal *Perrons* Eloquent speech against the Bill put in by the Third Estate of *France*, for Condemning those pretensions of a Deposing Power, shews us not only his own sense, but the sense of the whole Clergy of *France*; in whose name he delivered it. (u) He calls the Contrary Opinion, a Doctrine that breeds Schisms, a Gate that leads unto all Heresie, and so detestable, that he and his Fellow Bishops will choose to burn at a stake rather than consent to it. He affirming That all the parts of the Catholick Church, and of the Church of *France* in particular, and all the Schools of Divinity, till the coming of Calvin, held the affirmative, and says, That no where in *France* since the Divinity Schools were set up, can they find any one Doctor, Divine, or Lawyer, any Decree, Council, or Sentence of Parliament, or any one Magistrate Ecclesiastick, or Politick, who had held that in case of Heresie or Idolatry, Subjects might not be absolved from their Oaths of Fidelity to their Princes. It is true, at first he spake more modestly, and pretended the thing was problematical, and so was not fit matter for an Oath: but when that modest

(u) In his Diverses Oeuvres and Recueil General des Affaires du Clerge de France.

ster Strain (tho it tended all to depress the Regal, and exalt the Papal Power) had so far prevailed with the King, that he ordered the matter to be laid aside, and not to be further insisted on. They were not satisfied with this, but made a new Address in the Name of the Clergy; and the Cardinal spake now in a higher tone, asserting formally the Popes indirect Power in Temporals; and that all who maintained the contrary were Schismatics, and Hereticks, even those of the Parliament it self; and did plainly threaten the King, That if he did not raze all the Proceedings out of the Register, the Clergy would leave the Assembly, and Excommunicate all who denied the Popes Power of Deposing. And if the King would not suffer them to execute these Censures, they would proceed upon their hazard tho they were to suffer Martyrdom for it. For which zeal, they received a Breve from the Pope, giving them his solemn Thanks for what they had done; desiring them to persevere in the same mind. So we have in this Instance, not only Cardinal Perrons own mind, but the sense of the whole Clergy of *France*.

I do not think it necessary to enquire further into the opinion of later Writers; tho it were easie to shew, that to this day, both the Court of *Rome*, the whole Order of the Jesuites, the Writers both of Controversies, and Cases of Conscience, and the Expositors of Scripture, do as oft as occasion offers, assert the power of Deposing Kings to be still in the See of *Rome*. And tho some few Writers of that Religion, since *Barkelay* and *Widdrington's* time, both of the *English* and *Irish* Nation, have adventured to deny this power; they have been censured for it, and branded with Heresy. This has been so notorious in the matter of the Irish Remonstrance, that I need say no more of it.

But

But whether the Writers of this Age allow it or not, they are bound according to their Doctrine about Tradition, to acknowledg it; since two of the Characters of Tradition are found to agree to it. For it has been delivered in several Ages of the Church, as true Catholick Doctrine by all the publick Doctors in these times: so that either This is a Tradition of the Church, or That is not a true mark of Tradition: nor is it a certain conveyance of Truth, if we may be thus deceived in a clear Tradition, for four Ages successively. It does also appear, that if the See of *Rome* be a faithful Depositary and Transmitter of Church Traditions, this must be one, since it is delivered to the world by so many Popes in the names of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and founded on the *Power of the Keys*, and of *Binding and Loosing* granted to *St. Peter*.

But I shall next shew how the third mark of Tradition, the Authority of General Councils, agrees to this Doctrine. When this Doctrine had been so well spread over *Europe*, then the Popes found it was safe, to trust it to the judgment of such an Assembly as they esteemed a General Council. And they proceeded in this matter, after the same manner that they had done in the worship of Images: and as they did afterwards in the points of Transubstantiation, and denying the Chalice in the Communion. They took care first to infuse it into all the Clergy, (which God wot's was no hard thing) and then brought them together, and made up the Pageant of a Council, for giving it more authority. So above an hundred years after *Gregory* the VII. had first taught this Doctrine, a thing under the name of a General Council sate in the *Lateran* at *Rome*, where, upon the advantage the Popes had against the *Albigenses* and others, who were according to their Opinion most pestiferous Hereticks; they first procured a Decree for it. It is true, many Provincial

vincial Councils had concurred with Gregory the VII. (one of these is called a General one, 110 Bishops being present) and the other Popes who had formerly given out these Thunders : But now the matter was to be more solemnly Transacted.

In this Council many Hereticks are condemned and Excommunicated ; and all that had sworn Oaths of Fidelity or Homage to them, are Absolved from those Oaths : and they are required in order to the obtaining the Remission of their sins, to fight against them : and those who die doing penance in that manner, may without doubt expect Indulgence for their sins, with eternal rewards. And in conclusion, by the authority of St. Peter and St. Paul they Remit to all who shall rise and fight against them, two years Penance. Here the Council does industriously infuse this Doctrine into all people ; and calls Rebellion Penance (a very easy one to a poor or discontented Subject) and assures them of a deliverance from Purgatory, and that they should be admitted straight to Heaven for it. In an Age in which these things were believed, more effectual means than those could not be found out, to engage the people in it.

Conc. Lat. 3.
Chap. 27. anno
1287. Tom 28.

By this Decree, if we are guilty of the Heresies then condemned, (as no doubt we are of most of them) without more ado, or any further Sentence, upon the declaring us guilty of the Heresies of the *Albigenses*, the Subjects are delivered from their obligations to the King. And when they conspire or rebel against him, they are only doing penance for their sins ; and he were hard-hearted that would punish men only for doing of penance.

About thirty years after that Council, the Pope had a mind to regulate the former Law, That the Deposing of Kings might be declared a part of his Prerogative ; and that

that thereby he might with authority Dispose of their Kingdoms to others. For hitherto the Popes had only pretended to the Power of Deposing, and then the States of the Kingdom as in an Interregne, were to choose a new Prince. But P. *Innocent* the III. thought it was half work, except he could bestow, as well as take away Crowns. His Predecessor *Celestine* had in a most extravagant humour set the Crown on *Henry* the Sixth his head, with his two feet, and then kickt it off again; to shew, according to *Barronius* his Comment, *That it was in his power to give, to maintain, and take away the Empire.*

*Conc. Later. 4.
Can. 3. Tom. 28.
The same
Council that
established
Transubstan-
tiation.*

A very full Assembly therefore being called of about 1200 of one sort or other to the *Lateran* again, It was first Decreed, *That the aid of Secular Princes should be required for the Extirpating of Hereticks;* after that they proceed and enact thus. *When the Temporal Lord required or admonished by the Church, shall neglect to purge his Territory from Heretical wickedness, let him be Excommunicated by the Metropolitan and his Suffragans. And if he persist in neglecting to give satisfaction for the space of a year, let him be signified to the Pope: That he from thenceforth may pronounce his Subjects discharged from their Obedience; and expose his Territory to be seized on by Catholics, who having exterminated the Hereticks, shall possess it without contradiction, and preserve it in the purity of the Faith; so as no injury be done to the Right of the Supreme Lord, where there is such, provided he do not any way oppose himself: and the same Law is to take place on them, who have no Superiour Lord.*

The Deposition of the Court of *Tholouse*, being the thing then in their eye, made that the Decree runs chiefly against Feudatary Princes, yet as the last Clause takes in Sovereign Princes, so by the Clause before, it was provided, *That if the Sovereign did any way Oppose what*
was

was done against his Vassal, he was to forfeit his Right. I did in the former part of this Letter, meet with all the Exceptions that are commonly made to this Canon. Only one pretty Answer which a person of Honour makes, is yet to be considered. He tells us, that there were so many Sovereign Princes, or Ambassadors from them, at this Council, that we are to look on this Decree, as a thing to which those Princes consented. From whence he Infers, It was rather their Act, than an Invasion of their Rights made by that Council. But be it so, he knows they allow no Prescription against the Church. If then those Princes consented to it, upon which the power of Deposing had that Accession to fortifie it by, it can never be recalled nor prescribed against. It is true there were many Ambassadors from Princes there: But they were all such as either held their Dominions by the Popes Grant, or had been either Deposed by him, or Threatened with Depositions, or were the Children of those whom he had Deposed. So no wonder they stood in such fear of the Pope, that they durst not refuse to consent to every thing he had a mind to. For indeed this Council did only give their *Placet* to a paper of Decrees penned by the Pope.

Henry called the Greek Emperor, Brother to *Baldwin*, that had seized on *Constantinople*, had no other Title to it besides the Popes Gift. *Frederick* the 2d. who had been the Popes Ward, was then the Elect Emperor of *Germany*, made so at the Popes Instance, who had Deposed the two Immediately preceding Emperours, *Philip* and *Otho* the 4th. the last being at that time alive; So that he durst not contradict the Pope, lest he should have set up *Otho* against him. But no Emperor, except *Henry* the 4th, ever suffered more from the Popes Tyranny, than he did afterwards. One sad Instance of it was, that the Pope having

E pressed

pressed his March to the Holy-land much, did at last Excommunicate him for his delays: upon which, he to avoid further censures, carried an Army thither: which was so succesful, that the Pope who hoped he should have been destroyed in the Expedition, (as the first Emperor of that name was) now being vexed at his Success, complained that he should have presumed to go thither, while he lay under Excommunication, and was in Rebellion against him; and went about not only to Dethrone him, but to get him to be betrayed by the Knights Hospitallers, and Templers, into the Sultans hands, who abominating that Treachery, revealed it to him.

*Math. Paris.
ad An. 1253.*

John of Brenne had the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* by that same Popes Gift, who took it from *Almeric* King of *Cyprus*, and gave it him; But *Almeric* had no cause to complain, since he held *Cyprus* only by the same Copy of the Popes Gift: So they both were at the Popes Mercy. Our *John of England* was his Vassal, as he usually called him; But his Successour went higher, calling the King of *England* not only his Vassal, but *his Slave*; and Declared That at his beck he could procure him to be Imprisoned, and Disgraced. *James* King of *Arragon*, who was also the Popes Ward, had no less reason to be afraid of the Pope, who had Deposed his Father for Assisting the Count of *Thelouise*. *Philip Augustus* King of *France*, had his Kingdom twice put under an Interdict, worse things being also threatned. The like Threatnings had been made to *Andrew* King of *Hungary*, but upon his Submission he was received into favour.

And now is it any wonder, that those Princes gave way to such a Decree, when they knew not how to help themselves by Opposing it, which would have raised a Storm, that they could not hope to weather?

Another thing is remarkable concerning this time, by which

which the Belief of the Deposing Doctrine in that Age will better appear. Other Princes whom Popes had Deposed, procured some Civilians to write for them ; and got Synods of Bishops sometimes on their side against the Pope. Because it was evident the Pope proceeded not upon the Account of Heresie, but of private spite and hatred. But in the case of the Count of *Tholouse*, who was a manifest Favourer of that, which was esteemed Heresie, (the Opinions of the *Albigenses* that were his Subjects) not a Writer in all that Age durst undertake to defend his cause, nor could he procure one Bishop to be of his side. So universally was it received, that in the case of Heresie, a Prince might be Deposed by the Pope.

The 3d General Council that Confirmed this Power, was the Council of *Lions*, held by *Innocent* the 4th against the forementioned *Frederick* the 2d, where (as the Sentence bears) *The Pope having Consulted with his Brethren and the Holy Council, being Christs Vicar on Earth, to whom it was said in the person of St. Peter, whatsoever ye bind on Earth, &c. Declares the Emperor bound in his sins, and therein Deprived by God of his Dominions. Whereupon he by his Sentence does Depose him, and absolves all from their Oaths of Fidelity to him. Straitly charging all persons, to acknowledge him no more either Emperor or King. Declaring all that did otherwise, Excommunicated ipso facto.* There are in this Process several things very remarkable. It is grounded on a pretence to a Divine Tradition; So here the whole Council concur with the Pope, in asserting this power to flow from that Conveyance. And thus either that Tradition is true, or the Councils are not to be believed when they Declare a Tradition. 2ly. Tho this is but a Decree in one particular Instance, yet it is founded on the General Rule; And so is a Confirmation of it, by which it is put out of doubt that the 4th Council of *Lateran* included Sovereign Prin-

*Conc. Lugd.
Tom. 28.*

ces within their Decree. 3ly, When the Emperors Advocate appeared to plead for him ; He did not at all except to their Jurisdiction over him, or Power of Deposing in the case of Heresie, but denied that the Emperor was guilty of the crimes Objected, namely Heresie, whereby he, at least, waved the denial of their Power in that case. He also desired some time might be granted for the Emperor to appear and plead for himself in person. Whereby he plainly acknowledged their Jurisdiction. 4ly When the Ambassadors of *France* and *England*, Interceded that the Emperors desire might be granted ; the Council gave him near two weeks time to appear in : which was so incompetent a time, and all had declared themselves so prepossessed, or rather so overawed by the Pope that hated him Mortally ; That the Emperor would not appear because they were his professed Adversaries. And upon that, and other grounds (none of them touching on the power of Deposing in cases of Heresie) He appealed from them, to the next General Council ; Upon which the Pope and Prelates sitting in Council, with Candles burning in their hands, thundred out the Sentence against him.

Here were three very publick Judgments, of three General Councils on this Head, within the compass of sixty years. But it may be imagined, these were Councils that wholly depended on the Pope ; and so their Decrees are to be looked on, only as a Ceremony used by the Pope to make his own Sentence look more solemn. But when upon the long Schism in the See of *Rome*, the power of that See was much shaken, and a Council met at *Constance* to heal that Breach ; in which the Bishops taking advantage from that Conjunction, to recover their former Dignity, began to Regulate many matters. It may be, upon such an occasion, expected, that if any Party in the Church had disliked these practices, they should have been

Sess. 15.

Ecclesiastical or Secular. So here the indirect power over Princes, by which they may be both deposed and punished, is plainly assumed. It is true that same Council did indeed Decree, That no Subject should murder his King or Prince; upon which some of our *English* and *Irish* Writers, who condemn these practices, think they have great advantages. That Decree was procured by *Gerson's* means, who observing that by the many Rebellions that had been generally set on by Popes, the Persons of Princes were brought under such contempt, that private Assassinations came to be practised: and in particular that of the Duke of *Orleance* by the Duke of *Burgundy*: Therefore to prevent the fatal consequences which were like to follow on that, and to hinder such practices for the future, he with great earnestness followed that matter: And tho it had almost cost him his life (it is like from some of the Duke of *Orleance* his Faction, who were resolved on a Revenge) yet at last he procured it: But this was only a Condemnation of private Cut-throats. And the Article condemned had a pretty Reservation in it, for it strikes only against Subjects killing their Prince, *without waiting for the Sentence of any Judg whatsoever*. So if a Sentence be past by the Spiritual Judg, then this Condemnation notwithstanding, a Prince may be Murdered. And the other Decree of that Council passed in the same Session, shew they had no mind to part with the Deposing Power. Besides the Answer to this Decree is clear. It is acknowledged by the Defenders of the contrary opinion, That it is not lawful in any case to kill a King; but when one that was a King is no more such, but becomes a Rebel and an Ufurper, then it is lawful to kill him.

Con. Sien.
Tom. 29.

Pursuant to the Decree made at *Constance*, a Council met at *Siena* ten years after, in which all the former Decrees made against Hereticks are confirmed, and the Favourers or *Fanctours* of Heresie are declared liable to all the pains

pains and censures of Hereticks, and by consequence to the chief of them all, *Deposition*.

After that came the Council of *Basil*, which ratified the forementioned Decree made at *Constance* about General Councils. By which Popes, Emperors, Kings, &c. that presumed to hinder any from coming to the Council, are subjected to Excommunication, Interdicts and other Punishments Spiritual and Temporal. *Con. Basil. Tom. 29.*

Last of all came the Council of *Trent*, and tho multitudes were at that pass, that the Council durst not tread on Princes, as others had formerly done, lest they should have been thereby provoked to join with the Protestants; yet they would not quite lay aside the pretence of a Deposing power, but resolved to couch it so into some Decree, that it might continue their claim to a Right, which they would not part with, tho they knew not at that time what to make of it. So in the Decree against Duels, they declare, *That if any Emperors, Kings, &c. did assign a field for a Combat, that they did thereby lose their Right to that place, and the City, Castle, or other places about it.* Now it is certain, if by their Decrees a Prince may forfeit any part of his Dominion, he may be also dispossessed of all the rest; since his Title to his whole Territory being one individual thing, what shakes it in any part, subjects it entirely to him who has such authority over it. *Conc. Trid. Sess. 25. c. 19.*

Here we have found 7 General Councils, as they are esteemed by that Church, all either expressly asserting the Deposing Power, or ratifying former Decrees that had asserted it. And from such a succession of Councils, it is reasonable to conclude, That this Third Character of a Tradition of the Church agrees to it; and if General Councils are fit Conveyors of Traditions, we have as full Evidence as can be desired, for proving this to be a Church-Tradition.

This last Character of a Tradition is what the whole Body

Body of the Church has held in any one Age. Upon which, they say, we may calculate that such opinions must have come down from the Apostles, since it seems neither credible nor possible, that the Belief of the Church could be changed. With this *Arnold* has of late made great noise. And as the new Fashions that come from *France* do please our young Gallants best, so some of the Writers of Controversies among us have taken up the same plea here. That the whole Church received the Deposing Doctrine in cases of Heresy, may be inferred from what had been said. The Church is made up of Popes, Bishops, & Priests: Of Sovereign Princes, and Subjects of all ranks. That the Popes believed it, none can doubt. So many Definitions of Councils, shews us as plainly what the Bishops and other Prelates believed: the Writing of the Schoolmen and Canonists shew, what the rest of the Clergy believed. Those Princes who suffered under the Sentences, give at least a tacit consent to it, since they never question it, but study only to clear themselves of the imputation of Heresie. The other Princes who made use of the Donations of the Popes, shew as plainly that they believ'd it. The great Armies that were brought about their Standards, must have also believed it: and the people who generally deserted the Deposed Prince, notwithstanding the great vertues of some of them, and the love that Subjects naturally carry to their Princes, shew that they believed it. So that if St. *James* his Question, *Shew me thy Faith by thy Works*, be applied to this particular, the Answer will be easie. What shall I mention the frequent depositions of *Charles* the 1st, of *Henry* the 4th, of his Son *Henry* the 5th, of *Frederick* the 1st, *Philip*, *Otho* the 4th, *Frederick* the 2d, and *Lewis* the 4th in the Empire. The frequent Depositions in *Sicily* and *Naples*; the many attempts upon *France*; that terrible Bull in particular of *Julius* the 2d, against that good King *Lewis* the twelfth.

By

By which, besides the Sentence against the King, it appears he designed the total destruction of the Nation, promising the Pardon of Sin to every one that killed one *French* Bud. de Affe lib. 5. Man; the frequent Attempts upon *England*, both in *Hen.* the 2d, and *K. John's* time; not to mention their later Bulls of Deposition against *K. Henry* the 8th, and *Q. Elizabeth*; the many Attempts in *Spain*; particularly, the deposing the King of *Navarre* by *P. Julius*; and the Sentences against *Henry* the 4th, then King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*. All these, and a great many more, with the strange Effects that followed upon them, are so clear Proofs of the Worlds believing this Doctrine, for many Ages together, that if Men had any Remainders of shame left with them, they could not deny it. And to this day all their Writers maintain it, tho perhaps now the greatest part of the Laity know little of it; but whenever the Tradition of the Church is laid before them, they are obliged to submit, or they fall from the Catholick Faith, the chief Branch of which is, To believe all the Traditions of the Church. And since the Church is the same in all Ages, according to their Doctrine, the Traditions of any one Age must be as good as the Traditions of any other can be, all being grounded on the same Authority.

And now let all the Reasons that *Arnold* brings to prove, from the Churches believing Transubstantiation in any Age, that she must have always believed it, be considered, and applied with a small variation of the Terms to this Purpose; and we shall see if they conclude not as strongly in favour of this Doctrine, as for that which he has pursued so much. *How can it be imagined*, says he, *that a Doctrine so contrary to common Sense and Reason, could have been so universally received, if every Man had not been taught it by those who instructed him in the*

Faith? Will Men easily change their Faith? Or, tho particular Persons would prevaricate, would the whole Clergy conspire to do it? Or would the People take it easily off their hands. These and many more Topicks of that sort may be so mustered up, and set off by a Man of Wit and Eloquence, that an ordinary Person would stare, and not know what to say. The Premises will shew, that there is need but of very little Art to change the same Plea, and fit it to this purpose, with two great advantages beyond what can be fanci'd to be in the other. The one is, that the generality of Mankind is naturally more concerned in the preservation of Temporal things, than about nice points of Speculation; the one they see and handle every day, and are much concerned about; the other they hear little of, and are not much touched with them. So that it is less probable there could be a change made in opinions, on which the Titles of Princes, and the Peace of Kingdoms depended, than about subtil Discourses concerning Mysteries. So that the Plea is stronger for the Tradition of deposing Kings, than for Transubstantiation. A second Difference is, That there was a continual Opposition made to the belief of Transubstantiation in all Ages, which they themselves do not deny, only they shift it off the best they can, by calling the Opposers Hereticks; but for the deposing Doctrine, there was not one Person in the whole World, that presumed to bring it in question, from the first time it was pretended to, till those whom they call Hereticks disputed against it; and tho some few others, who hold Communion with them, have ventured on a canvassing of that Doctrine, it is well enough known what thanks they got from *Rome*; nor can they shew any one Book, licensed according to the Rules of their Church, that denies it. And thus the Plea for this Doctrine has a double Advantage

vantage beyond that for Transubstantiation.

Upon the whole matter then, if Tradition be a sure Conveyance, and if we may pronounce what is truly a Tradition, either from the Opinions of Doctors, the Constitutions of Popes, the Decrees of General Councils, and the universal Consent of the whole Church for some Ages ; then the Doctrine of deposing Kings, to which all these agree, must be reckoned among Church-Traditions. There is but one other Mark that can be devised of a Tradition, which is, What the Church has taught and believed in all Ages ; but for a certain Reason, which they know very well, they will not stand to that. They know we do not refuse such Traditions, and if only such may be received, then the Worship of Images, the Prayers to Saints, the Worship in an unknown Tongue, the Belief of Transubstantiation, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the denying the Chalice to the Laity, the redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, with many other things of the like nature, will be soon taken off of the File. And indeed in this sense, the deposing Doctrine is so far from being a Tradition, that we have as undeniable Evidences, that the Church for the first six Ages knew nothing of it, but on the contrary abhorred the thoughts of it, as we have, that their Church these last six Ages has set it up : From which, among many other Reasons, we conclude, that these latter Ages have not been acted with the same Spirit, nor followed the same Doctrine, that was the Rule of the former Ages.

There is more than enough said to shew, that these Doctrines are a part of their Faith; from which they can never extricate themselves, but by confessing, either that their Church has erred, or that Tradition is no true Conveyance; when they do either of these, they turn their Backs on *Rome*, and are in a fair way to come over to our

Church, with which purpose I pray God inspire them.

The mean while, it is no wonder, if those of that Communion, have been guilty of such horrid Plots and Rebellions every where, especially in *England*, since *Henry* the 8th's time. There was in his Reign, First a Rebellion in *Lincolnshire*, another greater one in the North, and some lesser ones after that. In *Edward* the 6th's time, there were Risings, both in the North, and in the West. But these succeeded so ill, and turned only to the ruine of their own Party, that they resolved to try secreter ways in *Queen Elizabeth's* time; in whose long and blessed Reign, there scarce passed one year in which there was not some Plot against her Life. There was not Matter enough to work upon, for raising any considerable Rebellion in *England*: But in *Ireland*, there were more frequent attempts that way. It is true, the Care and Providence of God was too hard for all their Plots, how closely soever laid; and they were turned back on themselves, not so much to the ruine of the chief Plotters (who were wise enough to convey themselves out of the way) as of many Noble Families, that were poysoned with their ill Principles. All the Blood which the State was forced to shed, lies at their door, who were continually giving fresh Provocations. And for King *James* (not to mention the Conspiracies against him in *Scotland*, nor that Plot of *Cobham* and *Watson*, upon his first coming to this Crown) the Gun-powder Treason was a thing that went beyond all the wicked Designs that had been ever in any Age contrived. And when his late Majesty was Embroiled in his Affairs in this Island, how did they take advantage from that Conjunction, to break out into a most horrid Rebellion in *Ireland*, joyned with a Massacre of Persons of whatsoever Age, or Sex, or Condition? Which was so far set on by
Rome,

Rome, that a Nuncio came publickly to direct their Councils. I will not dwell on Particulars that are sufficiently known, but only name these things, to shew, That no Reign of any of our Princes, since the Reformation, has been free from the dismal effects of these Doctrines. And for his Sacred Majesty who now Reigns, (whom God long preserve from their Malice) they have felt such signal marks of his Royal Clemency, that they can have no colour to complain, except it be, because they cannot bear any Office in the Nation. For what Noise soever they make, of the severe Laws yet in force, both against the Clergy and Laity of their Religion, they cannot pretend that since his Majesties happy Restauration, any Priest has died, or any Family has been ruined for their Religion. But I confess, it is enough, according to the Doctrine of their Church, to discharge them of their Allegiance, That the King is a favourer of Heresy; and if upon this Reason they will still Plot and Conspire against his Person and Government, we have no reason to wonder at it, for they act according to their Principles.

Nor have these Islands been the only Scenes, in which those Principles have produced such dismal Effects. If we look abroad and reflect on what was done in *France*, we shall find, they have had the same Operation there. I need not mention that perfidious and cruel Massacre, that as *Thuanus* tells us was so much extolled in *Rome* and *Spain*: and of which the Pope has a Memorial kept in the Hangings, at the entrance of his Chappel, to this day. The Barricadoes of *Paris*, the design of Deposing *Henry* the 3d, only because he had made Peace with the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*; the whole progress of the holy League; their taking Arms against that King, when the Duke and Cardinal of *Guise* were

were killed by his Orders, and at last his being stabbed by *Clement*, a *Dominican* Friar, are Instances beyond exception. The prosecution of the Rebellion against *Henry* the 4th, the attempt made upon his Person by *John Chastel*, which was more successful in *Ravilliack's* hands, shew sufficiently, That a Princes turning from that, which they call Heresie, over to their Church, does not secure him, unless he will extirpate Hereticks. For tho *Henry* the 4th changed his Religion, yet the favour he shewed the Protestants, in the Edict of *Nantes*, was a thing never to be forgiven. These things were set on and encouraged from *Rome*, and pleaded for by their Writers. That the holy League was authorized from *Rome*, that *Sixtus* the 5th, by his Bulls, declared the King of *Navar* incapable of the Succession; that he intended to have Deposed *Henry* the 3d, and that he rejoyced at his death, and magnified the Fact; preferring it to *Eleazar's* killing the Elephant, and *Judeth's* killing *Hollofernes*, and ascribed it to a singular Providence and Disposition of the Almighty; called it a great Miracle, and appeared vain that a Friar had done it, having been one himself, (tho no doubt he had liked it better, if *Clement* had been of his own sute) and would have had himself thought a Prophet for foretelling it, (and so he might well do perhaps): and in the end concluded, That unfortunate Kings favouring Hereticks, to be the unpardonable Sin against the Holy Ghost: These were all so publickly done, that it were a needless labour, to go about the proving them. *Francis Veronne* wrote a Book, to justify both the Facts of *Clement* the Dominican, and *Chastel*, (as well he might from the Principles of their Church). After all these dismal Facts, was it not time for the States of *France*, to think of some effectual Remedy, to prevent the like for the future? And they judged aright, that
without

without Condemning the Deposing Power, it could not be done: To which, as was already hinted, the Clergy made such vigorous Opposition, that it came to nothing.

*Discess. Decret.
Con. Lateran.
p. 46.*

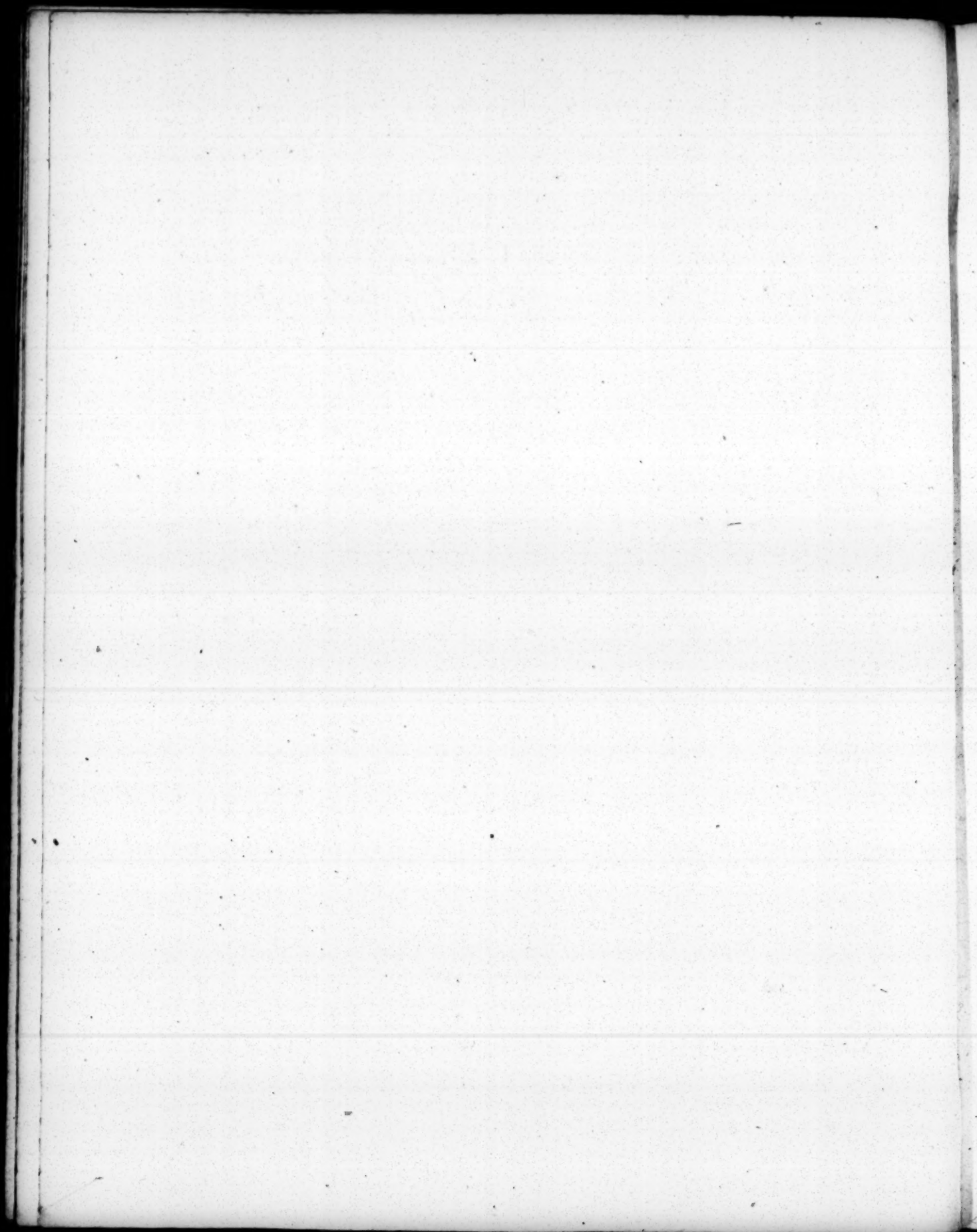
If these things had flowed only from the heat of some violent Spirits, the danger were not so great; but it is the Doctrine of their Church, so *Lessius* (under the name of *Singletonus*) says, *That if the power of Deposing lies not in the Pope, the Church must of necessity Err, which has taught it; and to assert that, is Heretical, and a more intollerable Error, than any about the Sacrament can be.*

And *Becanus*, Confessor to *Ferdinand* the 2d, says, *No Man doubts, but if Princes are Contumacious, the Pope may order their Lives to be taken away.* What security then can there be found out from Persons, who give up their Consciences to the conduct of Men of such Principles; and profess an Implicite Obedience and belief of all that their Church teaches and commands, which possesses all its Votaries with such cursed rage against Hereticks, that not content to adjudge them to eternal Flames in another Life, they must needs Persecute and Burn without Mercy where they have the Power in their Hands; and Plot and Conspire, Kill and Massacre without relenting, where they have not Power to do it with any colour of Law?

*Bec. Controv.
Angl. p. 115.*

Men of Honour will not be easily drawn in to such Practices. But in Conclusion, when a fit Opportunity appears, they must either forsake their Church, or concur in the most mischievous Designs, that the Masters of their Consciences will draw them into; which I pray God make them see in good time, before they are Involved in such Snares, that Repentance will come too late to do them good, or to preserve the Nation from those Miseries that they will bring upon it.

FINIS.



THE
Unreasonableness
AND
IMPIETY
OF
POPERY:
IN A
SECOND LETTER

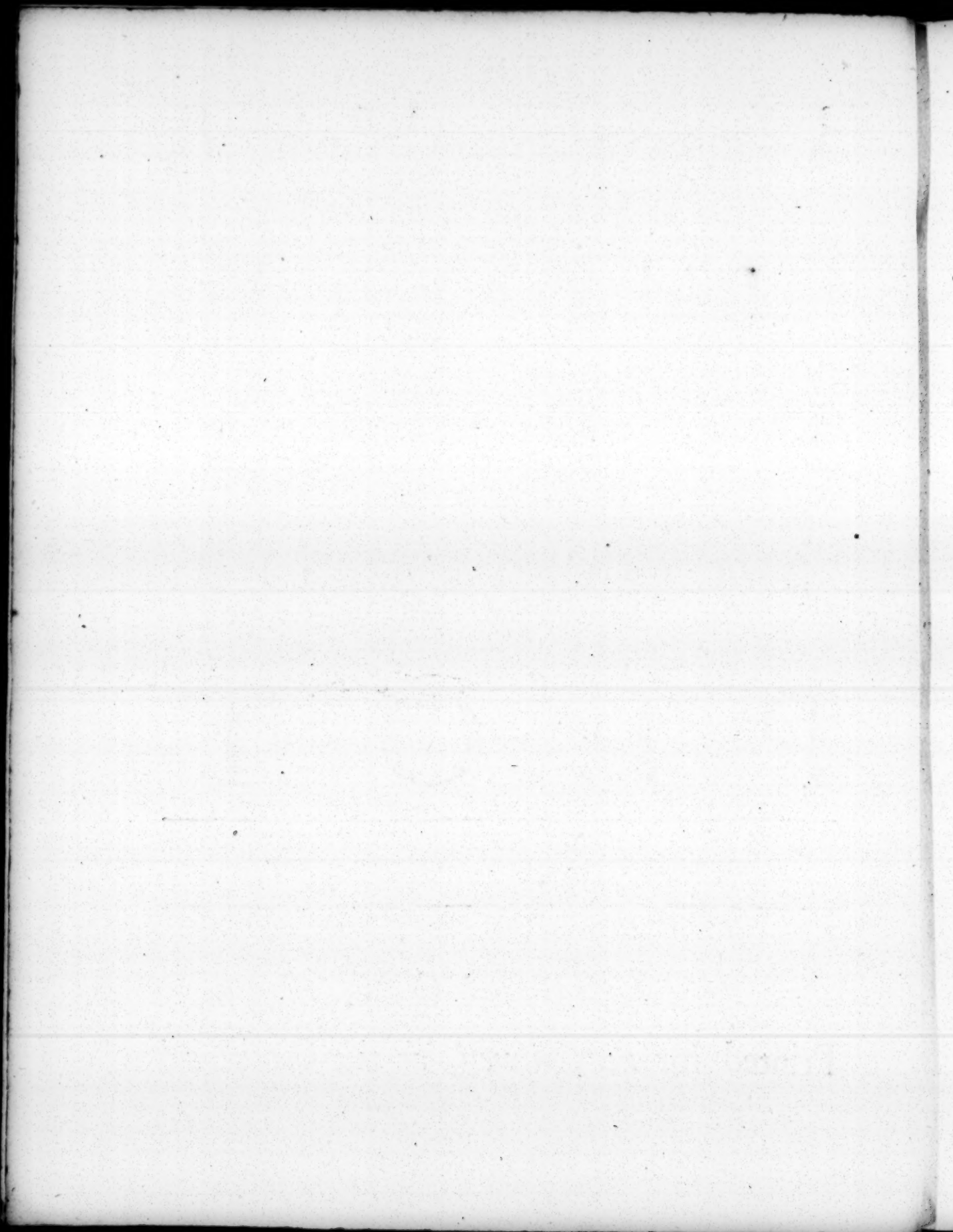
Written upon the Discovery of the Late

PLOT.

Imprimatur *C. Alston*, Nov. 12. 1678.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *R. Chiswell*, at the Rose and
Crown in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, 1678.



The Unreasonableness and Impiety
OF
P O P E R Y,

In a Second Letter written upon the Discovery
of the Late P L O T.

S I R,

YOU are pleased to tell me that my last Letter has had some good effect; and that many who were before carried away with the false colours of the *Romish* Religion, are now a little awakned, and seem not unwilling to examin things, which they took formerly upon trust: and therefore you desire me, since you are not Master of so much spare time your self, to set down the most material and convincing reasons, and in as few words as may be, that are most likely to open the eyes of honest and simple persons, that have been hitherto misled, and are now willing to be instructed.

In all such cases I first consider the temper of the persons to be dealt with: Such as take up their Religion out of interest or humour, and think it point of honour to continue in it, and so will examine nothing are not to be spoken to. Others that are naturally superstitious and credulous, are very hard to be wrought on; for they believe every thing that is said on the one hand, and distrust all that is told them by any body else. Some of those have a vanity in coming to talk with Divines, but it is an endless labour to deal with them; for at every

time one must begin of new. But the only persons to be dealt with, are those that are sincere and inquisitive, that having been bred in that Religion, or brought over to it by some specious pretences, are now willing to hear reason, and resolved to follow it wherever they find it. And therefore in the first place, their minds must be disengaged from these unjust prejudices, that they conceive of our Religion: and such just prejudices must be offered them against the *Romish* Religion, as may at least beget in them some jealousies concerning it, by which they may be brought so far, as to think the matter suspicious. If then there be such reasons offered them, for suspecting foul dealing from their Priests and Church, as would make them suspect an Attorney, Physician, or any other person with whom they were to deal, they will be prepared to hear reason; which is all that we desire: and upon this Head these following Considerations may be laid before them.

1. All people that pretend to great Power and Dominion over our consciences, are justly to be suspected. If any man designed to make himself Master of any of our other Liberties, we would examine his Title, and suspect all his other motions, when we see they tend to subject us to him: Therefore a Church that designs to keep all her Votaries under an absolute obedience, is justly to be suspected: and our Church that pretends to no such power, is more likely to deal fairly.

2. A Church that designs to keep her Members in ignorance, is more to be suspected, than a Church that brings every thing to a fair Trial. A Church that denies the use of the Scriptures in a known tongue, except to a few, and wraps up their Worship in a Language that is not understood, is reasonably to be suspected, more than a Church that gives the free use of the Scriptures to
all

all persons, and worships God in a Language, which the people understand.

3. A Church whose Opinions tend to engross the Riches of the world to its Officers, is more to be suspected, than a Church that pretends to nothing but a competent maintenance of the several Officers in it. The Redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, and the Enriching the Shrines, or Reliques of Saints, Pardons, Jubilees, and many more Tenets of the Church of *Rome*, are so calculated for enriching their Societies; that every cautious man must needs suspect some design in it: which he cannot charge on a Church that has none of these Arts to get money.

4. A Church that has carried on its Designs, by the most dishonest methods possible, the forging of Writings, and Deeds, of Miracles, Visions, Prophecies and other things of that Nature, is more justly to be suspected, than a Church that cannot be charged with any such practices. The Forging so many Epistles for the Popes of the first Ages, which are now by themselves confest to be Spurious, with many other Forgeries, were the Engines by which the Papal Power was chiefly advanced. The Legends and Extravagant Fables of which they are now ashamed, were the chief Motives of Devotion for many Ages. And by these, Saints and Images were so much magnified, and Monasteries so enriched. A Noted Liar after a Discovery is no more to be trusted.

5. Any that considers the present State of *Rome*, the manner of Electing Popes, the Practices of that Court, and the Maxims they move by, must see that every thing there is secular, corrupt, and at best directed by rules of Policy. But to suppose the Holy Ghost can come upon any Election so managed, as their own Books shew
that

that is, is the most unreasonable thing that can be devised. Therefore a Church that neither pretends so high, nor can be charged with such proceedings, is more likely to be the true Church.

6. A Church that teaches Cruelty against poor Innocent people, that differ in opinion; and sets on Plots, Conspiracies, and Rebellion against Princes, that are judged Hereticks, is more likely to be corrupted, than a Church that is so merciful, as to condemn all capital proceedings for difference of Opinion, and teaches an absolute Submission to the Sovereign Power, even when it persecutes and oppresses them.

7. A Church that is false to her own Principles, is not so likely to Instruct her members aright, as a Church that is in all things consistent to her self. The great Foundation of their Doctrine, is, That there must be a speaking Judg to decide all Controversies: Now they have no such Judg, for it is not of Faith, that the Pope is this Judg, or is Infallible: And for a general Council, they have had none these 112. years, nor are they like to see another in hast. So they have no Speaking Infallible Judg among them. And thus they deceive people by a false Pretence: whereas we appeal to nothing, but what we really have among us, which are the Scriptures.

8. A Church that appeals to Marks, which are not possible to be searcht out, is more likely to mislead people, than a Church that pretends to nothing but what can be certainly proved. The great thing they appeal to is the Constant Succession of the Bishops of *Rome*, and their other Pastors. This cannot be known, no not by a probable conjecture. But there are on the contrary, as great grounds for History to deny it in the See of *Rome*, as in any other Ancient See whatsoever: but
though

though they have it, both the *Greek Church*, and our Church has it likewise.

These are such plain things, and the Truth of them is so notoriously known, that I should ask any of that Communion, whether upon the like reasons he would not be Jealous of any person or sort of persons whatsoever? And if these grounds of jealousy would work in other matters, it is much more reasonable, that they should take place in matters of Religion; In which as an Error is of far greater Importance; So Impostors in all Ages have studied to make gain by Religion. Therefore it is most just upon these violent presumptions, to look about us, and take care we be not cheated.

But before I would descend to particulars, there is one General prejudice that works most universally, on weaker minds to be removed, which is, that the true Church cannot Erre. If then it be made appear unanswerably, that the true Church may Erre, and that in a most weighty Point, all these Arguments fall to the ground.

That the Church of the *Jews*, in our Saviours days was the true Church, cannot be denied; for our Saviour owned it to be such. He joyned with them in their worship, He sent the Lepers to the Priest, He commanded them to hear the Doctors that sate in *Moses Chair*, and himself acknowledged the High Priest. This is sufficient to prove that it was the true Church, and yet this Church erred, in a most Important point, whether Jesus Christ was the true Messias, in whom the Prophecies were fulfilled or not? they Judged falsely: The High Priests with all the *Sanhedrim*, declared him a Blasphemer, and condemned him guilty of Death. Here the true Church expounds the Scriptures falsely, and erred in the Foundation of Religion.

And

And it is well known, that the chief arguments which they of the Romish party bring to prove, that a Church cannot Err, do agree as well to the *Jewish*, as the Christian Church: the one being the true Church, under that dispensation, as well as the other is now. If then this Decision made by the true Church in Christs time, did not oblige all in that Church, to go on in that error, but private persons might have examined their Sentence, and depart from them upon it; then upon the same reasons, though we acknowledge the Church of *Rome* a true Church, yet we may examine her Doctrines, and separate from her errors. This grand prejudice being thus removed, there are two things in the next place to be laid before them.

One is, that the Scriptures, being acknowledged to come from Divine Inspiration, on all hands, can only decide the Controversies among us: and the places I shall make use of, shall be cited according to the *Doway* Translation, to which, being made by themselves, they cannot except.

Another is, that a man must judg of things as they appear plainly to his reasonable Faculties. It is against all reason to say that because it is possible for a man to be mistaken, therefore he ought to doubt his Judgment in things that are clear to him. This must turn a man Sceptical both to all Religions, and all the concerns of human life: Therefore every man must follow his Judgment, when after a diligent Inquiry, any thing appears plain to him.

And now to come up close to those of that perswasion, they are to consider, that the chief parts of Religion are, *First*, Articles of Faith: *Secondly*, Rules of Life: *Thirdly*, The worship of God chiefly in the Sacraments: And *Fourthly*, The Government of the Church. If then

then in every one of these Heads, the Church of *England* agrees clearly with the Scriptures, and the Church of *Rome* does either manifestly contradict them, or differs materially from them, in all these points, in which we and they differ; then the Resolution of the Question, Whether a man ought to joyn himself to our Church, or theirs? will be easily made.

For Articles of Faith, if either the Apostles Creed or the Creeds of the First 4. General Councils, contain a just abstract of the Faith; then we who receive every Article in these Creeds, do agree more exactly to the Apostolical Doctrine, than they who have added many new Articles to their Creed.

The chief Article of Faith, is, The Covenant made between God and Man through *Jesus Christ*, by which upon the Account of his Merits and Intercession, all who follow the Rules of the Gospel, may expect the Blessings of it, both here, and hereafter. *Penance to- Acts 20. 21.*
ward God, and Faith towards our Lord *Jesus Christ*, being the conditions upon which we hope for Eternal life. This we plainly teach, without Addition or Change: But in how many things have they departed from this Simplicity of the Gospel? *First*, In teaching People to address to God, for the Merits and by the Intercession of the Saints: From whom these things are asked, for which the Scriptures direct us only to God and Christ. And in the very words pronounced after absolution, *The Merits of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints*, are joined with the passion of Christ; as the grounds on which we obtain pardon of Sin, Grace, and Eternal life. *Secondly*, In perswading People, That a Simple attrition with the use of the Sacraments, without any real conversion of the Soul or change of life, is sufficient to Salvation. *Thirdly*, In perswading People, That
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there is a Communication of the Merits of Saints to other Persons, though the Scriptures mention only the Communication of Christs Merits. *Fourthly*, by Teaching that tho our sins are pardoned thorough Christ; yet, there are terrible and long lasting torments to be endured in another State. *Fifthly*, that saying Masses, and going of Pilgrimages can Redeem from these. Now in all these, the two chief Designs of the Gospel are plainly contradicted: Which be; *First*, To Change our hearts and lives: *Secondly*, To perswade us to a humble Dependance upon Christ, and an high acknowledgment of him: But these Doctrines of theirs as they shew us a way to be sure of Heaven, without a real Conversion; so they take off so much from Faith in Christ as they carry us to trust to somewhat else.

These are Errors of great Importance: Since they corrupt the Fountain, and overthrow the chief design of the Christian Religion. They are also late devices brought in, in the dark and ignorant Ages.

No mention is made of praying to Saints, in any Ancient Liturgie. There is a great deal against it in the most Ancient Authors. And though in the Fourth Century, upon the Conversion of many Heathens to the Christian Faith, to humour them in their conceit, of some Intermedial Agents, between the Divinity and us Mortals, there was a Reverence for the Saints set up, to drive out the worship of those Secondary Deities; yet, this was no direct Adoration, though they then began to use Rhetorical addresses to Saints like prayers: Yet, even in Gregory the Great his time (in the beginning of the Seventh Century) we find no Prayers made to them in all his Liturgies. And for the Belief of a simple Attrition being sufficient with the Sacrament, no body ever dreamed of it, before the Schoolmen found out

out the Distinction, between *Attrition* and *Contrition* in the later Ages. For the Communication of the Merits of Saints, the whole Fathers in one voice, speak only of the Merits of Christ being Communicated to us. The Fryers first invented it, to invite People at least to die in their habits, by perswading them, that all the merits of the Saints of their Order, were shared among the whole Order. And for Redeeming out of Purgatory, the first Four Ages knew nothing of it. In the beginning of the Fifth Century St. *Austin* plainly speaks of it as an Opinion *which some had taken up without any ground, and that it was no way certain, nor could we ever be sure of it.* And though in Gregory the Great's time, the Belief of it was pretty far advanced; yet, the Trade of Redeeming out of it, by saying Masses for Departed Souls was not even then found out.

So that all these are both gross Errors, and late Inventions.

The next Branch of Religion, is the Rule of human life: which one would think could be taken from no other Standard so certainly, as the 10. Commandments: and the Expositions given of these in Scripture, chiefly our Saviours Sermon on the Mount. Let Malice it self appear, to Declare wherein our Church strikes at any of these: or Teaches men to disobey even the least of them. If then our Rule of life be exactly the same; with that which the Scriptures prescribe, we are safe as to this, which may be well called, The most important piece of Religion. For it is to be considered that God making man *after his own Image*, the end of his Creation was, that he might be made like God. The Attributes of God to be Imitated, are Goodness, Mercy, Justice, Wisdom and Truth. And it is certain that the Design of

Revealed Religion was to give men clearer Notions of these Moral perfections, to press them by stronger Arguments, and encourage our Endeavours by suitable Rewards and punishments. So that if any Religion contradict these Moral Duties, we are sure it is false; for the Revelation of God's will must be designed to make us better than we would otherwise be, following barely the Light of Nature, and not worse. If then the Church of *Rome* over-throws Morality, and contradicts any of the Ten Commandments we are sure it is not of God. And how far it has done this, they may judge by these Particulars.

First, Whatever Church offers cheap and easie pardons for sin, does take off so much from our sense of the evil of sin. We cannot have a very ill opinion of any thing that is easily forgiven. Now what are the Popes Pardons, Indulgences, Jubilees, Priviledged Altars, the going of Pilgrimages, the saying of some Collects, the wearing of *Agnus Dei's*, Peebles, or other such like trash, but so many Engines to root out of mens minds any deep horror or great sense of sin. Is not this the very thing which the People of the *Jews* of old offered at, to bring Thousands of Rams, Ten Thousand Rivers of Oyl, their First born, or the fruit of their Body, to offer for their sins? All which were rejected in the name of God in these words, *I will shew thee O man what is good, and what our Lord requireth of thee: Verily to do Judgment, and to love mercy, and to walk solicitous with thy God.* This is a Moral matter and unchangable; therefore whoever go to beat down the sense of sin, by the offer of Pardon, on any other terms, but the sincere change of a mans life, destroy Morallity, which is the Image of God in man. If from this general Consideration we descend to Examine the Commandments in particular, we shall find

find matter enough for a severe Charge against their Church.

Is not the First Commandment broken when Devotions are offered to Saints which Import their being *Omniscient*; *Omnipresent* and *Almighty*; that are the Incommunicable Attributes of the God-head: and when pardon of sin, preservation, Grace against Temptations, and Eternal life, are immediately begged from Saints. It is true, they say the sence of these prayers, is only that we desire their assistance at Gods hands for these blessings. But the words of their Offices import no such matter. And though for above One Hundred and Sixty Years these things have been complained of; and in the Correction of their Offices, some of them were cast out; yet, many of them do still continue: In which the plain sence of the words of their Offices is Idolatrous: Only they make a shift with another and forced sence put on them, to defend themselves from that charge. And for such Devotions they can shew no Warrant for the first Thousand years after Christ.

The *Second* Commandment is so openly and confessedly broken by them, that many of them maintain, it does not all oblige Christians: but belonged only to the Jewish Dispensation. And in all their Catechisms it is left out, which was done very wisely; (with what honesty let them answer) for it was not fit the people should look on that as a Commandment, which they saw so notoriously broken throughout their whole Church: A great trade being also driven by the breach of it. That this was not in the Primitive Church, themselves confess: all the Books the Fathers wrote against the Idolatry of the Heathens, demonstrate this. Nor were Images so much as set up in Churches before the Sixth Century. And then care was taken that they should

should not be worshipped : and not before the Eighth Century were they worshipped in any place of the Christian Church.

The Doctrine of the Popes power of Relaxing of Oaths, and discharging men from the Obligation of them, joyned with the practice of their Popes for above 800 years, is as formal an Opposition to the *Third* Commandment as can be Imagined. This was also begun in the *Eighth* Century.

The vast multiplication of Holy-days, made the Observation of the Lords day of necessity slacken.

They have destroyed the Order of Societies, established in the *Fifth* Commandment ; by the Power they allow the Pope to Depose Princes, and absolve Subjects from their Allegiance.

They teach the murdering and burning all Hereticks, that is to say, all that will not submit to their Tyranny : by which Infinite numbers of Innocent persons have been murdered, against the *Sixth* Commandment. And these two Doctrines of deposing Princes, and putting Hereticks to death, were abhorred by the Church for the first *Eight* ages, and were brought in by the Popes since that time.

The frequent practice of the Court of *Rome*, in granting Divorces, on the pretence either of Spiritual kindred, or of Degrees not forbidden, either by the Law of Nature, or the word of God, and allowing second Marriages to both Parties, upon such Divorces, is an avowed breach of the *Seventh* Commandment.

The setting on, some Princes to Invade other Princes in their just Rights, is the Doctrine, as well as it has been the practice of their Church for some Ages. And as their Popes have wrested many Territories from Temporal Princes, so for many Ages they set on Publick

lick Robbery against the *Eighth* Commandment.

The Doctrine of Equivocating, both taught, and practised, the breaking of safe Conducts, and publick Faith decreed by their General Councils, is also against the *Ninth* Commandment.

For the *Tenth* I shall say nothing of it, because the meaning of it is not so generally agreed on. But thus we see all the Rules of Morality are contradicted by that Church.

It might be justly added to swell up this Charge; that of late there have been Doctrines published to the world by the approved Casuists of that Church, with Licence, which subvert all Justice, destroy all security, and take away the most sacred ties of mankind. By the Doctrines of Probability, and of Ordering the Intention aright, there is no crime how black soever, but a man may adventure on it with a good conscience. These things were long and openly taught amongst them, without any Censure. And when many of the *French* Clergy complained of these at the Court of *Rome* (perhaps more out of spite to the Jesuits, than zeal for the Truth) it was long before these so just Remonstrances, were heard. And in conclusion a trifling Censure was past on them: by which they were declared *Scandalous* (neither Impious, nor Wicked) and all were forbidden to teach them any more, but they stand yet, in the Books formerly published with Licence.

After all these particulars, is it to be wondered at, if the morals of the men of that Church be vitiated, when their Doctrine is so corrupted, for peoples practices are generally worse than their Opinions. And thus the *Second* point is made good, that in our Church, we teach the same Rules of Living that are in the Scriptures, which are grossly corrupted by their Doctrines.

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1 Cor. 14.

The *Third* Branch of the Christian Religion is the Worship of God and that chiefly the use of the Sacraments. For the Worship of God, let it be considered that we pray to God, and praise him only, for all these things about which the Scriptures command us to address to him. Our worship is in a Language that all the people understand, and so are edified by it according to St. *Paul*, who has enlarged so much on this matter, in a whole Chapter, that it is strange, how any who acknowledge the Authority of that Epistle, can deny it. Our Liturgies are such, that the Romanists cannot except to any part of them: Our ceremonies are few, and these be both decent and useful: So that in all the parts of our Worship, we do so exactly agree to the Rule of the Scriptures, and the Primitive Church, that they cannot blame us for any one Rubrick or Collect in it. But for their worship, It is in a Language not understood by the people: who to be sure can receive no Edification, from that they understand not; nor can they say *Amen* to such Devotions. This is as it were in spite to St. *Paul*, who took special care that as long as his Authority was in any esteem in the Church, such an abuse should never creep into it. Nor is there a shadow of Authority for such a practice, from the Primitive Church, in which for many Ages, the Worship was still in the vulgar Tongues.

Next their Worship is so overcharged with many Rites and Ceremonies, that the seriousness of Devotion must needs be much alloyed by them. A great part of the Worship is so whispered, as if they were muttering Spells. Their Books of Exorcisms are the most indecent things that can be: full of Charms and other ridiculous Rites. And for the *Pontifical* and *Ceremonial* of their Church, they may match with Heathenism for Superstition.

tion. Their Offices are so various, and numerous, and the Rubricks seem so full of disorder, that a man may as soon learn a Trade, as know all the several parts of them. How this can be reconciled to the Simplicity of the Gospel, or the Worshipping God in spirit and truth, may be easily judged by those who can compare things.

For the Sacraments, we have the Two that Christ Instituted, Baptism, and the Lords Supper; And for Penance, Confirmation, Ordination and Marriage, we have them also among us, as they were appointed by Christ and his Apostles: though we do not call these Sacraments. For Extream Unction we find no warrant at all for it, as a sacred Ordinance: and we are sure the Church for many Ages did not think of it. For Baptism it is done Mat. 28. 19. among us, in the very Form our Saviour appointed: and this they do not deny. But among them they cannot be assured that they are at all Baptized: since according to the Doctrine of the necessity of the Intention of the Priest, to the Being of a Sacrament, they cannot be assured of it: for an Atheistical Priest can spoil their Baptism, so that unless they can be certain of that, which is impossible for them to know, I mean the Intention of the Priest, they are not sure that they were ever truly Baptized.

But for the Lords Supper, if any person will so far trust his own Reason and senses, as to compare all the Warrants we have in Scripture for that Ordinance, with the Practice of our Church and theirs, they will soon see who agree most to them. *Christ took Bread which* Mat. 26. 26,
he blessed and gave, saying, This is my Body which is 27. 28. ver.
given for you. He also took the Chalice and said, *Drink ye all of it, &c.* All this we doe, and no more, so that it is indeed a *Communion* among us: and those who have read the account that *Justin Martyr* gives us of the Rites in the Communion in his days, would think he were

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reading the very Abstract of our Office. But in the Church of *Rome*, besides the less material things, of the Form of the Bread, the Consecration of Altars and Vessels, with the numberless little devices in the Canon of the Mass, that they seem not of such importance let these considerable changes they have made be looked into.

1. They have brought in the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, against the clearest Evidence both of sense and reason, against the nature of a Sacrament, and its being a Memorial of Christs Death, and that by the very words of Consecration, the Bread and Wine are Christs *Body and Blood*, as the one was *given for us*, and the other *shed for us*, on the Cross: and not as he is now at the Right hand of God. The belief of this crept in by degrees, from the eighth Century, in which it was first set on foot, but much contradicted both in the *Eastern and Western* Church: and was not fully settled till the 13th Century. We are sure it was not the Doctrine of the Churches of *Rome, Constantinople, Asia, Antioch*, nor *Africk* in the 5th and 6th Centuries, by express Testimonies from the most esteemed Authors of that time, *Gelasius, Chrysostom, Ephrem, Theodoret, and St. Austin*.

2. They deny the Chalice to the Laity against the express words of the Institution; and contrary both to the Doctrine and Tradition of the Church for 1300 years.

3. They have declared the Priests saying Mass, to be an Expiatory Sacrifice for the Dead, and the Living, though the Scripture plainly says, *That Christ was once offered for us*. It is true the Primitive Church used the words *Sacrifice* and *Oblation* as our Church yet does, but their meaning by that, was only in the general sense of these terms, as Prayers, Praises, and Alms are called *Sacrifices*.

4. They

4. They have brought in a new piece of Worship, which is the hearing of Mass, without receiving the Sacrament: and it is now the great Devotion of their Church. Though by the Institution, it is as express as can be, that the Consecration is only in order to its being a Communion. And by the Apostolical Canons, which some in their Church believe to be the work of the Apostles, and are by them all acknowledged to be a Collection of the Rites of the first Ages, all persons that were present at the Worship, and did not communicate were to be severely censured.

5. The adoring the Sacrament, the exposing it on the Altar, and carrying it about in solemn Processions, to be worshipped, as they are late Inventions; so if Transubstantiation be not true, they are by their own confession the grossest Idolatries that ever were,

And are not these considerable variations from the first Institution of this Sacrament?

As for their own Sacraments, though there is no reason to equal them, to either of these that were instituted by Christ; yet some of them we use, as they were at first appointed. Persons Baptized, are Confirmed with Imposition of hands, the only Ceremony used by the Apostles.

Acts 8. 17.

We allow the use of Confession, and do press it in many cases; and give the benefit of Absolution: but we do not make this an Engin to screw peoples secrets from them. For which there is no warrant in Scripture; nor was it thought necessary for many Ages after the Apostles. Confession of publick Scandals was enjoyned, and for private sins it was recommended: but this latter was not judged simply necessary for obtaining the pardon of sin. And what noise soever they make of the good that Confession, and the enjoyning of Penance, may do,

if well managed, we need only appeal to some of their own best Writers, now in *France*, whether as they have been practised, they have not rather driven all true Piety out of the world. If these abuses had been only the faults of some Priests, the blame could not have been justly cast on their Church; but when the publick Rules given to Confessors, printed with Licence, are their warrants for so doing, then their Church is in fault. So that nothing is more common among them, than for persons after a confession made of their sins, with a slight sorrow, and some trifling penance undergone, together with the Priestly Absolution, to fancy themselves as clean from all sin, as if they had never offended God. And this being the Doctrin of their Church, it both lessens the sense of sin, and takes men off from making such earnest applications to God through Christ, as the Gospel commands.

Morinus.

For Orders they are among us with the same Rites that Christ and the Apostles gave them first: And a learned Man of their own Church has lately published the most ancient Forms of Ordinations he could find: From which it appears, that all the Ceremonies in their Ordinations, for the want of which they accuse us, were brought in since the eighth Century: so that even by their own Principles these things cannot be necessary to Ordination, otherwise there were no true Orders in the Church for the first eight Ages.

Heb. 13. 4.

For Marriage we honour it as Gods Ordinance; and since the Scriptures declare it *honourable in all*, without exception, we dare deny it to none who desire it. St. *Paul* delivers the Duty of Clergy-men towards their Wives, with Rules for their Wives behaviour, which had been very impertinent if Clergy-men might have no Wives. We find a married Clergy in the first ten Centuries:

1 Tim. 3. 2.
4. 11.

turies : And we know by what base Arts the Cælibate of the Clergy was brought in ; and what horrid ill effects it has produced. Neither do we allow of any devices to hinder Marriage, by degrees of kindred not prohibited in the Law of God, or the trade that was long driven in granting Dispensations in those degrees, and afterwards annulling these, and avoiding the Marriages that followed upon them, upon some pretences of Law.

Thus it appears, how they have corrupted the Doctrine of the Sacraments, together with the Worship of God.

The last head of Religion is *Government* ; and as to this, we can challenge any to see what they can except to us. First in reference to the Civil Power, we declare all are bound for conscience sake to obey every lawful Command of the Supream Authority, and to submit when they cannot obey. We pretend to no Exemption of Clarks from the Civil Jurisdiction, but *give to Caesar the things that are Caesars*. We do not obey the King only because he is of our Religion : much less do we allow of Conspiracies or Rebellions upon our judging him an Heretick, so that we deliver no Doctrin that can be of any ill consequence to the Society we live in.

And for the Ecclesiastical Government we have Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, rightly Ordained, and in their due subordination to one another ; every one administering these Offices due to his Function, which has been the Government of the Christian Church, since the times of the Apostles. So that we have a clear vocation of Pastors among us, from whose hands every person may without scruple receive all the Sacraments of the Church.

But for the Church of *Rome*, how unsafe is the Civil Government among them ? not to mention the Doctrin
of :

of deposing Princes, for which I refer you to my former Letter ; What a security does the Exemption of Clerks from the Civil Courts in cases criminal, give to loose and debauched Church-men ; and what disturbance must this breed to a Common-wealth ? The denying the Civil Magistrate power to make Laws that concern Religion, or oblige Churchmen, takes away a great deal of his Rights ; for scarce any Law can be made but wrangling and ill-natur'd Churchmen, may draw it within some head of Religion. And that this was frequently done in former Ages, all that have read History know. The quarrels that were in the beginning of this Century between the Pope and the Republick of *Venice* were a fresh Evidence of it.

But for the Ecclesiastical Government, they have spoiled it in all the parts of it. The Pope has assumed a power of so vast an extent, and so arbitrary a nature, that all the ancient Canons are thrown out of doors by it. We know that originally the Bishops of *Rome* were looked on by the rest of the Church, as their Colleagues and fellow Bishops. The Dignity of the City made the See more remarkable ; and the belief of *St. Peters* having founded it, with his suffering Martyrdom there, with *St. Paul*, made it much honoured : so that when the Empire became Christian, then the Dignity of the Imperial City made the Bishop of *Rome* be acknowledged the first Patriarch. From this beginning they arose by many degrees to the height of pretending to a Supremacy both Civil and Spiritual : and then they not only received appeals, which was all they at first pretended to, but set up Legatine Courts every where, made the Bishops swear Obedience and Homage to them, and the Arch-Bishops receive the Pall from their hands, in sign of their dependance on them : Exempted Monasteries,
and

and other Clerks from Episcopal Jurisdiction, broke all the Laws of the Church by their Dispensations: So that no shadow of the primitive Government does now remain. And though Gregory the Great wrote with as much indignation against the Title of *Universal Bishop*, as ever any Protestant did; yet his Successors, have since assumed both the Name and thing. And to that height of Insolence, has this risen, that in the Council of *Trent*, all the Papal Party opposed the Decree that was put in, for declaring Bishops to have their Jurisdictions by Divine Right. The Court Party not being ashamed to affirm, that all Jurisdiction was by Divine Right only in the Pope; and in the other Bishops, as the Delegates of the Apostolick See; and they were in this too hard for the other Party. So that now a Bishop, who by the Divine appointment ought to feed the Flock, can do no more in that, then as the Pope gives him leave. The greatest part of the Priests have no dependence on their Bishops. The *Monks, Fryars, and Jesuits*, being immediately subordinate to the Pope; so that they do what they please, knowing they can justify any thing at *Rome*, and they fear no Censure any where else.

From this so many abuses have crept in, and the Canonists have found out, so many devices to make them Legal, that there is no hope of Reforming these at *Rome*. The whole State of Cardinals is one great Corruption, who, from being Originally the Parish Priests of *Rome*, and so under all Bishops, have raised themselves so high that they do now trample on the whole Order; and pretend to an Equality with Princes. The giving Benefices to Children, the unlimited Plurality of Benefices in one Person; the Comendam's, the reserved Pensions, with many other such like, are gross, as well as late Corruptions. And no wonder if all men despair of Reforming

ing the Court of *Rome*, when these abuses are become necessary to it, by which the greatness of the Cardinals and the other Officers, or Ministers there, is kept up.

I need not mention the gross *simony* of that Court, where all the world knows, every thing may be had for money. The Popes themselves, are often Chosen by these Arts: and if their own Rules be true, such Elections, with every thing that follows on them are void. The Infinite Swarms of the Inferiour Clergy, do plainly drive a *Simoniacal* Trade, by the Masses they say for Departed Souls, for Money. And for Publick Pennance, they have Universally let it fall, in stead whereof private Pennance is now in use. And if their own Writers say true, this is made an Engine to serve other ends, when by enjoyning slight and easie Pennances, they draw the People after them; upon which the Jesuites have been loudly accused, these Forty Years last past. In Sum, all the Corruptions or rather defects, that are in the Government of our Church, are only such as they brought in and have not met yet with such effectual remedies, as must cure the Church of these inveterate Distempers, their ill Conduct did cast her into.

If any of that Party will review these Particulars, and so far trust their own Reasons, as to judge according to the plainest Evidence, they cannot resist the conviction that they must needs meet with: when they see the simplicity of our Faith, the Morality of our Doctrine, the Purity of our Worship, and our Primitive Government; and compare it with their vast Superfetation of Articles of Faith, the Immorality of their Rules of living, the Superstition, if not Idolatry of their Worship, and the most extravagant Innovations in Government, that are in the Church of *Rome*.

And indeed these things are so clear that few could
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resist the force of so much plain truth, if it were not for some prejudices, with which they are so fettered that they cannot examine matters with that freedom of mind, that is necessary. Therefore much care must be taken, to clear these, in the most familiar and demonstrative manner that is possible.

They may be reduced to these Five chief Ones. *First*, That the true Church cannot Err. *Secondly*, That out of the true Church there is no salvation. *Thirdly*, That the case of the Church of *Rome* is much safer than ours is; since the Church of *England* acknowledges a possibility of salvation in the Church of *Rome*; which they on the other hand deny to the Church of *England*. *Fourthly*, That unless there be a Supreme Judg set up, we can be sure of nothing in Religion, but must fall into many Factions and Parties. And *Fifthly*, That the Reformation was but a Novelty begun in the former Age, and carried on in this Nation, out of an ill design; and managed with much Sacrilege.

The First of these seemed necessary to be cleared in the beginning of this Discourse, and I am deceived if it was not done convincingly. And for the second we agree to it, That out of the true Church there is no Salvation.

But then the Question comes, What makes one a Member of the true Church? The Scriptures call the Church the *Body of Christ*, of which he is the *Head*. Eph. i. 22, 23. So then whoever are joined to Christ according to the Gospel, must be within the true Church. But the deceit that lies hid under this, is, That from hence they fancy that the Unity of the Church, does consist in an outward Communion with the See of *Rome*. And upon that they calculate, that there must be an Unity in the Body of the Church: And that cannot be, except all be joined to the See of *Rome*. Now, we grant there is
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but one Church, but this Unity consists not in an Outward Communion, though that is much to be desired, but consists in an Unity of Belief, about the essentials of Christianity.

There is nothing more evident, than, that even according to their own Principles, other Churches are not bound upon the hazard of Damnation to hold Communion with the See of *Rome*; for it is not an Article of Faith, nor certain according to their own Doctrine, That the Pope is Infallible: And except that were certain, we cannot be obliged to hold Communion under such a Sanction with that See. For if it be possible that a Pope may become an Heretick or Schismatick (which many of them confess, and all agree that the contrary is not of Faith,) then other Churches are not in that case obliged to hold Communion with that See. If therefore the possibility of Error in that See be acknowledged, then holding Communion with it, cannot be the measure of the Unity of the Church. So we bring it to this Issue, It is not Heresie to say, The Pope may Err: Therefore this is no just prejudice against our Church, because we have departed from Communion with him, when he imposed his Errors on us. So all the high things they boast of that See, come to nothing, except they say, This Proposition is of Faith, *That the Pope is Infallible*. And for these Meetings that they call General Councils; they were at best but the Councils of the *Western* Patriarchate artificially packt, and managed with much Art; as appears even from Cardinal *Pallavicini's* History of the Council of *Trent*.

For the Third Prejudice, It is the most disingenuous thing that can be; Because our Church is charitable, and modest in her Censures, and theirs is uncharitable, and cruel in her Judgments; therefore to conclude, That Com-
munion

munion with them is safer, than with us. If confidence, and Presumption, Noise, and Arrogance, are the marks to judge a Church by, we must yield to them in these : but if Truth, and Peace, Charity and holy Doctrines, be the better Standards, then we are as sure, that our Communion is much safer. Let this Rule be applied to the other concerns of human life, and it will appear how ridiculous an abuse it is to take measures from so false a Standard. If a man were sick, the Question comes, Whether he shall use an approved Physitian, or a Montebank. On the one hand, the Montebank says, He will certainly cure him, and the Doctors will undoubtedly kill him. On the other hand, the Doctor modestly says, he will undertake nothing, but will do the best he can ; and for the Montebank he tells him, It is very dangerous to trust to him, though he will not deny but sometimes great cures are done by them. The Insolence of the Montebank will never carry it against a Doctors modesty, but among weak and credulous People ; and such must they also be, who are taken with this Montebankry in Religion.

But if this be taken to pieces, the folly of it will yet appear more manifest. For *First*, the reason we give for a possibility of Salvation in the Church of *Rome*. is, because we look on such and such things as the Essentials of Christianity, which are yet retained in that Church : And either this Reasoning is true or false. If it be true, then it is as true, that we may be saved, who retain these Essentials of Christianity : If it is false, then no Inference can be drawn from it. *Secondly*, Though we yield a possibility of Salvation in that Church, we declare that they are in great danger, by many opinions among them, which if fully understood and believed, do even vitiate the Essentials of Christianity ; parti-

cularly that Foundation of Religion, The Covenant between God and Man thorough Christ, formerly insisted on. So that we declaring a Certainty of Salvation to those who sincerely follow the rules of our Church, and a great danger in their Church, the preferring their Communion to ours, upon this account, is, as unreasonable, as to sleep without shutting our Doors, because it is possible we shall not be robbed, in so doing : Or when we are at Sea to prefer a Cock-boat to a good clean Ship. These are such absurdities, that an ordinary measure of weakness cannot swallow them down. *Thirdly*, We are not so forward as they imagine in yielding a possibility of Salvation in their Church. For our concession amounts rather to this, that we do not deny it, than that we positively affirm it : And therefore they have no reason to draw these advantages from it.

4. A great difference is to be made between what God in the Infiniteness of his mercy may do, and what he is bound to by the Covenant made with man in the Gospel ; for the former we acknowledg, it is impossible to fix the limits of that mercy which is as far above our thoughts, as the Heavens are above the Earth. And how far it extends to all sincere minds, we are not so presumptuous as to define ; therefore we will not Damn at pleasure, as they do but we do assert, Their Church is guilty of such gross Corruptions, by which the vitals of Religion are vitiated, that they have not that reason to claim the Mercies of the Gospel due by that Covenant.

5. The Church of *Rome* has a dark and fair side ; the dark side is, what the true consequence of their Opinions is, the fair side is, what some witty men have devised to palliate these corruptions with, and to deceive the Vulgar by. We know many of that Communion, either

ther do not at all know these corrupt Doctrines, or have such a fair representation made of them, that they are thereby both more easily and more innocently misled. From hence it is that we are inclined to hope more charitably concerning some, that are abused by them. But for those that have examined things more fully, or that having been bred among us, yet reject the Truth, and go over to them, we are not so much enclined to have so good hopes of them, as they imagine : So this is a weak and ill grounded conceit in all the parts of it.

The Fourth Prejudice, is concerning the necessity of Submitting to some Common Judg; of distrusting our own reasons, and believing the Church, without which there must be many Sects and Divisions : and this they aggravate from the many different Parties that are among us.

But these are only specious pretences to deceive weak people by. For First, If it is necessary that there be a Common Judg, it is most necessary that it be known, who this Judg is, otherwise it is to no purpose to talk of a Judge, if they cannot point him out. This is like him that came to discover a huge Treasure that he knew was hid under ground ; but being asked in what place it was ? he answered he did not know that : and he believed no body else knew. Some say the *Pope* is the Judge, others as confidently, that the Council is Judge even without the Pope, others think it is sure work to say, the Pope and Council together : and others say the Body of the Church spread over the World.

For the Popes, some of them have been condemned for Heresie, and others for making Schism ; many of them have been most horrid men : they are generally ignorant in Divinity, being for most part bred to the
Law.

Law : so that a great part of their own Church rejects the Popes Infallibility.

For Councils, they have had none these 115 years, and the last was so over-ruled by the Popes , that no other has been desired since : so that if either a Council without the Pope , or with him, be the Infallible Judge they have lost their infallibility ; and except a Council were constantly sitting, they can shew no living and speaking Judg. So that either this is not necessary to a Church, or otherwise they are not a compleat Church. And for the Body of the Church, how shall a man find out their sense, unless gathered together in some Assembly ? or must a Man go over Christendome, and gather the Suffrages of all the Pastors of the Church ? Upon the whole matter it is plain that after all their Canting about the Church, they must say, that it is of Faith that the Pope is Infallible, otherwise they have no Infallible Judg, and since a Council cannot be called but by the Pope, what ever Authority the Council has it can never be exercised, but by the Popes leave.

And for all the sad consequences they say, follow the want of a Common infallible Judg, it appears they are under them as well as we ; but with this difference, that we plainly acknowledg, we have none, but do the best we can without one : But they, as they have none, no more than we, yet are under the Tyranny of one, and though they are not bound to believe him Infallible, yet are as much enslaved to him, and obliged to obey him, as if he were really exempted from all possibility of Erring. So that in short, they are slaves and we are freemen. And for these ill consequences, they are, we confess, unavoidable ; for which we have very good Authority, from his words, who on all sides is acknowledged to be Infallible

fallible, that said, *Wo be to the World for scandals, for* Matt. 18.7. *it is necessary that scandals do come.*

But to discuss this Objection, which works much on ignorant people, let it be considered that sin and Error are the two things, that do chiefly cross the design of the Gospel: and of these two, sin, is the more dangerous and destructive: since there is great reason to hope that Error cannot be so fatal, when it infects a mind that is otherwise sincere, as Sin, which clearly defaces the Image of God in the Soul. We ought not therefore to expect that the Gospel, should give any further security against Error, than it gives against Sin: On the contrary we should rather expect a further security from Sin, because it is most hurtful. But all the Provision made against Sin, is this, that in the Scriptures we are warned of the evil of it, and are directed to such methods, and have the promises of such Assistance, that if we use our endeavour, we shall not be overcome by sin, nor perish in it: So as to Error, we have the same security. The Gospel affords us a very clear light for directing our Belief in the most important things, which if we study with due humility, and sincerity, imploring God for the grace of his holy Spirit, for our instruction, we shall be preserved from Error. And thus the same provision is made against Error, that is against Sin. And we have no reason to expect more. And as it were not fit, that Salvation should be offered without obliging men to use their utmost endeavours, so it were not fit to give such an easie Remedy against Error, as that a man should not need to employ his reason to discover Truth, and avoid Mistakes. *If our Gospel be also hid, it is hid in them that* 2 Cor. 3.3. *perish.* Therefore that our Searches after Truth, may be both encouraged and rewarded, God sets it before us
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in such a Light, that it is our own fault if we do not see and follow it. But if men will either blindly give themselves up, to the conduct of such Guides, whose interest it is to mislead them, which is the case of the Church of *Rome*; or out of humour, or other base ends, will invent or follow some erroneous Tenets, as other Hereticks do, they have themselves to blame; and shall bear their own Iniquity: but they have no reason to cast the fault upon God, or accuse the Scriptures, of Darkness, or Defectiveness, in these things that are necessary to Salvation.

I come now to the last Prejudice, which will require a fuller Discussion, because it relates to matter of Fact: which as it is better understood, so it makes deeper Impressions on people, that are not so much wrought on by speculative points, as by these things that fall under their senses.

They first except to the Novelty of our Reformation, and always insult with this Question, *Where was your Religion before Luther?* To this, these things are to be opposed. *First*, we turn back the Question, and ask them where was their Religion the first six hundred years after Christ? Where was the Worship of Images, the Doctrine of the Corporal Presence, of Redeeming out of Purgatory, of Deposing Princes, and of the Worshipping Saints, before the Eighth Century? If the Reformation be now to be condemned, because of its Novelty, these things were then to be as much condemned, because they were then Novelties.

Secondly. If the Reformation had brought in any new Doctrine, its Novelty were indeed a just Prejudice against it: but it was only the throwing out of these Corruptions which had been brought in, in some dark and Ignorant Ages.

Thirdly,

Thirdly. The Doctrine of the Reformed Church, is no other than what Christ and his Apostles taught; and what the Church believed for many Ages after them. And as to the Positive part of it, it has been still held by the Church of *Rome*, and is yet acknowledged by them: but with so many Additions, that there was a Necessity of Reforming these: And this is often to be inculcated in them, that there is no Article of Faith, nor any other material point of Religion, among us that is condemned by the Church of *Rome*. They only blame us because we do not in many other points believe as they do: and this we ought not to do, unless we could see an equal Authority binding us to all alike.

Another Exception is, that in the Reformation we made a Schism, and broke the Unity of the Church, whereas if there had been any things amiss in the Church, they say the Reformers should have endeavoured to remove them, without tearing the Body of Christ in pieces.

But in answer to this, we acknowledg if the things complained of, could have been continued without sin, they ought not to have departed from the Communion of other Churches: but when the publick Liturgies and the Worship was found to be full of such Corruptions, that without Idolatry and Superstition, they could be no longer kept up, then it was not time to stay for the leisure of their Neighbouring Churches.

Yet if there had been any probable hopes, that the See of *Rome*, would have concurred in such a Reformation, it had been worth staying for, as long, as was possible. But when it was on the contrary, apparent, that all the most just Remonstrances made to that Court, were answered at best with delays and Excuses, if not with Excommunications and other censures; they had

no reason to expect any concurrence from thence. So the case being thus put, that they discovered such Corruptions in the Worship of God, with which they could not comply any longer; either they were obliged to Worship God against their Consciences, or to lay aside all publick Worship, or else to cast out these Corruptions by a Reformation. Let any man of good reason judge, whether the last of these was not to be chosen?

There was no Obligation lying on this Church to wait for the pleasure of the Court of *Rome*, or our neighbouring Churches in this matter. We are a free and Independent Church: we owe a charitable and neighbourly Correspondence to forreign Churches; but we are subject to none of them. And according to the expresse Decision of one of the first General Councils, in the like case, we were no way subordinate to the See of *Rome*, even as it was the Patriarchate of the West. Themselves do confess that it is no Heresie to say, That See is fallible: and therefore we were not obliged to dance attendance at that Court, when we discovered the Corruptions, with which it had deceived the World; but might in our National or Provincial Synods at home, examine and Reform whatever errors were among us. And the multitude of those who held these errors, could be no just ground for delaying any advances towards a Reformation; no more than in the ancient Church, the Orthodox Bishops when chosen into a See corrupted with Arrianism, were obliged because that Contagion was generally spread, to make no attempts toward Reformation.

They Except further, That the Reformation was begun here by a vitious Prince, King *Henry* the Eighth,
who

who partly out of revenge, because the Pope would not grant his desire about the Divorce of his Queen, and partly to enrich himself and his Courtiers with the sale of Abbey-lands did suffer these Doctrins first to take head here: and therefore they can have no good opinion of any thing that came from so wicked a man, and upon such ill motives.

If this be a good Argument against the Reformation, it was as good against Christianity upon *Constantine's* turning Christian; for the Heathen Writers represent him with as black a character as they can do King *Henry*. But we must not think ill of every thing that is done by a bad man, and upon an ill Principle: Otherwise if we had lived in *Jehu's* days, the same Plea would have been as strong, for keeping up the Idolatry of *Baal*: since *Jehu* had in a very unsincere manner destroyed it: and yet God rewarded him for what he had done.

But whatever might have been King *Henry's* secret motives, his proceedings were regular and justifiable. He found himself married to her that had been his own Brothers Wife, contrary to the express words of the Law of God. The Popes Legat, and his own Confessor and all the Bishops of *England* (except one) thought his scruples were well grounded. Upon which according to the superstition of that time, he made his applications to the Court of *Rome* for a Divorce: which were at first well received, and a Bull was granted. Afterwards some defects being found in that, a more ample one was desired, which was also granted: and Legats were appointed to try the matter. But the Pope soon after turned over to the Emperors Party, whose Aunt the Queen was: and was thereupon prevailed with, to recal the Legats Commission, destroy the Bull, and cite the King

to appear at *Rome*, where all things and persons were at the Emperors devotion. Upon all this, the King did expostulate with the Pope, that either his business was just, or unjust: if it was just why did he recall what he had granted, and put him off with such delays. If it was not just, why did he at first grant the Bull for the Divorce. This was unanswerable, but the Pope did still feed him with false hopes, yet would do nothing. Upon which he consulted the chief Universities, and the most learned men in Christendom, about his Marriage. Twelve famous Universities, and above an hundred learned Doctors, did declare under their hands and Seals (some writing larger Treatises about it) that his Marriage was against the Law of God. And that in that case the Popes Dispensation, which had allowed the Marriage, was void of it self. So after the King had been kept in suspense from *December 1527* till *February 1534*. above six years, he set his Divines to examin what authority the Pope had in *England*, either by the Law of God, or the practice of the Primitive Church, or the Law of the Land, and after a long and accurate search, they found He had no authority at all in *England*, neither by the Laws of God, of the Church, nor of the Land: so this Decision was not made rashly, nor of a sudden.

The Popes Authority being thus cast off, it was Natural in the next place to Consider, what Doctrines were then held in *England*, upon no other grounds than Papal Decrees. For it was absurd to reject the Popes power; and yet to retain these Opinions, which had no better Foundation than his Authority. Upon this many of the things, which had been for some Ages received in the Church of *Rome*, fell under debate: And, a great many

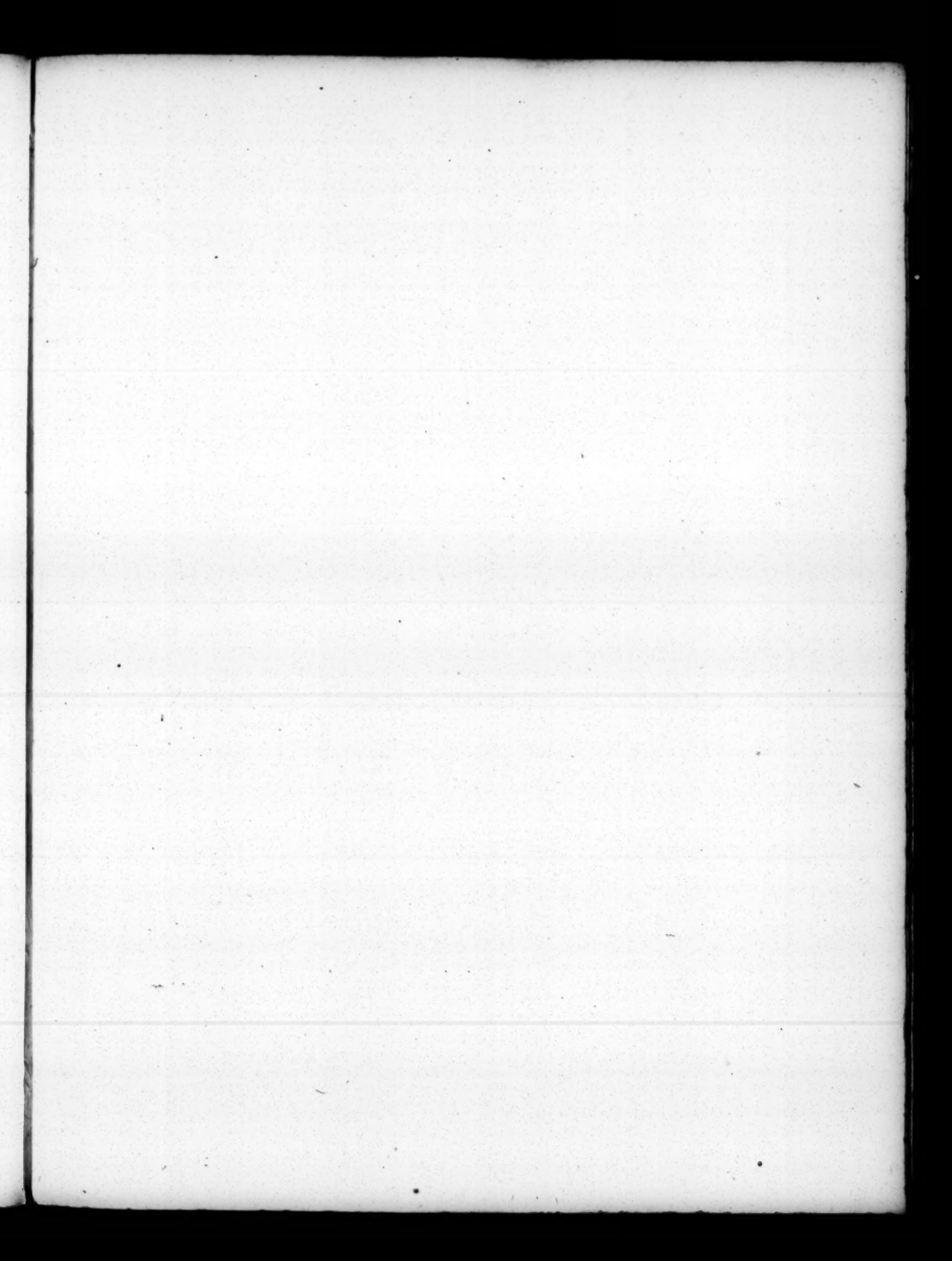
many particulars were reformed. Yet, that King was so leavened with the Old Superstition, that the progress of the Reformation, was but slow during his Reign. But it was carried on to a further perfection, under King *Edward*, and Queen *Elizabeth*. In all their Methods of proceeding, there is nothing that can be reasonably censured: if it be confessed that the Pope is not Infallible, and the whole Church of *Rome*, acknowledges that it is no Heresie to deny his Infallibility.

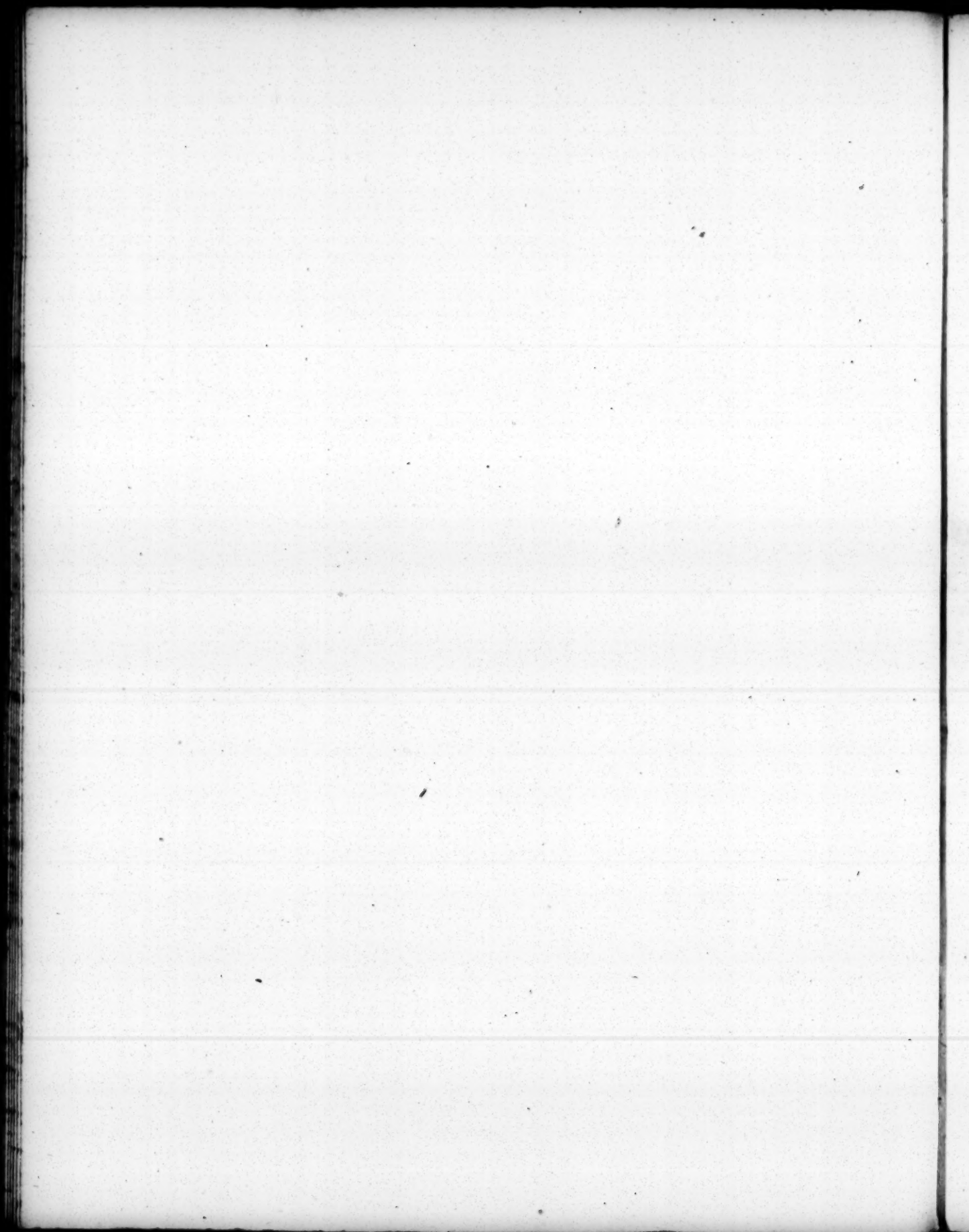
And for the Sale of the Abby-lands, they only spoiled the spoilers. For the *Monks*, and *Fryers*, had put these publick cheats on the Nation, of Redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, going on Pilgrimages, with the worship of Saints, and Images, which were infused in the vulgar, by many lying Stories, pretended Apparitions, the false shew of Miracles, with other such like Arts. And the credulous and superstitious Multitudes were thereby wrought on, to endow these Houses with their best Lands, and adorn their Churches with their Plate and richest Furniture. It was not to be expected that when their Impostures were discovered, they should enjoy the spoil they had made by them: nor was it for the publick interest of the Nation, to give such encouragement to idleness, as the converting all these Houses to Foundations for an unactive life would have been. Many of them were applied to good Uses, Bishopricks, Cathedral and Collegiat Churches, Hospitals, and free Schools: And more of them ought indeed to have been converted to these ends. But the excesses of King *Henry*, and his Courtiers must not be charged on the Reformers; who did all they could to hinder them.

And

And thus all these prejudices with which the Vulgar are misled, appear to be very unjust, and ill grounded. In conclusion, If by these or such-like considerations, any that are now of that Communion, can be brought to mind Religion in earnest, considering it, as a Design to save their Souls, by making them truly pure and holy; and so reconciling them to God through Christ: And if they will examine Matters without Partiality, seeking the truth and resolving to follow it, wherever they find it; and joyn with their Enquiries, earnest Prayers to God, *the Father of lights*, to open their eyes, and grant them his Holy Spirit, to lead them into all truth; there is little doubt to be made, but the great Evidence that is in Truth, will in due time appear so clear to them as to dissipate all these mists, which Education, implicate Faith, and Superstition have raised, by which they have hitherto darkened.

F I N I S.





A
RELATION
Of the *Barbarous and Bloody*
MASSACRE
Of about an hundred thousand
PROTESTANTS,

B E G U N
At PARIS, and carried on over
all FRANCE by the PAPISTS,
in the Year 1572.

Collected out of *Mezeray, Thuanus,*
and other approved Authors.

L O N D O N, Printed for Richard Chiswel, at the
Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1678.



*A Relation of the Massacre of the
Protestants, begun in Paris, and
carried on over all France, in the
Year 1572.*

THere are no Principles of Morality more universally received, and that make deeper impressions on the minds of all Men, that are more necessary for the good of humane Society, and do more resemble the Divine Perfections, than Truth and Goodness: So that if our Saviour denounced a Woe against those who teach Men to break the least of his Commandments, what may they look for, who design to subvert these that may be justly called the greatest of them?

That the Church of *Rome* teaches Barbarity and Cruelty, against all who receive not their Opinions; and that Hereticks are to be delivered to secular Princes, who must burn them without mercy; or if they have either Bowels or Conscience, so that they will not be the Instruments of their Cruelty, that they shall lose their Kingdoms or Dominions, is known to all that have read the Decrees of the 4th Council in the *Lateran*. The violation of Publick Faith, was also decreed by another of their General Councils at *Constance*; in which, notwithstanding the safe conduct that *Sigismund* had granted to *John Husse* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, care was not only taken that they should be burnt; but they made it a standing Rule for the time to come, That tho Hereticks came to the

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place of Judgment, trusting to their safe conduct, and would not have come without it ; yet the Prince who granted it, was under no Obligation by it, but the Church might proceed to Censures and Punishment. By these Decrees, Cruelty and Treachery are become a part of their Doctrine, and they may join them to their Creed, upon as good Reasons as they can shew for many of their other Additions.

The Nature of Man is not yet sunk so low, as easily to hear these things without horror: therefore it is fit they should be kept among the Secrets of their Religion, till a fit opportunity appear, in which they may serve a turn: and then we need not doubt but they will be made use of. If any will be so charitable to their Church, as not easily to believe this, the History of the *Parisian Massacre* may satisfy them to the full: which *Thuanus* says, was a Pitch of Barbarity beyond any thing that former Ages had ever seen: And if the *Irish Massacre*, flowing from the same Spirit, and the same Principles, had not gone beyond it, we might have reasonably concluded, that it could never be matched again. But we may be taught from such Precedents, what we ought to expect, when ever we are at the mercy of Persons of that Religion, who, if they be true Sons of the Church of *Rome*, must renounce both Faith and Mercy to all Hereticks.

I shall give the Relation of this Massacre from that celebrated late Writer of the French History, Mr. *de Mezeray*, only adding some Passages out of *Thuanus*, *Davila*, and others, where he is defective.

But I shall premise a short representation of the Civil Wars of *France*, which are made use of as the Arguments for justifying that Cruelty, and by which they do still blemish the Protestant Religion, as teaching Rebellion against Princes.

During

During the Reign of *Francis* the 1st, and *Henry* the 2^d, the Protestant Religion got great footing in *France*; the usual severities of the Church of *Rome* were then employed to extirpate it; yet tho their Numbers were very great, and the Persecution most severe, they made no resistance. But upon the death of *Henry* the 2^d, *Catherine de Medici*, the Queen Mother, with the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Duke of *Guise*, took the Government in their Hands; pretending that the King (*Francis* the 2^d) was of Age, being then sixteen. The Princes of the Blood on the other hand alleadged, That the Kingdom ought to be under a Regency till the King was at least 22 Years of Age: Since *Charles* the 6th had been admitted at that Age to the Government, as a particular mark of their esteem of him: So that tho the Age of Majority was at 25 Years, and that was a singular exception from a general Rule, yet at furthest, it shewed that the King could not assume the Government before he was two and twenty.

Thuanus.

The abstract of the Books written upon the Head, is in the Voluminous but Anonymous History of these Wars, printed at Paris, An. 1581.

It was also an undoubted Right of the Princes of the Blood to hold the Regency, during the Minority of their Kings: and to administer it, by the Direction of the Parliaments, and the Assembly of the States. Upon these Points, many things were written on both sides. The Princes of the Blood pretended, they were excluded from the Government, against Law, and upon that were projecting how to possess themselves of the Power; which, with the Person of the King, were violently kept from them. But the Prince of *Conde* being advised to it, by *Coligny* then Admiral of *France*, did also declare for mitigating the Severities against the Protestants. This being the Case, that the Point was truly disputable, no Man can blame the Protestants for joining with their Friends against their Enemies. And yet this Plot

Thuanus,
lib. 16.

*Thuanus.
Mezeray.*

Plot was driven no further, than an endeavour to take the King out of the Hands of his Mother, and the Brothers of *Lorraine*, who were all Foreigners. The chief Promoter of it was a Papist, *Renaudy*, and it was discovered by *Avennelles*; who tho he was most firm to his Religion, being a Protestant, yet having an aversion to all Plots, revealed it out of scruple of Conscience.

Soon after this Discovery, *Francis* the 2^d died; and his Brother that succeeded him, *Charles* the 9th was without dispute under Age, he not being then full eleven years old. And according to the resolution of many great Lawyers, in the case of his Brother, the Kingdom ought to have been under a Regency, during all the Wars that preceded the Massacre, for he was then but two and twenty. At first it was agreed to, that the King of *Navarre*, as the first Prince of the Blood, ought to be Regent; but he being wrought on, by the Queen Mother and her Party, and drawn over to them, the Lawyers were again set to examine, How far the Power of the Regent did extend: Many published their Opinions, That the other Princes of the Blood ought to have their share in the Regency, and that the Regents might be checkt by the Courts of Parliaments, and were subject to an Assembly of the States.

The chief Point of State, then under Consideration, was, What way to proceed with the Protestants, whose Numbers grew daily, and were now more considerable, having such powerful Heads. A severe Edict came out against them in *July* 1561, condemning all Meetings for Religious Worship, except those that were celebrated with the Rites of the Church of *Rome*, banishing all the Protestant Ministers, and appointing the Bishops to proceed against *Hereticks*; with this only mitigation of former Cruelties, That Banishment should be the highest Punishment.

ment. But the Nation could not bear the Execution of this : So next *January* there was a great Assembly called of the Princes of the Blood, the Privy Counsellors, and eight Courts of Parliament, in which the Edict that carried the name of the Month, was passed. By it, the free exercise of that Religion was tolerated, and the Magistrates were required to punish all who should hinder or interrupt it.

Not long after that, the Duke of *Guise* did disturb a Meeting of Protestants at *Vassy*, as he was on his Journey to *Paris*; his Servants began with reproachful words, and from these they went to blows. It ended in a throwing of Stones, one of which hurt the Duke; but that was severely revenged, about 60 were killed, and 200 wounded, no Age or Sex being spared. Upon this he encouraged the violation of the Edict every where; so that it was universally broken. The King of *Navarre* joined with him in these Courses; but the Prince of *Conde*, that was next to him in the Royal Blood, declared for the Edicts : Many great Lawyers were of opinion, That the Regents Power was not so vast as to suspend, or break the Edict, and that therefore the People might follow any Person, much more the next Prince of the Blood, in defence of it. This Plea was yet stronger, before the Year ended, for the King of *Navarre* being killed, the Prince of *Conde* was then by the Law of *France* the Rightful Regent : So that all the Wars that followed afterwards, till the Year 1570, had this to be said for them, That in the Opinion of very Learned Men, the King was all that while under Age, that the Edicts were broken, the Kingdom governed by a Woman, and Foreigners, against Law, and that the lawful Regent was excluded from the Government; which made King *James*, whose Judgment is not to be suspected in this Case, always

ways justify the Protestants in *France*, and excuse them from Rebellion.

This is a piece of History little understood, and generally made use of to blemish the Reformation; therefore I thought it necessary to introduce the following Relation, with this just account of these Wars, that were the pretended grounds with which the House of *Guise* covered their own Ambition, and hatred of the Family of *Burbon*.

After *France* had suffered all the Miseries which a course of Civil Wars, for ten years together, carries after it, the King was advised to set on foot a Treaty of Peace; not so much out of a design to quiet Matters by a happy settlement, as to ensnare the Protestants into some fatal Trap, in which they being caught, might be safely and easily destroyed. The chief Authors of this advice, were the Queen Mother, the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the Count of *Rets*, and *Birague*; the last three were *Italians*, and so better fitted both for designing and carrying on so wicked a Council, to which the Duke of *Anjou*, afterwards *Henry* the third, was also admitted.

“ They said the extirpation of Heresy might be done
 “ much cheaper than by a Civil War. It was fit first to
 “ grant the Protestants what conditions they desired, then
 “ to treat them with all possible kindness; by which their
 “ Jealousies were to be once extinguished; and a confidence being begotten in them; then to draw the chief
 “ Heads of the Party to Court, upon some specious At-
 “ tractive, and there they were sure of them. The first
 “ Bait to be offered, was the marriage of the King’s Sister
 “ to the King of *Navarre*, and if that succeeded not, they
 “ were to invent still a new one, till they found that
 “ which would do the Business. All the danger of this
 “ Coun-

" Council was, that the Pope and the King of *Spain* would
 " be much provok'd by it ; and there might be some ha-
 " zard of Tumults, among the zealous People of *France*,
 " if the King seemed to favour the Hereticks too much.
 " But they reckoned, that when the Design took effect,
 " all who might be discontented with the appearance of
 " favour shewed to them, would be well satisfied, and the
 " more the *Pope* and *Spaniard* complained of it, it would
 " advance their chief end, of creating a confidence in the
 " Protestants more effectually. Thus were their Coun-
 cils laid. The Room in which this was first projected,
 was the Council-Chamber of *Blois*, where 16 Years after Thuanus
 the Duke of *Guise* was killed, by *Henry* the third's orders. lib. 49.
 And it was more fully concluded in that Chamber at
St. Clou, where the same *Henry* the third was murdered
 by a Dominican.

The Design being agreed on, the Queen-Mother made
 some of her Spies, among the Protestants, assure them,
 that she hated the King of *Spain* mortally, both on her
 Daughter's account, that was his Queen, and as was uni-
 versally believed, had been poysoned by his Orders ; as
 also upon the consideration of her own Family of *Flo-*
rence, to which the *Spaniard* was then an uneasy Neigh-
 bour : and designed to take the Territory of *Siena* out of
 their Hands. It was reasonable enough to believe, that
 upon such Motives, a Woman of her temper would set
 on a War with *Spain*. The King did also express a great
 inclination to the same War, and to undertake the Pro-
 tection of the *Netherlands*, which were then under the
 Tyranny of the Duke of *Alva*'s Government. This wan-
 ted not a fair pretence, *Flanders* having been formerly
 subject to the Crown of *France*. He also seemed weary
 of the greatness of the Duke of *Guise* and his party, which
 a Civil War did still encrease.

The King and the Queen-Mother employed also in these Messages, *Biron*, *Momorancy*, *Cosse* and others, who were Men of great Integrity, and had much Friendship for the Queen of *Navarre* and the Admiral, that were the Heads of the Protestant Party. The Queen of *Navarre* was sensible of the great advantages her Son would receive from such an Alliance. An Army was also promised her, for the recovery of her Kingdom from the *Spaniards*; which had been easily regained, if the Crown of *France* had assisted her; since the Southern Parts of *France* were almost all Protestants, who would have willingly served her against *Spain*. Only she being a most Religious Woman, had great apprehensions of the unlawfulness, at least the extream danger of matching her Son to one of a different Religion; therefore she took some time to consider of that part of the Proposition. The Admiral was very weary of the Civil War, it both ruined his Country, and slackened the discipline of War, which he had formerly observed with a *Roman* Severity.

He thought the Conquest of the *Netherlands* would be an easy and a great accession to the Crown; he knew there was none so likely to be employed in it as himself, and he was resolved to carry all the Souldiers of the Religion with him. And being Admiral, he also designed to raise the greatness of the Crown both at Sea, and in the new-found World, which was then sending over an incredible deal of Wealth to *Spain*; in which the *Spaniards* who had landed in *Florida*, and killed a Colony of the *French*, that was settled there, had given just cause to make War upon them. Therefore as he had often expressed his being so averse to a Civil War, that he could no longer look on and see the Miseries it brought on his Country; so he was made believe the King did in good earnest intend to assist the *Flemings*, which being both
against

against the *Spaniard*, and in defence of those of the same Religion, he would by no means hinder.

Upon these Considerations, there was a Peace concluded between the King and the Protestants, by which the free exercise of their Religion was granted: some Cautionary Towns were also put in their Hands, to be kept by them two Years, till there were a full settlement made of the Edicts, and the other things agreed to, for their Security. The King acted his part with all the Artifice possible, he became much kinder to the Family of *Momorancy* and the rest of the Admirals Friends, and seemed to neglect those of *Lorrain*. He threatned the Parliament of *Paris*, because they made some difficulty in passing the Edict in favours of the Protestants. He went secretly to meet with *Lewis* Count of *Nassaw*, and treated with him about the Wars of the *Netherlands*. He married the Emperor's Daughter, who was thought a Protestant in his Heart. He entred in a Confederacy with *Q. Elizabeth*: and the Cardinal of *Chastilion* (the Admiral's Brother, who had renounced his red Hat, and turned a Protestant) being then in *England*, was employed to set on foot a Treaty of Marriage between the Duke of *Anjou* and the Queen: A Peace was also made with the Princes of the Empire. And tho both the *Spanish* Ambassador and the Legat did all they could to hinder the Peace, and the Marriage of the King of *Navarre*, yet they seemed to make no account of that at Court: Only the King gave the Legat great assurances of his Fidelity to the Apostolick See, and that all that he was doing, was for the interest of the Catholick Religion. And taking him one day by the Hand: "He desired him to assure the
" Pope, that his design in this Marriage, was that he might
" be revenged on those that were Enemies to God, and
" Rebels against himself, and that he would either punish
" them

*Caten. vita d.
Pio Quinto.*

“ them severely, and cut them all in pieces, or lose his
 “ Crown. All which he would do in compliance with
 “ the Advices he had received from the Pope, who had
 “ continually set him on to destroy them ; and he saw no
 “ way of doing it so securely, as by getting them once to
 “ trust him, having tried all other methods in vain. And
 for a pledg of his Faith, he offered him a Ring of great
 value ; which the Legat refused to take, pretending that
 he never took Presents from any Prince, and that the
 Word of so great a King, was a better security than any
 Pledg whatsoever.

Upon all these demonstrations of Friendship made to
 the Protestants, it was no wonder if Persons of such
 Candor, as the Queen of *Navarre*, and the Admiral, were
 deceived. The Admiral went first to Court, where he
 was received by the King with the greatest shew of
 kindness and respect that was possible. He embraced him
 thrice, laid his Cheek to his, squeezing his Hands, called
 him *Father*, and left nothing undone that might possess
 him with a firm Opinion of his Friendship. Nor was
 the Queen-Mother less officious to express her kindness
 to him. He was allowed to keep fifty armed Gentlemen
 about him. An hundred thousand *Franks* were sent
 him, for furnishing his Houses that had been spoiled du-
 ring the Wars. And which was more than all the rest,
 when Complaints were carried by him to the King, of
 some who violated the Edict, great Insolencies being
 committed in many places ; the King ordered them to
 be exemplarily punished. So that there was a general
 repining over all *France*, at the King's kindness to him.
 The King had also told him, that now he had got him
 near him, he would never suffer him to leave him any
 more.

The Design succeeding so well on the Admiral, the
 Pro-

Proposition of the Marriage was also carried on; and the Queen of *Navarre* was next brought to Court, but soon after died (as was generally believed) of Poison, that was given her in some perfumed Gloves; to conceal which, the Chirurgeons that opened her, would not touch her Head, but pretended she died of an Imposthume in her side. The Cardinal of *Chastilion* was also at that time poisoned, which tho afterwards confessed by him that had done it, yet was not then so much as suspected.

The King seemed more and more set on the War in *Flanders*. He sent both to *England*, and *Germany*, to consult about the Preparations for it, and had agreed with the Prince of *Orange*, about the Division of the *Netherlands*: That all on their side of *Antwerp* should come to the Crown of *France*: And what lay on the other side of it should belong to the *States*. He sent a Protestant his Ambassadour to *Constantinople*, to engage the Grand Signior unto a War with *Spain*. He also furnished the Count of *Nassaw* with Mony, and sent some of his best Captains with him to try if they could surprize any Towns near the Frontier, who did their part so dextrously, that *Mons* was surprized by the Count of *Nassaw*, and *Valenciennes* by *La Noie*, according to *Mezeray*; tho he seems to be mistaken as to *Valenciennes*, for *Thuanus* and *Davila* say nothing of it, but mention *Mons* only. And *Veremundus Frisius*, who wrote the History of that Massacre the Year after, says, That they missed their Design in surprizing *Valenciennes*, upon which they went to *Mons* and carried it. Upon this all reckoned that the King was now engaged, and the War begun. So the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*, were brought to Court, and received with all the Marks of a firm Friendship, that could be invented. A Dispensation was obtained from the new Pope for the Marriage.

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Veremundus says, Pope *Pius* the 5th had always opposed it, but upon the Cardinal of *Alexandria*'s return to *Rome*, who went to assist in the Conclave, where *Gregory* the 13th was chosen, the new Pope easily granted the Bull, which was believed to have flowed from the Information he received from that Cardinal, of the King's Design in this Marriage, which to be sure his Holiness would neither obstruct nor delay. So the Bull being sent to the Cardinal of *Burbon*, the day was set, and the chief heads of the Protestants were all drawn into *Paris*, partly to assist at the Solemnities of a Marriage, which they hoped would put an end to all their Troubles; partly to get Charges in the Army, which all People believed would be commanded by the Admiral. Only many of the hottest of them had followed *Jenlis* and *La Noie* into *Flanders*, where it was intended to abandon them to the cruelty of the Duke of *Alva*, who had intercepted and cut off a great Body of them commanded by *Jenlis*. The Admiral pressed the King to declare the War immediately; foreseeing that unless it followed suddenly, his Friends that had surprized these Towns, would be destroyed, and the whole Design spoiled. But the King put him off with delays, in which he expressed much Confidence in him, by telling him the secret grounds he had to distrust almost every Person about him: and that therefore he must of necessity settle his Court and Councils first, before he could enter upon such a War.

But now the Design being ripe, the Duke of *Guise*, to whom it had also been communicated, was employed to gather many desperate Men about him, who might be fit to execute all Orders; and the thing getting into more hands, took wind, so that they at *Rochel* being informed of some suspicious Passages, wrote to the Admiral,

to

to disabuse him, and desired he would leave the Court, and trust no more to the fair appearances he saw there; since these were only the Masks of some great Mischief that was framing. To them he wrote a long Answer, and assured them, " That the King's Heart was wholly
 " changed, that there was never a better Prince in the
 " World, and that for his owe part, he would die a thousand Deaths, rather than suspect him capable of so base a
 " Design. Then he laid before them all the reasons which
 " induced him to believe the War with *Spain* was really
 " intended, and therefore he desired, that they would
 " lay dow their groundless Jealousies. And when some that were about him, pressed the same things upon him; he told them plainly, He would rather be destroyed, than make a new Rupture; and would be dragged at Horse-heels through *Paris*, rather than begin another Civil War. His Authority was so great, and his Experience so approved, that the whole Party submitted to his Judgment: And he got some Cautionary Towns, that were by the Treaty of Peace to be restored at the end of two Years, to be delivered up three Weeks before the time was elapsed: Only the *Rochellers* were a little more apprehensive, and would not receive a Garrison.

On the 17th of *August* was the King of *Navarre* Married, and four days were spent in all the gallant Diversions, that are usual on such Occasions, but were now performed with more than ordinary Magnificence and Joy.

Hitherto the Mine was working under ground, and now it was time for it to play. There was nothing could be blamed in the Conduct of the Protestants, but too much Candor and too great Confidence. They knew they designed nothing, but the quiet of their Coun-

Country, and the greatness of the Crown. They were cajol'd with the most engaging tokens of Friendship, that ever were shewed on any such Occasion; they thought the King was sincere, and being then but coming to be of Age, was taking new Measures. And he had so covered the Cruelty of his Temper, with a shew of good Nature, that they expected they should be most happy under him. And for the Queen-Mother, tho they knew her too well to put any confidence in her; yet her Passion for her Family, and her Revenge for the poysoning of her Daughter, made them think they were also well assured of her. And indeed so deep and so refin'd a Dissimulation was perhaps never before acted. There was but one part of the King's Deportment that could give any ground for Jealousie, the horrid and blasphemous Oaths and Imprecations, which he made use of on all occasions to persuade them of the reality of his Professions; which always raise suspicion in sober and wary Persons. These the King used so frequently, that the Writers of that Time, say, That he seldom spoke three words without some terrible Oath, or blasphemous Expression, which from his ill Example, was so spread over all *France*, that none but the *Protestants*, spoke in any other strain.

But now when it fell under Consideration, how their Designs should be executed, the Queen with her two *Italian* Confidants, the Count *de Rets*, and *Birague*, who, next to the *Protestants*, hated the House of *Guise* beyond all the World, yet dissembling it most artificially; intended that the business should be so managed, as to ruine both the *Protestants*, and that Family at once: Therefore they thought, that if some of their Followers would assassinate the Admiral, the *Protestants* would turn their Revenge on them, and they knew the *Parisians*

sians, would be easily moved to rise against the *Protestants*; and so they reckoned, that if an attempt was made upon the Admiral, by any of the Duke of *Guise's* Creatures, his Party would presently take a severe Revenge on the Head of the House of *Guise*, and the *Parisians* would be soon brought out to destroy them.

They concealed this part of their Design, and in the Cabinet-Council only proposed, that the Duke of *Guise* would find some person to kill the Admiral, which should pass like an act of private Revenge; and they said, they did not doubt, but the whole party would upon that take arms, and thereupon, there would be a good colour given, to bring out the City of *Paris* upon them. The Duke of *Guise* being young and hot, and boiling with Revenge for his Father's Blood, undertook it, not considering that himself might perish in the first heat of action, as the Queen hoped he should. He pitch'd on *Maurenel*, who had formerly assassinated another Person, and placed him in the House of one that had been his Tutor, near St. *German* of *Auxerre*, where the Admiral used to pass, as he went or came from the *Louvre*.

It was now necessary to execute their Design quickly, for the *Protestants* were beginning to apprehend some danger. They saw the King was resolved, to let those who had surprized the Towns in *Flanders* perish, without sending them any Relief. The Admiral was resolved to take leave within a few days: His Friend, the Duke of *Montmorency*, tho' no *Protestant*, yet saw the Storm coming, and retired to his House: and many little Circumstances occurred, which gave them all just cause of fear: So the other Party had no time to lose. Therefore on the 22^d of *August*, about Noon as the Admiral was going Home from the Court, reading a Paper that he had

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in

in his hand, the Assassinate that was laid for him, shot him from the House, where the Duke of *Guise* had placed him; his Fuzee was charged with three Bullets, that were believed to be poysoned. One of these carried away part of the Fore-finger of his right Hand; the other stuck in his left Arm, and the third missed him. He received it with great presence of mind, and pointed to the House from whence it came; he also sent one to the King to give him notice of it, and then ordered his Arm to be bound up, and so went Home leaning on his Servants. Some run to the House and broke into it, but found none there, save a Lacquey, and a Maid, and the Fuzee, which the Murderer left behind him, when he made his escape. The King was in the Tennis-Court when the news were brought him: He personated a deep resentment, and said in a Tone that seemed full of affliction, and with a terrible Oath, *Shall I never have quiet!* and so threw away his Racquet, and went out in a rage. The Duke of *Guise* did also counterfeit some Surprise.

But they missed their designs, both ways, for neither was the Admiral killed, nor did the *Protestants* fly out into any disorder. The King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, came upon this to the King to complain, and desired leave to go out of Town, since Men were not safe so near the Court. The King seemed to resent it, more than they did, and with the horriblest Oaths he could think of, swore he would execute such a Revenge on all that were found guilty of it, whoever they were, that it should never be forgotten; and desired them to stay and be Witnesses of it. The Queen-Mother made also shew of inflaming his Rage with most vehement Expressions, so that they were persuaded to stay. The King ordered the Murderer to be pursued, the two Ser-

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vants to be Examined, and all the Gates of *Paris* (except two) to be kept shut. The Admirals carriage on this occasion, was suitable to the rest of his behaviour, and equal to what the greatest Heroe's had ever shewed. *Ambrose Parè*, the famous Surgeon, dressed his Wound, he made the Incision into his Arm, that he might take out the Bullet, and did cut off his Finger for fear of a Gangreen: But his Scissars not being sharp enough, he put him to extream pain, and did not cut it off but at the third reprise: during all which, the Admiral expressed no impatience nor anger. But as *Parè* told *Thuanus*, he said to Mr. *Maur* a Minister that stood by, *Now I perceive that I am beloved of God, since I suffer these Wounds for his most holy Name.* And during the Operation, he often repeated these words, *O my God, forsake me not, and withdraw not thy wonted Favour from me!* And whispered one that was holding his Arm, in the Ear, that he should distribute an hundred Crowns among the poor of *Paris*.

Next day *Damvil*, *Coffe*, and *Villars*, came to visit and comfort him, but confessed it was needless, for he expressed great resolution of mind and readiness to die, only he desired to see the King, and speak with him before he died. *Damvil* and *Teligny* (the Admirals Son in Law) carried this Message to the King, who very readily yielded to it. The Queen-Mother apprehending the great Genius of the Admiral, and fearing lest he should turn her Son to better Councils, would needs go with the King. His two Brothers, with twelve of the chief Persons in the Court, waited also on him, to make a shew of putting the more Honour on the Admiral, but really to watch the King, that he might have no opportunity of speaking with him alone. When the King came to his Bed-side, he expressed the greatest tenderness possible, and in his Looks, and the

tone of his Voice counterfeited a most profound sorrow, and said to him, *You, my Father, have received the Wound, but I feel the smart of it, and will punish it in so severe a manner, that the like was never seen.* The Admiral thanked him, and told him, By his Wound, he might well perceive, who were the Authors of the Troubles of *France*. He pressed him earnestly to go on with the War in *Flanders*, and not leave all those Gallant Persons to the Duke of *Alva's* Insolence and Cruelty, who had trusted to his Protection. He complained of the Violation of the Edict in several parts of *France*; and desired the King, to consider how much it concerned him both in Honour and Interest, to keep his Faith inviolated. The King gave him full assurances of this, but avoided the discourse of *Flanders*, and with repeated Oaths told him, he would punish this Fact against him, as if it had been done against himself. Then the Admiral desired to speak privately with the King, which lasted not long; for the Queen-Mother, apprehending what the subject of his Discourse might be, came to the Bed-side and told the King, that so long a Conversation would much endanger the Admirals health, and so broke it off. Yet it seems, as short as it was, it made some Impression, for when she asked the King, what it was that he had said to him? He answered, *He had advised him to Reign himself, and he was resolved to follow it.* When this was over, the King asked the Admirals Friends, and the Physicians many questions about his Health, and proposed for his greater security, the carrying him to the *Louvre*. But the Physicians said, he could not be safely removed. So after he had staid an hour he left him, during which time he acted the part, he intended to play, so well, that all the Witnesses were satisfied with the Sincerity and Passion he expressed.

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The Court of Parliament examined the Maid, and Lackquey, that were taken in the House from whence he was shot, about the Murtherer : and many presumptions appeared against the Duke of *Guise*, whose Servants, they found, had brought him to that House, and had provided an Horse for his escape. The King wrote that same day both to his Ambassadors in forreign parts, and to the Governours of the Provinces, shewing them what had befallen the Admiral, and how much he resented it. The next day being the 23^d, the Duke of *Guise* and his Uncle the Duke of *Anmale*, came and desired leave to go out of Town. The King by his Looks and Carriage seemed to abhor them; and said, they might do what they pleased; but as they went away, he said, they might go whither they would, but he should find them out, if they appeared to be guilty of that Fact. And so they mounted on Horse-back and rode to the Port St. *Anthony*, as if they had intended to go out of Town, but came back to *Guise-house* : and began to raise a great stir in *Paris*. They called many about them, and sent their Agents all over the Town, and sent Arms to divers places. When News of this was brought to the Admiral, he sent to the King to desire a Guard, so 50 were sent under the Command of *Cosseins*, one of his bitterest Enemies. But to cover the matter better, some of the King of *Navarres* *Swisses*, were sent to Guard within his House. The King did also order all the Papists that lay near his House, to remove their Lodgings, that the Protestants might have conveniency to be about him, and gather together if there should be any Tumult. He also desired the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde* would gather about them their best Friends, that they might be prepared to defend themselves, in case the Duke of *Guise* should raise any disorders.

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All this seemed not only sincere, but kind; and by these Arts were the Protestants, not only secured from their fears, but had great hopes raised in them: And thus the greatest part of them were brought within the Net, that was laid for their ruine. Only the Vice-Lord (or *Vidam*) of *Chartres* saw through the disguise: And a Council of their Party being held in the Admirals Chamber, he spoke freely, and told them, the Admirals Wound was the first Act of the Tragedy, and more would soon follow. Therefore he proposed, that he might be carried to *Chastilion*, ill as he was, in which there was less danger, than to stay in a place where they and all their Friends would be suddenly destroyed. *Teligny* and others, that were fully perswaded of the Kings good Intentions, opposed this much, and said, it would shew such a distrust of the King, as might for ever lose him, that was then beginning to favour their Party. But the *Vidam* answered, that stay who would, he would not stay longer than to Morrow, for he was assured their stay would be fatal to themselves, and all their Friends.

There was a perfidious Person in that Assembly, one *Bouchavannes*, who was an Intelligencer to the Queen-Mother, and carried presently an account of their Consultation to her. She and her Party were now pressed with time, therefore the execution of their Design could be no longer delayed than the next Night. So the Council met and resolved, that not only the Persons of Quality of the Religion should be killed, but that every one of what condition soever, that were of that Profession should be Massacred. It was debated long, whether the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, should perish with the rest? for the Duke of *Guise* his Party had a great mind to destroy the whole Family of *Bourbon*: but as for the King of *Navarre*, it was thought contrary to the Laws of Nations, of Hospitality

pitality, and of Nature, to murder a King, that had come under trust to the Court, and was now so nearly allied to the King : and was guilty of no Crime, but what he had from his Education. So it was resolved, he should be spared, and made change his Religion. But for the Prince of *Conde*, he was naturally fierce, and that temper, joined with the memory of his Father, made them less inclined to save him ; Only the Duke of *Nevers*, who had married his Wifes Sister, interposed vigorously for him, and undertook that he should become a good Catholick, and a faithful Subject : And he prevailed, tho with great difficulty, that he should be spared. But for the rest, it was agreed on, to raise the Town of *Paris*, and set them upon them, who were inflamed into such a rage against that Party, that they knew it would be an easy work to engage them in any sort of Cruely against them.

The conduct of it was committed to the Duke of *Guise*, who undertook it very chearfully. He did first communicate it to the Guards, and ordered them to keep a strict Watch, both about the *Louvre*, and the places where the Admiral and his Friends were lodged, that none might escape ; then he desired the Provost (or Major) of *Paris*, and the chief Magistrates and Officers of the City, would meet at Midnight in the Town-house, where they should receive their Orders. They met accordingly, and it was intimated to them, that the King was now resolved to destroy the Hereticks, who had so long distracted his Kingdom : that therefore every one should go to his Quarter, and have all People in readines, with the greatest secrecy that might be, and that they should have many Torches and Flambeaus ready, to light out at their Windows. The Sign should be a white Linnen Sleeve on their left Arm, and a white Cross in their Caps : and at the tolling of the great Bell of the Palace, which should be

be done near the break of Day, they should light their Torches and march.

The King in the mean while, was under great irrefolution. The horror of the Fact, the infamy that would follow it, and the danger he might be in, if it either miscarried, or were not fully executed, could not but fill him with Confusion. But the Queen, who had overcome all the impressions of Tenderneſs and Pity, that are natural to her Sex, hearing of it, came to him, and ſtudied to confirm him in his former reſolutions, repreſenting to him all the trouble they had given him in the former Wars, and that he might expect yet worſe, if he would let go this opportunity, of ſecuring the quiet of his whole Reign. She knew how to work upon him ſo well, that in end ſhe prevailed, and the King ſwore deeply he would go through with it. Upon that, ſhe being impatient, and fearing a new turn in the Kings Thoughts, made the Bell of *St. Germans* be tolled, which was the warning for tolling that in the Palace.

This fatal Signal was given the Morning of the 24th of *Auguſt*, *St. Bartholomews* day, being Sunday; and was followed with a general Riſing of the whole City of *Paris*. The March of Souldiers, the noiſe of their Arms, and the lightning of ſo many Torches, awakened the poor *Proteſtants*, who now ſaw viſibly that their ruine was both near and inevitable. Some of them went out to the Streets, and asked what the matter might be, of ſo great a Concourse, and ſo many Torches and armed Men, at ſuch an hour? Some answered, as they had been inſtructed to ſay, till all things ſhould be ready, that there was to be a Mock-Siege of a Fort in the *Louvre*, for the Kings Diverſion. So they went forward to ſatisfy their Curioſity, but quickly found it was a real Maſſacre, and not a Mock-Siege that was intended, and they were the firſt Sacri-

Sacrifices of that bloody Festivity. There were now about threescore thousand Men brought together. The Duke of *Guise*, with his Uncle *Anmale*, resolved first to satisfy their revenge on the Admiral, and therefore went to his Gate, where *Cosseins* kept guard, on design to betray him the more effectually. He called to open the Gate; which being done, they killed the Porter and broke into the Court. But the King of *Navarr's* *Swisses* barricado'd the next Gate, and made some resistance. This dismal noise awakened the Admiral, who at first apprehended, it might be some Tumult of the Populace, which he hoped the King's Guards would easily disperse. But when he perceived it encreased, then he saw he was to be destroyed. So he took his Night-Gown and got up: Those that were about him were amazed at the constancy of his mind, his Minister *Merlin* prayed; and when that was ended, He said to those that were about him, *I see now what this will end in, but I am prepared to meet Death, which I have often looked for, but was never afraid of: I account my self happy since it is so near me, having in this my Death, through the Grace of God the hope of Eternal Life. I need no more the help of Men, therefore farewell, my Friends, and try how you can save your selves, that you be not involved in my ruin, lest by my death I make more Widows than one: I have help enough in the presence of God, into whose hands I commit my Soul, which is soon to be discharged out of this Body.* All this he spoke without the least commotion or appearance of fear. Then those about him left him, and got up to the Roof of the House. By that time the Murderers had brook in, and seven of them being all in Armour, came into his Chamber. *Besme*, that had been one of the Duke of *Guises* Grooms, advanced towards him; to whom he said, *Young Man, you ought to reverence my gray Hairs, but you cannot shorten*

my Life much. They all stood a while amazed at such undaunted courage, and so composed a behaviour, which as one of them told *Thuanus*, was the most extraordinary thing that ever he saw his whole Life. *Besme* did first thrust him into the Belly, and then cut him over the Face: at which he fell, and the others struck at him, till he was quite dead. The Duke of *Guise* being below in the Court, heard the noise, and called to them to throw him out at the Window, which *Besme* and another did. And either the Duke, or the Count of *Angoulesme* (for it is differently reported) wiped his Face, which was disfigured with Blood, to know if it was he indeed, and perceiving it was so, trampled on his Belly, and went away. An *Italian* cut off his Head, and carried it first to the Queen-Mother, and then embalmed it, and sent it to *Rome*, (not only as the Protestants say, which is disingenuously added, by *Mezeray*, for *Thuanus* affirms it): Then all the ignominy and barbarity possible, was exercised about the dead Carcase, his Fingers and Hands were cut off, his Body dragged about the Streets, thrown in the *Sein*, and hanged up in Chains his Feet uppermost: and a fire was set under to burn it, but it only dried it and did not consume it. Some days after *Monmorancy* caused it to be taken down secretly, and buried it in his Chappel at *Chantilly*.

Thus fell the Admiral, that for all noble Qualities necessary, either to a great Captain, or a compleat Statesman, may be equalled to any of the Ancient *Greeks* or *Romans*; and for Piety and other Christian Vertues, was the Wonder of the Age he lived in.

But the Cruelty of the Duke of *Guise* and his Party, was rather kindled than satiated with his Blood. So he and his Company went out to the streets, and cried aloud, *It was the King's command they should go on, and finish*
what

what they had begun. And so the Multitude was let loose, to murder all that were of the Religion, and the plunder of their Houses was to be their reward. This was followed with the most enraged and cruel Massacre that ever was heard of. It exceeded all that either the Heathens had done, or their Poets had feigned. Every Man seemed a Fury, and as if they had been transformed into Tigris and Wolves, out-did the very cruelty of Beasts of Prey. The bare relation of Matters of Fact, is beyond all that Eloquence can invent, by which it may be aggravated: and indeed a strict Narrative of what was really done, will appear some Ages hence, as a Tragical description of an imaginary Cruelty, rather than a true History. Five hundred Persons of Quality were murdered, and in all 4000 according to *Thuanus* and *Mezeray*. *Prefixe* the late B. of *Paris* says, there were twenty Lords of note killed, and twelve hundred Gentlemen, and between three and four thousand others. But *Veremundus* says, they were ten thousand. No Age nor Sex was spared; Husbands and Wives were killed in one another's Arms, after they saw their Children murdered at their feet. One butcher'd an innocent Babe, as it was playing with his Beard. Men of fourscore were not left to the course of Nature, but hewn down. Nor did a single death satisfy their brutal rage, but they made them die many deaths, before death relieved them. One would cut off the Nose, another the Ear, a third the Hands, and a fourth the Arms of the same Person, before they would be so merciful as to kill him out-right. Those that fled up to the tops of their Houses, were made leap over to the Streets, where they were knocked down with Halberts. Such as ran out to escape through dark Passages, were either instantly killed, or driven to the *Sein*, where they took

pleasure to kill and drown them with much art. Dead Bodies floated all along the *Seine*, and were lying in heaps thorough the Streets. In many places the Kennels ran Blood. There was nothing to be heard but the howlings of mangled and dying Persons ; or the horrid blasphemies of their accursed Butchers. They searched all the Corners of their Houses, as Hounds pursuing for prey. No Man delivered his Friend ; no Host had pity on his Guest : Only one brave Man saved his Enemy.

The *Louvre* it self was full of Blood, and the dead Corpses of those whom the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde* had brought about them for their security : but where they expected a Sanctuary, they found a Massacre. It is needless to reckon up the Names of those noble Persons who were then destroyed ; for the memory of *Rochfoucant*, *Teligny*, *Renel*, *Piles*, *Pluvial*, *Baudine*, *Guerchy*, *Lavardin*, *Nompar* or *La Force*, and five hundred more will be ever sacred ; yet in this Nation where these Families are not known, the recital would be tedious and useless. Of all those *Guerchy* alone died with a Sword in his Hand, but could hurt none of those that assaulted him, they having Armour on them.

This horrible Confusion, gave the Allarm to those who lay in the Suburbs on the other side of the *Seine* to make haste and be gone ; and they, having no suspicion of the King himself, were thinking to have gone over and sheltered themselves within the *Louvre*. The *Parisians* had now lost all order, and were fallen to plunder, so that they could not be brought together : Therefore the Duke of *Guise* sent over some of the *Swisse* Guards in Boats to kill them, and himself followed with some Horse ; and had it not been for the mistake of him who brought the wrong Keys of the Gate, thorough which he was to pass, they had been all surprized before they

they had resolved what course to take. But day appearing, they saw enough to convince them, it was not time to delay any more: So in the greatest confusion possible, they got on Horseback, and fled away. The Duke of *Guise* pursued them, but they were out of his reach, and not being strong enough to defend themselves, and keep in a Body, they dispersed and escaped.

But the fury that they fled from, continued in *Paris* all that day, and the two following days: In which nothing was left undone that ingenious and desperate cruelty could suggest. Six hundred Houses were pillaged. And after such a glut of Blood, Mens minds becoming savage, they fell to revenge private Enmities, even upon their Fellow Papists; many of whom were in the end also murdered, but those were chiefly *Monorancy* his Friends, who were thought cold in the matter of Religion.

The most enraged of their Blood-hounds were *Tanchou*, *Pesou*, and *Crozier* a Goldsmith; the two former drove many to the Mills, and forced them to leap from thence into the River. *Pesou* boasted to the King himself, that he had made an hundred and fifty leap that night. And *Thuanus* says, he often heard *Crozier* say, That with that Hand he had killed 400: by which it seems he was thought so sanctified, that he would live no longer a common life, but as a sacred Person went to an Hermitage; where yet his cruelty left him not; for during the Warrs of the League, he drew a Flemish Merchant into his Cell and murdered him there. Thus were the Protestants destroyed in *Paris*, with a Treachery and Cruelty that the uncivilized Nations had never shewed to one another, nor had the Heathens been ever guilty of any thing like it towards the Christians. The Precedent which the Church of *Rome* had formerly given
in

in the *Massacre* of the *Albigenses*, was the likest thing in History to it for Barbarity ; but never had Treachery and Cruelty met together in such a manner before this execrable day.

At Court all those generous Impressions which follow noble Blood, seemed extinguished. Men threw off Humanity, and Women had neither compassion nor modesty. The Queen-Mother and her Ladies took pleasure to look upon the most detestable Objects, and greedily beheld some obscene and indecent sights ; but it is not fit to write all that was then done. About nine of the Clock, the King sent for the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, and told them he was forced to use that severe Remedy to put an end to War and Rebellion, and had therefore destroyed those, whom he could not induce to obey : And for them, tho he had good reason to hate them mortally, since they had led on a Rebellion against him, yet in consideration of their Blood and Alliance, he was resolved to spare them if they would change their Religion, otherwise they must look for no better usage than their Servants had met with. The King spake this with great rage, so that the King of *Navarre* being terrified, said, That if the King would save their lives, and leave them their Consciences free, they should in all other things be commanded by him. But the Prince of *Conde* answered more boldly, That he might dispose of his Life and Estate as he pleased, but for his Religion, he owed an account of it to God alone, from whom he had received the knowledg of it. This resolute Answer put the King in such a rage, that after he had treated him with most abusive language, he swore, That if he did not change within three days, he should hang for it. And so ordered them to be strictly guarded. At the same time there were Expresses dispatched over
all

all *France*, to set on the People both in the Towns and Country, to imitate the example of the *Parisians*, and destroy the Hereticks. Yet the King either out of some remorse or shame, wrote to his Ambassadors and the Governours of the Provinces, that same day: That the Duke of *Guise*, and others that adhered him, having a great interest in the City of *Paris*, and apprehending that the Admirals Friends were resolved to revenge his Wound, had therefore, both to secure themselves, and to prosecute their former Quarrels, raised the City of *Paris*: and had broke through the Guards set to defend the Admiral, and killed him, and many other Persons of Quality; the rage of the People being such, that the King's Guards could do nothing to repress it: Therefore he was forced to keep himself within the *Louvre*, but had, as soon as was possible, quieted the Town; so that all things were put in order again; and he was resolved still to maintain his Edict, made for the free Exercise of their Religion. *Veremundus* has printed the Copies of the Letters, directed to the Governours of *Burgundy* and *Tourain*, and to the Town of *Bourges*, with the Memorial sent to the *Swiss* Cantons, all to the same purpose, bearing date the 24th of *August*. And in another Letter the King wrote, That he had made up a new agreement with the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, and was resolved to run the same hazard with them, for revenging the death of his Cousin the late Admiral. But the House of *Guise* would not bear this, and made the King own, that all was done by his express Orders. So on the 26th of *August*, the King went to the Court of Parliament, and after an invidious repetition of all the Troubles of his Reign, which yet he said, he intended to have quieted by the late Treaty of Peace, he discovered that the Admiral had conspired to kill him, his
 Brothers,

Brothers, and the King of *Navarre*, and to set up the young Prince of *Conde*, whom he also designed afterwards to kill, that so the whole Royal Family being destroyed, he might make himself King: and since extream Diseases required extream Remedies, he was forced to do what he had done; and concluded, that all was done by his express Order and Command. *Thuanus* the Father, tho he abhorred the thing, yet out of fear and compliance, made a base flattering Speech, of the necessity of dissimulation in Princes, and did much commend that saying of *Lewis* the 11th. *He who knows not how to Dissemble, knows not how to Reign.* And *Pibrac* the Attourney General moved the King, that the Declaration he had made might be entred in their Registers, and that strict Orders might be given, to put an end to the Blood and Confusion with which the City was filled: Both which the King ordered to be done. The Declaration which was thereupon published on the 28th, is printed by *Vere-mundus*. By it the King charged all Persons, under pain of Death, through the whole Kingdom, to do no injury to the *Protestants*. And at the same time declared it Capital, for the *Protestants* to have any Assemblies. This was believed to be done rather on design to destroy, than save the *Hugonets*: That they being out of apprehension of danger, might stay all at Home, and so be more easily Massacred. On the 28th of *August*, a Jubilee was granted to all, who had been in this Butchery; and they were commanded to go every where to Church, and bless God, for the success of that Action. So little relenting had they, after all these black Crimes, that they imagined they had done God good service: And to that height did their Impudence rise, that they presumed to address to that Merciful Being, who abhors cruel and blood-thirsty Men, and that with
hands

hands not only defiled with Blood, but boasting of it as a Sacrifice offered to God, which had been a fitter Oblation to him *that was a Lyar and a Murderer from the beginning*, than the God of Truth, and Father of Mercies.

One remarkable Passage fell out, which occasioned much Discourse, and was variously constructed by the several Parties. On the day of the Massacre, about Noon, a white Thorn in the Church-yard of the Innocents, that was almost dead, and had no Leaves on it, flourished all of a sudden. This was published through the Streets of *Paris*, as a Sign, that Heaven approved their actions, and was made use of to animate them to new heats in their Cruelty : For every one was set on to kill one or other, that he might be honoured with the sight of so unusual a thing. Some thought it might come from the nature of the Tree, and it was said, such things were not extraordinary in Trees of that kind, a little before they became quite dead. Others believed it might be the Trick of some Monk, who pouring either hot Water, or some prepared Water at the Root of it, might have done the feat. But the Rable did universally ascribe it to some miraculous Cause, only they differed about that to which it referred. The *Protestants* said, it signified their Innocence, and that a new Troop of Innocents were sent to Heaven, and therefore the Tree in the Church-yard of the Innocents flourished afresh. The *Papists* said, it signified the joy in Heaven at that days work, and that the Church was to flourish again by the death of the Hereticks.

But leaving these discantings on this seeming Miracle, *Morvillier* that was Lord-Keeper, advised, That for justifying, or at least mitigating the Censures that might be made on these proceedings, there should be a

Process carried on, against the dead Admiral, to prove him guilty of a Conspiracy against the King and the Royal Blood ; and there were some few *Protestants* kept Prisoners, who had been taken out of the English Ambassadors Lodgings, who to save themselves, they hop'd might be brought to accuse the Admiral. But while this Mock-Process was making, there was a real prosecution of the like Cruelties in many other parts of *France*.

At *Meaux*, a little Town not far from *Paris*, they began on the 25th of *August*, being *Monday*, and spent the whole Week in shedding more Blood. They killed two hundred ; many of those were Women, whom they Forced before they Murdered them. At *Troye* in *Champagne*, about the same number was killed. At *Orleans*, a thousand were also killed. Six or seven hundred at *Roan*, tho the Governour did what he could to hinder it. At *Bourges*, *Nevers*, and *Charite*, all they found were killed. At *Tholouse* two hundred were killed. At *Burdeaux*, they were for some time in suspence, being afraid of the *Rochellers* ; but the Priests did so inflame the Multitude, that the Governour could not restrain their rage longer, than the beginning of *October* ; so then they Massacred all that they could find. This beginning, was followed by all the Towns on the *Garvinne*. But next to *Paris*, *Lions* was the place where the most barbarous Cruelties were acted. The Governour had a mind to save the *Protestants*, and gathered together about six or seven hundred of them, whom he lodged in several Prisons, that so he might preserve them : And to give the People some content, he granted them the pillage of their Houses. But they were so heated by the Clergie, and by some that were sent from the Court, to promote the Massacre every where, that they broke open the Prisons and murdered them all, dragged

dragged their Bodies through the Streets, and opened the Bellies of the fattest of them, to sell their Greefe to Apothecaries. And when they could do no more, they threw them into the River of *Rhosne*, which was coloured with the Blood, and filled with the Carcases of the slain. These Examples were followed in many more places, but detested by others, who were not Papists enough, to overcome Nature and all Morality. The Governours in some places restrained the People; and in many places the Souldiers, tho more inured to Blood, defended the Protestants from the Rable, that were set on by the Priests. The Answer the Governour of *Bayonne* made, deserves to be remembred,* who wrote to the King in these Words.

S I R,

I Have communicated your Majesty's Command to the Inhabitants of the Town, and the Souldiers of the Garrison. I find many good Citizens, and brave Souldiers, but never a Hangman here: And therefore in their Name and my own, I humbly beg your Majesty would employ our Arms, and Lives in things, which are possible for us to do, how dangerous soever they may be, and we will spend the last drop of our Blood in your Service.

This gave great Offence at Court, and soon after, both he and the Count of *Tendes*, Governour of *Provence*, who had also given Orders, that there should be no Massacre made within his Jurisdiction, died very suddenly: And it was believed they were both poisoned. In all there were, as *Thuanus* says, Thirty thousand massacred over *France*, tho he believes they were not quite so many. *Mezeray* estimates them at five and twenty Thousand. But *Perefixe* says, that over all *France*,

Mezeray.

His. Hen. the 4th.

near an hundred thousand were butchered. And *Vere-mundus* says, that besides those who were killed, an hundred Thousand Persons were set a begging, most of those being Widows and Orphans. Many of them fled to the places of strength in *France*, and great numbers went out of the Kingdom. For when they had escaped the first rage of the Massacre, they clearly perceived the design of their Enemies, was to extirpate them *Root and Branch*. And tho the King at first declared he would observe the Edict inviolably, they had learned from sad experience, how little his Faith was to be depended on, and they were further convinced of it by fresh Proofs. For the King pressed the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde* very hard, to change their Religion: the former was tractable and hearkned to instruction; but the latter continued resolute and would hear nothing. This put the King once into such a Rage, that he called for his Arms, and was going in Person, either to kill him, or see him killed; had not his vertuous Queen, who had been instructed by her Father, to abhor all cruel Proceedings about Religion, cast her self at his Feet, and with many Tears diverted him from so ignominious an Action. But he sent for him and said only these three words to him, *Mass, Death, or the Bastil*. Yet he generously resolved to suffer Death, or perpetual Imprisonment, rather than go to Mass, had they not found out a Tool fit to work on him. One *Sureau-des Rosiers*, that had been Minister of the Protestants at *Orleans*, had now to save his Life, changed his Religion; But to have some reputation in it, pretended that he had resolved to have done it sooner, tho when that fear was over, he returned to them again, but was never much considered after that. He was therefore employed to perswade the Prince of *Conde*: and what by his endeavours, and what by fear of Death, both

both the King of *Navarre* and he went to *Mass*, and wrote Letters full of Submission and Obedience to the Pope; tho they were no sooner out of that Snare, than they declared, that what had been obtained of them, was extorted by force.

This being done, the King sent his Orders over all *France*, bearing date the 22^d of *September*, to turn all Persons out of any considerable Employments, that would not renounce their Religion, and a long form of Abjuration was sent with it, which was to be the Test: both which are printed by *Veremundus*.

The Process against the Admiral was carried on before the Parliament of *Paris*, and (without any proofs that ever were published) they on the 27th of *October*, judged him guilty of a Conspiracy against the King and his Crown: And therefore ordained his Body to be hanged, if it could be found; or if not, that he should be hanged in Effigie: his House of *Chastillon* to be razed, and a Pillar set up with an Inscription to defame his Memory, his Blood was also attainted, and his Children declared ignoble and incapable of any Priviledges in *France*. And the Sentence concluded with an Order, for celebrating *St. Bartholomews* day in all time coming, with Processions and publick Thanksgivings for the Discovery and Punishment of that Conspiracy. There were also two other Persons of Quality, *Cavagnes* and *Briquemant* who had been dealt with to accuse the Admiral, but they would not save themselves by so base a ransom; so they were both condemned as Complices with him. But when the Sentence was pronounced against them, *Thuanus*, that was an Eye-Witness, says, *Briquemant* cried out, when that part of the Judgment was read that concerned his Children; *Ah Innocents! what have they done?* And then he, who for 50 years together had served

ved in the Warrs, with a high and approved Valour, being then 70, what for fear of Death, what out of pity to his Children, would have done any thing, to have saved himself. He sent the King word, first that he would put *Rockel* in his Hands, if he would spare his Life: But that being rejected, he offered to accuse the Admiral, to preserve himself. But neither was that considered. All that while, his Fellow-Sufferer *Cavagnes* continued most serious in his Devotions, and for three hours together, was either Praying or reciting some Psalms: and expressed no concern for his Life, his thoughts being wholly employed about Eternity. He encouraged *Briquemant* to die as he had lived, and to turn himself to God, and not to stain so honourable a Life, as he had led, with an ignominious end. And he seeing, he must die, recollected his Thoughts, and seemed ashamed of his former abject behaviour, and composed and prepared himself for Death. They both were carried to the place of Execution in Hurdles, where they not only suffered the reproches of the Multitude, as they went along (who threw Filth and Clay at them with their most scurrilous Language) but Death it self with much Christian Patience and Magnanimity. They were hanged at the *Greve*, and their Bodies, after they were dead, were barbarously mangled by the cruel Multitude. With them the brave Admiral was hanged in Effigie, whose Innocence, as well as their own, they did to their last Breath assert. The King who delighted in such bloody Spectacles, did not only look on himself, with the Queen-Mother, and the Court; but forced the King of *Navarre* likewise to be a Witness of it.

It is needless to say much, for evincing the Admiral's Innocence, for all the Writers of the time acknowledged, the Process was only to cover the infamy of the Massacre.

And

And *Thuanus* has so fully demonstrated it, that none can so much as doubt of it. If the Admiral had any such design, why came he to Court? Why to *Paris*, where he knew he had few Friends, and a vast number of mortal Enemies? and why did he desire a Guard from the King? But since they could not find a better colour for so foul a Business, they must make use of the best they had. They took another course to stop the Queen of *Englands* resentments, who, besides the common Cause of Religion, had a particular esteem for the Admiral, for they shewed a Memorial, which he had given the King to perswade the War of *Flanders*, to *Walsingham* (the ever renowned Secretary of State) then her Ambassador in *France*; In which one of the reasons was; "That if the King would not receive these oppressed Provinces into his Protection, they would throw themselves into the Queen of *Englands* Hands; and if the English made themselves Masters of them, or of any considerable Ports in them, they would be again uneasy and formidable Neighbours to *France*, which would thereby lose the great security they had in taking *Calice* out of their Hands. When *Walsingham* read this, and was asked, what he thought of the Admirals Friendship to his Mistress? he answered, as became so great a Man. "That he could not say much of his Friendship to the Q. of *England*, but he was sure, it appeared from that, what a faithful Subject he was to the King of *France*.

A Week after this was done, the King complicated the Treachery of this Precedure: for by his Letters directed to the Governours of the Provinces, bearing date the 3^d of *November*, He declared he would Tolerate no Religion, but the *Roman* Catholick in all his Dominions. Upon which the following Civil Wars began, and in excuse of them, I shall only say, that besides

sides the barbarous and perfidious Treatment the *Protestants* had now received, they had this legal Warrant for standing on their own defence, That by the former Treaty the King granted them Cautionary Towns, for Pledges of the observation of the Edict. And it is certain, that if a Prince grants his Subjects Cautionary Towns for their Security, he does thereby relax their Allegiance to him, and gives them a right to defend themselves, if the Agreement upon which these Pledges were given, should come to be broken.

This is the true and just account of that foul and treacherous Massacre, even as it is represented by the Historians of that Age and Church, who can neither deny nor excuse the Infamy of it; tho some rejoiced at it, and others wrote in defence of it. The King gloried so much in it, that three Meddals were struck, to perpetuate the memory of it. In one, *Hercules* is both with his Club, and a Flambeau, fighting against the seven-headed Serpent, with this Motto. *Ne ferrum temnat, simul ignis obsto.* On the reverse, the King with his Hand, supports two Crowned Pillars, ready to fall, with this Motto. *Mira fides, lapsas relevat manus una Columnas.* Hereby intimating, that Heresy was the Serpent, which was to be destroyed by main Force, and by Fire: And that by this Act, the King had supported Religion and Justice. In the second, the King sits in his Chair of State, with a Sword in his right Hand, and an Hand on the Head of a Scepter in his left. And many Heads lying about his Feet, with this Motto. *Virtus in Rebelles.* On the Reverse, were the Arms of *France*, between two Pillars and two Lawrel Branches, with this Motto, *Virtus excitavit Justitiam.* The third had, on the one side, a Woman environed with Rays, and a Book open in one Hand, and a Palmin the other, and at her Feet

Feet many Heads in Flames, with this Motto, *Subduncendis rationibus*. The Reverse was the same with the first. The Signification of this, was, Religion triumphing over Heresy.

But this was only a false shew of Joy, for he was inwardly tormented with the horrors of a guilty Conscience, which the effusion of so much Blood did justly raise in him; so that being often troubled with Visions, he was frequently heard say, *Ah! my poor Subjects, what had you done? But I was forced to it.* The strange manner of his Death, looked like a signal Judgment from Heaven for that bloody day; for after a long Sickness, which was believed the effect of a lent Poison given him by the Queen-Mother, Blood not only came out through all the Conduits of his Body, but through the very Pores, so that he was sometimes found, all bathed in his own Blood. And he that had made his Kingdom swim with Blood, died thus wallowing in his own.

All the servile Pens of the Lawyers, and the bitter ones of enraged Priests, were also set on work, to appear in Defence of it; Of whose Writings *Thuanus* gives a full account. One mercenary Protestant was also hired, to excuse, if not to defend it. I have never been able to meet with any of these Books, only *Rossius* that wrote in defence of the Holy League, calls it *the Justice of St. Bartholomews day*. And *Andreas Eudemon Johannes* does also commend it.

The Arguments they used, have been formerly glanced at. The late Civil Wars; the pretended Conspiracy of the Admiral; the necessity of using desperate Remedies in extream Cases; and the Sovereign Power of Kings, were what the Lawyers could pretend. But the Divines had a better Plea, that by one General Council, *all Hereticks*

reticks were to be extirpated. And by another, *Faith was not to be kept to them.* And it cannot be denied, but this is unanswerable, according to the Principles of the Roman Church. The Protestants were not wanting to their own Cause, but answered these Books, and sufficiently discovered the impudent Allegations of those shameless Persons, who hired themselves out to defend so horrid an Action.

Maximilian the 2^d, the Emperor, is the Person whose Judgment we have least reason to suspect. He was the King of *France* his Father-in-Law, and both by Blood and Alliance was joined to the Crown of *Spain*, yet he in a private Letter, writing to *Scuendi* his chief Minister in *Hungary*, has delivered his sense of this Matter so sincerely and fully; And that whole Letter is so excellently well written, and shews so much true piety, and so rare a temper of mind, that I shall not fear the Reader's censure for inserting it at its full length. It is but in one Book that I know, and that is very scarce.

*Comingii
Collectio
p. 278.*

Dear *Scuendi*,

I Received your Letter, and took in good part your Christian and Friendly Condoleance for my late Sickness. The Eternal God, in whose hands are all things, do with me according to his Will. I bless him for every thing that befalls me. He only knows best what is healthful and profitable, and what is hurtful to me: I do patiently and chearfully acquiesce in his Divine Pleasure. And indeed Matters go so in this World, that a Man can have little pleasure or quiet in them: for every where there is nothing to be found but trouble, treachery, and foul dealing. God pity us, and deliver his Church from these mischiefs. It were no wonder,

‘ wonder, if from such a prospect of Affairs, a Man should
 ‘ become stupid or mad ; of which I could say much
 ‘ to you. I begin to recover, and am now so strong,
 ‘ that I walk about with a Stick. God be blessed in all
 ‘ his Works.

‘ For that strange thing which the French have lately
 ‘ acted, most tyrannically against the Admiral and his
 ‘ Friends, I am far from approving it : and it was a great
 ‘ grief to me, to hear that my Son-in-Law had been
 ‘ perswaded to that vile Massacre ; tho I know that
 ‘ others reign rather than he ; yet that is not sufficient to
 ‘ excuse him, nor to palliate such a wickedness. I
 ‘ would to God he had asked my advice, I should
 ‘ have given him faithful and fatherly Counsel, and he
 ‘ should never have had my consent to this Crime, which
 ‘ has cast such a blemish on him, that he will never wash
 ‘ it off.

‘ God forgive them that lie under such guilt. I ap-
 ‘ prehend within a little while, they shall perceive what
 ‘ they have gained by this method. For indeed, as you
 ‘ observe well, the Matters of Religion are not to be
 ‘ handled or decided by the Sword : and no Man can
 ‘ think otherwise, that is either pious or honest, or de-
 ‘ sirous of Publick Peace and Happiness. Far otherwise
 ‘ did Christ teach, and his Apostles instruct us ; their
 ‘ Sword was their Tongue, their Doctrine, the Word of
 ‘ God, and a Life worthy of Christ. Their Example
 ‘ should draw us to follow them, in so far as they were
 ‘ followers of Christ.

‘ Besides, that mad sort of People might have seen af-
 ‘ ter so many years Trials, and so many Experiments,
 ‘ that by their Cruelties, Punishments, Slaughters and
 ‘ Burnings, this Business cannot be effected. In a word,

‘ Their ways do not at all please me, nor can I ever be induced to approve them, unless I should become mad or distracted which I pray God earnestly to preserve me from.

‘ And yet I shall not conceal from you, that some impudent and lying Knaves, have given out, That whatever the French have done, was by my knowledg and approbation. In this I appeal to God, who knows how deeply I am injured by it; but such Lies and Calumnies are no new things to me. I have been often forced to bear them formerly: and in all such cases, I commit my self to God, who knows in his own good time, how to clear me, and vindicate my innocence.

‘ As for the *Netherlands*, I can as little approve of the Excesses committed there. And I do well remember how often I wrote to the King of *Spain*, Advices far different from those they have followed. But what shall I say? The Councils of the *Spaniards* relished better than mine. They now begin to see their Error, and that they themselves have occasioned all the mischief that hath since followed. I had a good end before me, that these noble and renown’d Provinces might not be so miserably destroyed. And tho they would not follow my Counsel, so that I may well be excused from meddling any more, yet I do not give over, but am sincerely pressing them all I can to follow another method.

‘ God grant I may see the wished-for effect of these endeavours, and that Men may be at last satisfied with what they have done, and may use no more such violent Remedies. In a word, Let the *Spaniards* or the *French* do what they will, they shall be made to give an account of their Actions to God, the Righteous and Just

‘Just Judg. And for my part, by the help of God, I
 ‘shall carry my self honestly, christianly, and faithfully,
 ‘with all candour and uprightness; and I hope God
 ‘will so assist me with his Grace and Blessing, that I may
 ‘approve all my Designs and Actions, both to him and
 ‘to all Men. And if I do this, I little regard a wicked
 ‘and malicious World.

How the rest of the World looked on this Action, may be easily gathered from the Inclinations and Interests of the several Parties. That all Protestants did every where abhor it, and hold the remembrance of it, still in detestation, needs not be doubted. All that were noble or generous in the *Roman Church* were ashamed of it, but many extolled it to the Heavens as a work of Angels; and others did cast the blame of it on the Protestants. The Court of *Spain* rejoiced openly at it. They delighted in the shedding of Protestant Blood, and were also glad to see *France* again embroil’d, and to be freed of the fears they had of a War in *Flanders*. In which if the French King had engaged, he had in all appearance conquered in one year, that for which his Successors have been since fighting a whole Age.

But let us next examine how the tidings of this Massacre were received at *Rome*, by which we may judge how fitly that part of Antichrist’s Character, of being drunk with the Blood of the Saints, agrees to it. The News was brought thither the 6th of September, upon which a Consistory of the Cardinals was presently called, and the Legate’s Letter, that contained a Relation of the Massacre, being read, they went straight in a Procession to St. *Mark’s Church*, where they offered
 up

up their solemn thanks to God for this great Blessing to the *See of Rome*, and the *Catholique Church*. And on Monday following, there was another Procession made by the Pope and Cardinals to the *Minerva*, where they had high Mass, and then the Pope granted a Jubilee to all Christendom : And one of the Reasons was, **That they should thank God for the slaughter of the Enemies of the Church, lately executed in France.** Two days after that, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, had another great Procession of all the Clergy, the Ambassadors, Cardinals, and the Pope himself, who came to *St. Lewis Chappel*, where the Cardinal celebrated Mass himself. And in the King of *France* his Name he thanked the Pope and the Cardinals, for their good Councils, the help they had given him, and the assistance he received from their Prayers, of which he had found most wonderful effects. He also delivered the King's Letters to the Pope, in which he wrote, *That more Heretiques had been destroyed in that one day, than in all the twelve years of the War.*

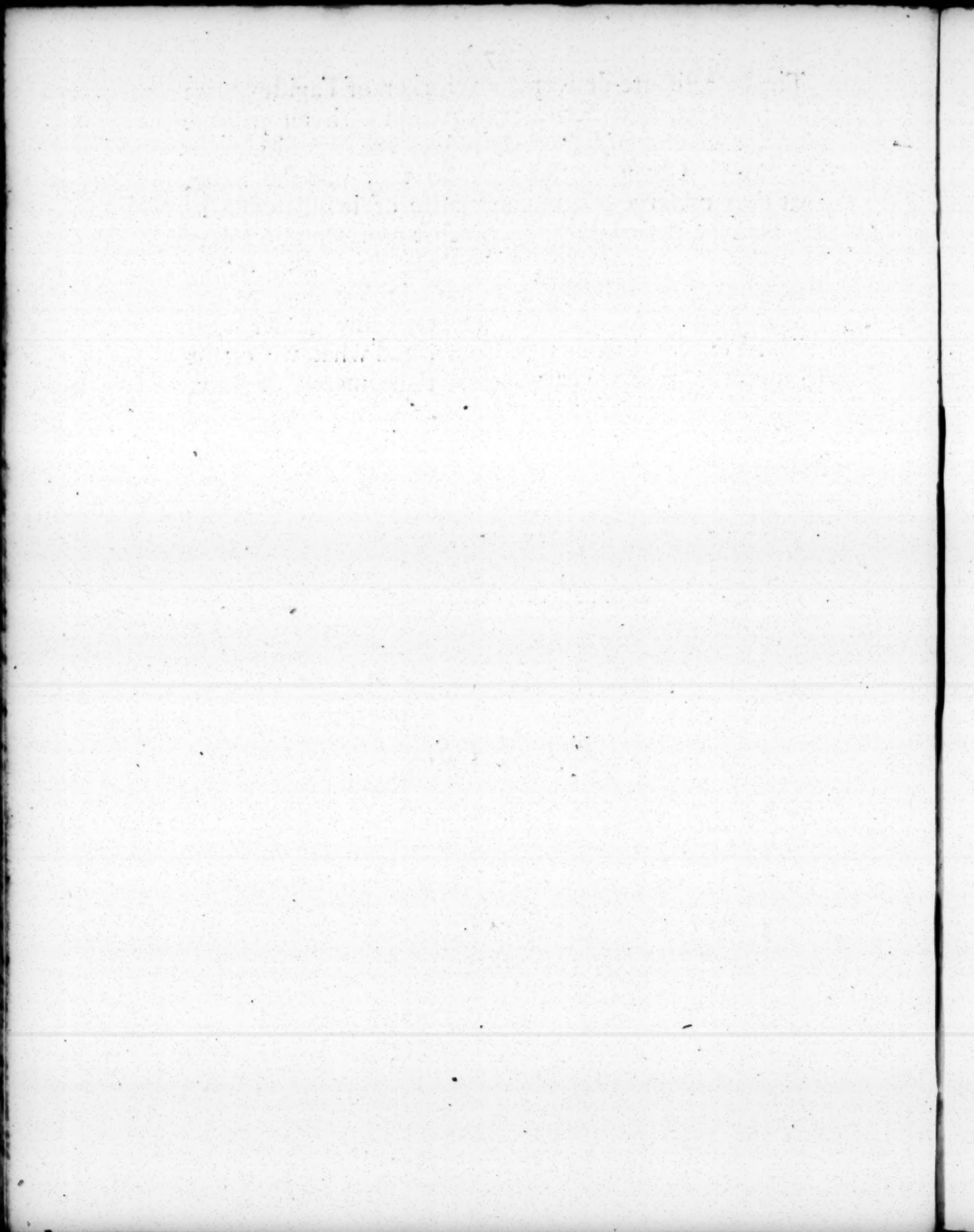
*Historie de
France,
An. 1581.*

Nor did the Pope think there was yet Blood enough shed, but that which all the World condemned as excessive Cruelty, he apprehended was too gentle. Therefore he sent Cardinal *Ursin* his Legate in all haste to *France*, to thank the King for so great a Service done the Church, and to desire him to go on, and extirpate Heresie Root and Branch, that it might never grow again. In order to which, he was to procure the Council of *Trent* to be received in *France* ; and as the Legat passed through, in his Journey to *Paris*, he gave a Plenary Absolution to all that had been Actors in the Massacre.

The

The best Picture-drawers, and workers of Tapistry, were also put to work to set off this Action with all possible glory, and a Sute of these Hangings are to this day in the Pope's Chappel. So well do they like the thing, that they preserve the remembrance of it still, even in the place of their Worship. Such a representation does indeed very well agree with their Devotion, whose Religion and Doctrine led on their Votaries to the thing so expressed. By this we may easily gather what is to be expected from that Court, and what we ought to look for, when-ever we are at the mercy of Men, whose Religion will not only bear them through, but set them on to commit the most Treacherous and Bloody Massacres.

FINIS.



A
D E C R E E
MADE AT
R O M E,

The Second of March, 1679.

Condemning
Some Opinions

OF THE
J E S U I T S

And other
C A S U I S T S.

L O N D O N,

Printed for Ric. Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown
in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1679.

DECLARE

MADE AT

ROMA

The 2nd of June, 1879

Some Opinions

TESTS

CASISTS

LONDON

Printed by J. W. & J. B. in the Strand and Great
in the Strand, London, W.C.

THE P R E F A C E.

THis Decree which is now so much talked of in *France*, being sent over to me, I thought it would not be ungrateful to this Nation to have it reprinted here with an English Translation; but lest some unwary Readers might make an ill use of it, I judged it needful to prepare them to it by two Reflections, which from the reading of the Decree they ought to make.

The first is, That those monstrous Tenets for which we have so often heard the Casuists of the Roman Church, particularly the Jesuits, accused, are no false Imputations unjustly laid to their Charge, but are truly delivered by them. This none can have a face to deny any more, since the Pope and a Congregation of Cardinals have gathered these

The Preface.

Opinions out of the Books of Casuists, and have thus condemned them. So that our Divines who have charged that Church for tolerating these impious and immoral Doctrines, are no more to be suspected as false Accusers, since here we have Witnesses beyond exception, that these Opinions have been publicly taught by the Masters of the Casuistical Divinity among them.

Of the following Propositions *I* desire the Reader may consider the 26. and 27. by which he will see that those Directors of Consciences, teach, *That if a man is questioned whether he has done a thing that he really did, he may forswear it, meaning within himself some other thing, or any other way of doing it, or any addition to what he says, in which cases he does not lie, nor is he perjured: And a just cause of such Reservations, is, when they are necessary to save our Life, Honour, or Goods, or for any other act of vertue; so that the concealment of truth be judged expedient or desirable.*

By

The Preface.

By this Doctrin, suppose a man is examined concerning the Murder of Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey*, that was privy to it, he may swear he knows nothing of it, meaning either that he was not unjustly murdered, or that he was not murdered with an ill intention, or that he knows nothing of it so as to tell those who examin him : and there is a very just cause for using these Reservations, since such denials are intended to preserve the Lives, Honour, and Goods of Catholicks. These being the Opinions of their Doctors, none can wonder if the People, a great part of whose Devotion it is to obey their Confessors, are perswaded into such practices.

But to this it may be now opposed, that these Opinions being condemned by the Pope, we need fear the ill effects of them no more. Upon this *I* shall make a second Reflection, which is no less clear than the former ; that this Condemnation is so lame and defective, that notwithstanding it, even those who submit

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mit to the Infallibility of the See of *Rome*, may still hold the following Positions. I need not desire the Reader to observe that it is above twenty years since Complaints were first made to the Popes by some of their own Clergie in *France*, of the Immoral and Impious Doctrines of the Casuists : but so prevalent were the Arts, that the Jesuits have used to obstruct any Censure, that the world has been all this while corrupted with these ill Opinions, which many Confessors have infused into peoples consciences ; whereby it cannot be doubted but many thousand souls have been lost : and this Sentence which has been but a week in *England*, comes too late for them, who are already in another world, and are answering for the prevarications to which they may have been perswaded by their Confessors.

But after all this Condemnation, we are not at all secured from the ill effects of these Opinions. For the Pope does not condemn them

The Preface.

them as Impious, Immoral, or contrary to the Laws of God and Nature : Now does he require all persons under the pain of mortal sin, or as they would not incur the indignation of Almighty God, to teach these Propositions no more; though that is the common style of Bulls, in matters of much less concernment. If he had done it thus, the Condemnation had been of greater Authority ; and so all that believe the Pope infallible had been indeed obligatory, and indispensable. But it is of a far milder strain : these Opinions are declared to be at least * *scandalous* and *pernicious in practice*. How softly and mercifully does his Holiness treat them. To be Scandalous and Pernicious amounts to no more, but that such Propositions have ill effects ; but does not conclude them to be ill in themselves. If then the case comes, that these Opinions may have good effects, the Pope by a faculty may dispence with them, since they are not declared to be in themselves evil or impious.

* See the like remark made on the Censure that Pope Alexander the 7th passed on some other Propositions, by D. Lloyd in his Sermon at the Funeral of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, p. 32.

All

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All persons are also required neither to defend nor publish them, nor reduce them to practice: This is only a Prohibition, but no Condemnation. The Pains are, Excommunication *ipso facto*, and they are required in the vertue of *Holy Obedience* to do so no more. Nothing here of the Law of God and Nature, but only *Holy Obedience*: Therefore since the Pope can dispence with all the Laws of the Church, but more particularly with the Obedience due to himself, it is evident from hence that all the effect this Decree can have, is only to make it necessary for Confessors to procure a Faculty dispensing with it, before they may possess their Penitents with these Opinions: which, how easily it may be obtained at *Rome*, is well enough known.

So that by this Decree these two Points are clearly made out, that such Opinions are maintained by many Casuists in the Roman Communion; and that this notwithstanding they may be still taught among them.

DE

DECRETUM

S. S. D. N. D. INNOCENTII DIVINA
Providentia Papæ XI. quo 65. Casuistarum
Propositiones ad minus tanquàm scandalosas &
in praxi perniciosas damnavit, & sub pœna ex-
communicationis *ipso facto*, & S. Sedi Apo-
stolicæ reservatæ ab ullo defendi vel edi prohi-
buit.

THE DECREE

*Of our Most Holy Father INNOCENT by the
Divine Providence the XI. Pope, by which he has
condemned 65 Propositions of Casuists, as at least scan-
dalous and pernicious in practice, and has Prohibited
them to be defended or published by any, under the pain
of Excommunication ipso facto, and that to be reser-
ved to the Holy Apostolick See.*

B

Feria

Feria v. diē 2. Martii 1679.

IN GENERALI CONGREGATIONE

*Sanctæ Romanæ, & Universalis Inquisitionis habita
in Palatio Apostolico Vaticano coram Sanctissimo D.
N. D. Innocentio Divina Providentia Papa XI. ac
Eminentissimis, & Reverendissimis Dominis S. R. E.
Cardinalibus in tota Republica Christiana contra Hæ-
reticam pravitatem Generalibus Inquisitoribus, à San-
cta Sede Apostolica specialiter deputatis.*

SANCTISSIMUS D. N. INNOCENTIUS PAPA XI. præ-
dictus omnium sibi à Deo creditarum saluti se-
dulo incumbens, & salubre opus in segre-
gandis noxiis doctrinarum pascuis ab innoxiiis à
reel. record. Alexandro VII. Prædecessore suo in-
choatum proseguere volens, plurimas propositiones
partim ex diversis, vel libris, vel thesibus, seu
scriptis excerptas, & partim noviter adinventas
Theologorum plurium examini, & deindè Emi-
nentissimis, & Reverendissimis Dominis Cardina-
libus contra hæreticam pravitatem Generalibus In-
quisito-

Thursday the 2. of March, 1679.

In a General Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition, held in the Apostolick Palace in the *Vatican*, before our most H. Father *Innocent*, by the Divine Providence the XI. Pope; and the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lords, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, being specially deputed by the Holy Apostolick See, to be the General Inquisitors for the whole Christian Commonwealth, against all Heretical Pravity.

Our said most Holy Father Pope *Innocent* the XI. considering seriously the salvation of the Sheep committed to him by God, and designing to prosecute that healthful work that was begun by his Predecessor *Alexander* the 7th of happy Memory, of separating the hurtful Pastures of evil Doctrines from those that are not so, has gathered many Propositions, partly out of Books, Theses, or other Writings; partly out of some late Innovations, and appointed them to be examined by several Divines, and has since laid them before the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Cardinals, who are the General Inquisitors against Heretical Pravity.

quisitoribus subjecit. Quibus propositionibus sedulo, & accurate sæpius discussis eorundem Eminentissimorum Cardinalium, & Theologorum votis per Sanctitatem Suam auditis. Idem Sanctissimus D. N. re postea maturè considerata, statuit, & decrevit pro nunc sequentes propositiones, & unamquamque ipsarum, sicut jacent, ut minimum tantquam scandalosas, & in praxi perniciosas, esse damandas, & prohibendas, sicuti eas damnat, & prohibet. Non intendens tamen Sanctitas Sua per hoc Decretum alias propositiones in ipso non expressas, & Sanctitati Suæ quomodolibet, & ex quacumque parte exhibitas, vel exhibendas ullatenus approbare.

1. **N**on est illicitum in Sacramentis conferendis sequi opinionem probabilem de valore Sacramenti, relicta tutiore, nisi id vetet lex, conventio, aut periculum gravis damni incurrendi. Hinc sententia probabili tantum utendum non est in collatione Baptismi, Ordinis Sacerdotalis, aut Episcopalis.

2. Probabiliter existimo, Judicem posse judicare juxta opinionem etiam minus probabilem.

3. Generatim dum probabilitate, sive intrinseca sive extrinseca quamvis tenui, modo à probabilitatis finibus non exeatur, confisi aliquid agimus, semper prudenter agimus.

4. Ab

vity. Which Propositions having been diligently, exactly, and frequently discussed, and the Opinions of the said most Eminent Cardinals and Divines having been heard by his Holiness, the said most Holy Father having maturely considered the Matter, has at present appointed and decreed, that the following Propositions, and every one of them, as they are set down, shall be damned and prohibited, as being at least scandalous and pernicious in practice; like as he does hereby damn and prohibit them. His Holiness not intending by the Decree to approve in any manner, other Propositions that are not here expressed, that either have been or shall be hereafter presented to him.

1. **I**T is not unlawfull in the Administration of the Sacraments to follow a Probable Opinion concerning the Validity of the Sacraments, rather than one that is more safe; unless that be forbidden by a Law, Agreement, or the hazard of some great Damage. Hence it follows, that an Opinion only probable is not to be followed in the conferring of Baptism, or of Priestly or Episcopal Orders.

2. I think it Probable, that a Judge may give sentence according to an Opinion that is less Probable.

3. Generally when we do any thing trusting to the Probability of it, whether it be Intrinsical, (which is grounded on Reason) or Extrinsical (that is grounded on Authority) were it ever so small, so we do not go beyond the bounds of probability, we act always prudently.

4. An

4. Ab infidelitate excusabitur infidelis non credens ductus opinione minus probabili.

5. An peccet mortaliter, qui actum dilectionis Dei semel tantum in vita eliceret, condemnare non audemus.

6. Probabile est, nè singulis quidem rigorosè quinquenniis per se obligare præceptum charitatis erga Deum.

7. Tunc solùm obligat, quando tenemur justificari, & non habemus aliam viam, quâ justificari possumus.

8. Comedere, & bibere usque ad satietatem ob solam voluptatem non est peccatum, modò non obfit valetudini, quia licitè potest appetitus naturalis suis actibus frui.

9. Opus Conjugii ob solam voluptatem exercitum omni penitus caret culpa, ac defectu veniali.

10. Non tenemur proximum diligere actu interno, & formali.

11. Præcepto proximum diligendi satisfacere possumus per solos actus externos.

12. Vix in Sæcularibus invenies, etiam in Regibus superfluum statui. Et ita vix aliquis tenetur ad eleemosynam, quando tenetur tantum ex superfluo statui.

13. Si cum debita moderatione facias, potes absque peccato mortali de vita alicujus tristari, &
de

4. An Infidel that will not believe, trusting to an Opinion that is less probable, shall be thereby excused from his Infidelity.

5. We dare not condemn a man of Mortal sin that never had any act of love to God, but one, in his whole life.

6. It is probable that the Precept of loving God does not oblige rigorously, and of it self, no not once every fifth year.

7. It only then obliges us when we are bound to put our selves in a state of Justification, and have no other way left us by which we can do it.

8. It is no sin to eat and drink to satiety only for pleasure, so that it does not prejudice our health; for the natural appetite may lawfully enjoy its proper acts.

9. The use of Marriage only for pleasure, is free of all fault, and even of a venial defect.

10. We are not bound to love our Neighbour by an internal formal act.

11. We obey the Command of loving our Neighbour by external acts only.

12. It is hard to find among secular persons, even Kings, an abundance; so there is scarce any body bound to give Alms, if one is only obliged to give out of their abundance.

13. One may without Moral sin be troubled for the life of another, if he does it with due moderation: and

de illius morte naturali gaudere, illam inefficaci affectu petere, & desiderare; non quidem ex displicentia personæ, sed ob aliquod temporale emolumentum.

14. Licitum est absoluto desiderio cupere mortem Patris, non quidem, ut malum Patris, sed ut bonum cupientis, quia nimirum ei obventura est pinguis hæreditas.

15. Licitum est filio gaudere de parricidio Parentis à se in-ebrietate perpetrato propter ingentes divitias inde ex hæreditate consecutas.

16. Fides non censetur cadere sub præceptum speciale, & secundum se.

17. Satis est, actum fidei semel in vita elicere.

18. Si à potestate publica quis interrogetur, fidem ingenuè confiteri, ut Deo, & fidei gloriosum consulo, tacere, ut peccaminosum per se non damno.

19. Voluntas non potest efficere, ut assensus fidei in seipso sit magis firmus, quàm mereatur pondus rationum ad assensum impellentium.

20. Hinc potest quis prudenter repudiare assensum, quem habebat supernaturalem.

21. Assensus fidei supernaturalis, & utilis ad salutem stat cum notitia solum probabili revelationis ;

one may rejoyce at the natural death of another, and desire and wish it with inefficacious desires, so it be not out of dislike to the person, but for some temporal advantage.

14. It is lawful to desire the death of ones Father by an absolute desire, so that it be not desired for the Fathers hurt; but for his good that wishes it, that he may thereby obtain a good Inheritance.

15. It is lawful for a Son to rejoyce for the Murder of his Father committed by himself, when he was drunk, for the great riches which may come to him by inheritance.

16. Faith does not seem to come within any special or absolute Precept.

17. It is enough to have one act of faith in our whole life.

18. If one is examined by the Civil Power, I advise him to confess the Faith Ingeniously, as a thing both for the glory of God and of the Faith; but if he is silent, I do not condemn it as sinful of it self.

19. It is not in the power of the will, that the assent of Faith be more firm in it self, than the weight of the reasons which inforce it does requires.

20. A man may prudently reject a supernatural assent which he had formerly.

21. An Assent of Faith that is supernatural and profitable to salvation, may consist with a probable knowledge


onis ; immò cum formidine, qua quis formidet, ne non sit locutus Deus.


22. Non nisi fides unius Dei necessaria videtur necessitate medii, non autem explicita Remuneratoris.

23. Fides latè dicta ex Testimonio Creaturarum, similivè motivo ad justificationem sufficit.

24. Vocare Deum in Testem mendacii levis non est tanta irreverentia, propter quam velit, aut possit damnare hominem.

25. Cum causa, licitum est jurare sine animo jurandi, sive res sit levis, sive gravis.

 26. Si quis, vel solus, vel coram aliis, sive interrogatus, sive propria sponte, sive recreationis causa, sive quocumque alio fine, juret, se non fecisse aliquid, quod revera fecit, intelligendo intra se aliquid aliud, quod non fecit, vel aliam viam ab ea, in qua fecit, vel quodvis aliud additum verum, reverà non mentitur, nec est perjurus.

 27. Causa justà utendi his amphibologiis est, quoties id necessarium, aut utile est, ad salutem corporis, honorem, res familiares tuendas, vel ad quemlibet alium virtutis actum, ita ut veritatis occultatio censeatur tunc expediens, & studiosa.

28. Qui

of Revelation only: Yea, even with a fear by which one apprehends that God has not spoken it.

22. The faith of one God seems only to be necessary by an indispensible necessity, but the explicit belief that God is a rewarder seems not necessary.

23. Faith in its large sense only from the evidence of the Creation, or some such motive, is sufficient for Justification.

24. To call God a witness to a lie in a light matter, is not so great an irreverence, that he either will, or can damn a man for it.

25. If a man have cause for it, whether it be small or great, he may lawfully swear without an intention of swearing.

26. A man either alone or before others, may either when he is asked, or of his own accord, or for his diversion, or any other end swear that he did not do a thing which he really did; having a secret meaning, either of some other thing which he did not do, or of another way of doing it, or of any other truth which he adds to it; in which case he is in truth neither a liar, nor is he perjured.

27. A just cause of using those secret meanings is as oft as it is necessary or profitable for the preservation of life, or honour, or saving ones goods, or for any other act of vertue; so that the concealment of truth seems in that case expedient or desirable.

28. Qui mediante commendatione, vel munere ad Magistratum, vel Officium publicum promotus est, poterit cum restrictione mentali præstare juramentum, quod de mandato Regis à similibus solet exigi non habito respectu ad intentionem exigentis, quia non tenetur fateri crimen occultum.

29. Urgens metus gravis est causa justa Sacramentorum administrationem simulandi.

30. Fas est viro honorato occidere invasorem, qui nititur calumniam inferre, si aliter hæc ignominia vitari nequit; idem quoque dicendum, si quis impingat alapam, vel fuste percutiat, & post impactam alapam, vel ictum fustis fugiat.

31. Regulariter occidere possum furem pro conservatione unius aurei.

32. Non solum licitum est defendere defensione occisiva, quæ actu possidemus, sed etiam ad quæ jus inchoatum habemus, & quæ nos possessuros speramus.

33. Licitum est tam heredi, quam legatario contra injustè impediētem, ne vel hereditas adeatur, vel legata solvantur, se taliter defendere, sicut & jus habenti in Cathedram, vel Præbendam contra eorum possessionem injustè impediētem.

34. Elicet procurare abortum ante animationem fœtus, ne Puella deprehensa gravida occidatur, aut infametur.

35. Vi-

28. He that is promoted to a Magistracy, or Publick Office, either by the means of some recommendation or present, may with a mental reservation take the Oath which Kings usually require, not regarding the intention of him that exacts it, because he is not bound to confess a secret crime.

29. A pressing and great fear is a just cause of dissembling in the administration of the Sacraments.

30. It is lawful for a person of Honour to kill a man that intends to calumniate him, if there is no other way to avoid that reproach. The same is also to be said, if one gives another a box in the Ear, or cudgels him, and runs away after such beating or cudgelling.

31. A man may regularly kill a Thief that he may thereby save one Crown.

32. It is not only lawful to defend the things that we possess by killing such as invade us, but likewise the things to which we have only a right begun, and which we hope to possess.

33. It is lawful to an heir, or one to whom a Legacy is left, to defend himself against him that hinders him unjustly to enter on his inheritance, or to receive his Legacy by the same means, that a Professor or Prebendary may use against such as hinder them from their possession.

34. It is lawful to procure an Abortion before the Conception is quickened, least the Woman being discovered to be with Child should be either killed or defamed.

35. Videtur probabile omnem foetum, quamdiu in utero est, carere anima rationali, & tunc primum incipere eandem habere, cum paritur; ac consequenter dicendum erit in nullo abortu homicidium committi.

36. Permissum est furari, non solum in extrema necessitate, sed etiam in gravi.

37. Famuli, & famulae domesticæ possunt occultè heris suis surripere ad compensandam operam suam, quam majorem judicant salario, quod recipiunt.

38. Non tenetur quis sub pœna peccati mortalis restituere quod ablatum est per pauca furtiva, quantumcumque sit magna summa totalis.

39. Qui alium movet, aut inducit ad inferendum grave damnum tertio, non tenetur ad restitutionem istius damni illati.

40. Contractus *Mohatra* licitus est, etiam respectu ejusdem personæ, & cum contractu retrovenditionis præviè inito, cum intentione lucri.

41. Cum numerata pecunia pretiosior sit numeranda, & nullus sit, qui non majoris faciat pecuniam præsentem, quam futuram, potest creditor aliquid ultra sortem à mutuario exigere, & eo titulo ab usura excusari.

42. Usura non est dum ultra sortem aliquid exigitur, tamquam ex benevolentia, & gratitudine debitum, sed solum si exigatur tamquam ex justitia debitum.

43. Quidni

35. It seems probable that all Conceptions as long as they are in the Womb, are without a reasonable Soul; and that they then begin to have one when they are first born, and by consequence there is no Murder committed in any Abortion.

36. It is lawful to steal, not only in extream necessity but in a heavy one.

37. Servants of either Sex may secretly steal from their Masters, for the value of their service, if it is greater than the Salary which they receive.

38. A man is not bound under the pain of mortal sin to restore that which he stole by many thefts, how great soever the sum total may be.

39. He that moves or perswades another to do a hurtful thing to a third person, is not bound to make up the damage which is thereby sustained.

40. The contract of Mohatra is lawful, though made with the same person, and with a reselling of the same thing, before agreed on, with a design of gain.

41. Since money laid down is more valuable than that which is only due, and all men value money that is present, more than that they look for, a Creditor may expect more than the stock from the borrower, and be thereby excused from being an Usurer.

42. It is not usury, when somewhat beyond the stock is looked for, so it be not exacted as due by justice, but as due by benevolence and gratitude.

43. Why

43. Quidni non nisi veniale sit, detrahentis auctoritatem magnam sibi noxiam, falso crimine elidere ?

44. Probabile est non peccare mortaliter, qui imponit falsum crimen alicui, ut suam iustitiam, & honorem defendat. Et si hoc non sit probabile, vix ulla erit opinio probabilis in Theologia.

45. Dare temporale pro spirituali non est simonia, quando temporale non datur tamquam pretium, sed duntaxat tamquam motivum conferendi, vel efficiendi spirituale, vel etiam quando temporale sit solum gratuita compensatio pro spirituali, aut è contra.

46. Et id quoque locum habet etiam si temporale sit principale motivum dandi spirituale; immò etiam si sit finis ipsius rei spiritualis, sic ut illud pluris aestimetur, quam res spiritualis.

47. Cum dixit Concilium Tridentinum eos alienis peccatis communicantes mortaliter peccare, qui nisi quos digniores, & Ecclesiae magis utiles ipsi iudicaverint ad Ecclesias promovent, Concilium, vel primò videtur per hoc digniores non aliud significare velle, nisi dignitatem eligendorum sumpto comparativo pro positivo; vel secundo locutione minus propria ponit digniores, ut excludat indignos, non verò dignos; vel tandem loquitur tertio quando fit concursus.

48. Tam

43. Why may it not be said that it is only a Venial sin in any to lessen the great authority of another, which is hurtful to himself, by charging him with some false crime.

44. It is probable that he does not sin mortally, who fastens a false crime on another, that he may defend his own justice and honour; and if this is not probable, there is scarce any Opinion probable in Divinity.

45. It is not Simony to give a temporal thing for the spiritual, when the temporal thing is not given as the price; but only as a motive for the bestowing or doing the spiritual thing; or when the temporal is only a gratuitous compensation for the spiritual, or the spiritual is a compensation for the temporal.

46. This does also take place, though the temporal thing be the principal Motive for bestowing the spiritual; nay though it be the very end of the spiritual thing, and be more highly esteemed than the spiritual.

47. Whereas the Council of Trent saies that they sin mortally, and participate in other mens sins, who do not promote to Churches those whom they judge more worthy, and more useful to the Church; that Council did thereby mean either by the more worthy only, that such as are promoted should be worthy, using the Comparative degree for the Positive; or by an Impriety of speech, the more worthy are mentioned, that persons unworthy may be excluded, but not such as are worthy; or Thirdly, they mean of a match of two, that then the more worthy be preferred.

48. Tam clarum videtur, fornicationem secundum se nullam involvere malitiam, & solum esse malam, quia interdicta, ut contrarium omnino rationi dissonum videatur.

49. Molities iure naturæ prohibita non est. Unde si Deus eam non interdixisset, sæpe esset bona, & aliquando obligatoria sub mortali.

50. Copula cum conjugata, consentiente marito, non est adulterium; adeoque sufficit in confessione dicere, se esse fornicatum.

51. Famulus, qui submissis humeris scienter adjuvat herum suum ascendere per fenestras ad stuprandum virginem, & multoties eidem subservit deferendo scalam, aperiendo januam, aut quid simile cooperando, non peccat mortaliter, si id faciat metu notabilis detrimenti, puta ne a Domino male tractetur, ne torvis oculis aspiciatur, ne domo expellatur.

52. Præceptum servandi festa non obligat sub mortali, seposito scandalo, si absit contemptus.

53. Satisfacit præcepto Ecclesiæ de audiendo Sacro, qui duas ejus partes, immo quatuor similes diversis Celebrantibus audit.

54. Qui non potest recitare Matutinum & Laudes,

48. It seems so clear that Fornication has no real evil in it self, but is only evil because it is forbidden, that the contrary Opinion is plainly against all reasons.

49. Voluntary Pollution is not forbidden by the law of Nature; So that if God had not forbidden it, it had been often good, and that to which men might be sometimes obliged under the pain of mortal sin.

50. It is not Adultery to lie with a married woman, if her Husband gives consent; and it is enough in that case for a man to confess that he committed Fornication.

51. A Servant who lets his Master rise upon his Shoulders to go in at a Window, knowing that his design is to defile a Virgin, and does serve him by bringing a Ladder, opening a door, for doing some such thing in concurrence with him, is not mortally, if he does it for fear of notable prejudice, to wit, least he be ill used by his Master, be looked at awry, or turned out of doors.

52. The Precept of observing Festivities, setting aside the scandal, does not oblige under the pain of mortal sin, provided that it is not out of contempt.

53. He satisfies the Precept of the Church for hearing Mass, that hears two, yea even four parts of it of several Priests at Celebration.

54. He that cannot say his Matines and Lauds, but

des, potest autem reliquas Horas, ad nihil tenetur, quia major pars trahit ad se minorem.

55. Præcepto Communionis annuæ satisfit per sacrilegam Domini manducationem.

56. Frequens Confessio, & Communio, etiam in his, qui gentiliter vivunt, est nota prædestinationis.

57. Probabile est, sufficere attritionem naturalem, modò honestam.

58. Non tenemur Confessario interroganti fateari peccati alicujus consuetudinem.

59. Licet Sacramentaliter absolvere dimidia-
tè tantum confessos, ratione magni concursus Pœ-
nitentium, qualis v. g. potest contingere in die ma-
gnæ alicujus festivitatis, aut indulgentiæ.

60. Pœnitenti habenti consuetudinem peccandi contra legem Dei, Naturæ, aut Ecclesiæ, etsi emendationis spes nulla appareat, nec est neganda, nec differenda, absolutio; dummodo ore proferat, se dolere, & proponere emendationem.

61. Potest aliquando absolvi, qui in proxima occasione peccandi versatur, quam potest, & non vult omittere, quinimmodò directè, & ex proposito quærit, aut ei se ingerit.

62. Pro-

but can say the rest of his Hours, is bound to nothing, for the greater part draws the lesser with it.

55. A man may obey the Precept for Receiving the Sacrament once a year, by Sacrilegious Communicating.

56. Frequent Confession, and Communion, even in those that live as Heathens, is a mark of Predestination.

57. It is probable that a natural attrition, so it be honest, is sufficient.

58. We are not bound to confess the custom of any sin to a Confessor that asks it.

59. It is lawful to absolve one Sacramentally, that has made but a half Confession, when there is a great crowd of many Penitents; such as for instance, may happen on a great Festival day, or a time of indulgence.

60. Absolution is neither to be denied nor delayed to a Penitent, that has a custom of sinning against a law of God, of Nature, or the Church, even though there is no hope of his amendment, if he saies he is sorry and purposes an amendment.

61. One may be sometimes absolved that continues in the nearest hazard of sinning, which he neither can nor will withdraw from, even though he does directly and on design seek it, and thrust himself in it.

62. The

62. Proxima occasio peccandi non est fugienda, quando causa aliqua utilis, aut honesta non fugienti occurrit.

63. Licitum est quærere directè occasionem proximam peccandi pro bono spirituali, vel temporali nostro, vel proximi.

64. Absolutionis capax est homo quantumvis laboret ignorantia Mysteriorum Fidei, & etiamsi per negligentiam, etiam culpabilem nesciat Mysterium Sanctissimæ Trinitatis, & Incarnationis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi.

65. Sufficit illa Mysteria semel credidisse.

Quicumque autem cujusvis conditionis, status, & dignitatis illas, velle illarum aliquam conjunctim, vel divisim defenderit, vel ediderit, vel de eis disputativè, publicè, aut privativè tractaverit, vel prædicaverit, nisi forsan impugnando, ipso facto incidat in excommunicationem latæ sententiæ, à qua non possit (præterquam in articulo mortis) ab alio quacumque etiam dignitate fulgente, nisi pro tempore existente Romano Pontifice, absolvi.

Insuper districtè in virtute Sanctæ obedientiæ, & sub interminatione Divini Judicii prohibet omnibus Christi fidelibus, cujuscumque conditionis, digni-

62. The nearest hazard of sinning is not to be avoided when a profitable or honest occasion of flying from it does not occur.

63. It is lawful to seek directly the nearest hazard of sinning for the spiritual, or temporal good, either of our selves, or of our Neighbours.

64. A man is capable of Absolution, though he lies under an ignorance of the Mysteries of Faith; and even though by a Negligence, that is his own fault, he knows not the Mystery of the most Holy Trinity, and the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

65. It is sufficient that he once believed those Mysteries.

WHosoever of whatsoever condition, State, or dignity shall defend, or publish these or any of them conjunctly, or severally; or shall treat or preach of them by way of dispute, either publickly, or privately, except it be to argue against them; he does thereby ipso facto incur an actual Excommunication *latæ sententiæ*, from which he cannot be absolved (except in the hour of death) by any how eminent soever their Dignity be, but only by the Pope for the time being.

Moreover, he strictly Prohibits in the virtue of Holy Obedience, and under the pains of the Judgments of God, all faithful Christians, of what condition, dignity and
state

dignitatis, & status, etiam speciali, & specialissima nota dignis, ne prædictas opiniones, aut aliquam ipsarum ad praxim deducant.

Tandem, ut ab injuriosis contentionibus Doctores, seu Scholastici, aut alii quicumque impofterum se abstineant, & ut paci, & charitati consulatur idem Sanctissimus in virtute Sanctæ Obedientiæ eis præcipit, ut tam in libris imprimendis, ac manuscriptis, quàm in Thesibus, Disputationibus, ac Prædicationibus caveant ab omni censura, & nota, necnon à quibuscumque conviciis contra eas Propositiones, quæ adhuc inter Catholicos hinc inde controvertuntur, donec a Sancta Sede recognitæ super iisdem Propositionibus iudicium proferatur.

FRAN-

state soever they be ; though under some singular or most extraordinary Character, that they shall not reduce the fore-said Opinions, or any of them into practice.

Finally that all Doctors or Schoolmen, and all other Persons do for the future abstain from all injurious contentions ; and our most Holy Father commands them in the virtue of Holy Obedience, that they study to maintain Peace and Charity, and that as well in their Printed and Written Books, as in their Theses, Disputes, or Sermons, they abstain from Censures, Nick-names, or Reproaches of all sorts, concerning those Propositions which are yet controverted on both sides, among Catholicks, till the Holy See having considered them, shall give Judgment about them.

FRANCISCUS RICCARDUS

Sanctæ Romanæ, & Universalis Inquisitionis
Notarius.

Loco † Sigilli.

ANno à Nativitate D. N. Jesu Christi millesimo
sexcentesimo septuagesimo nono. Indictione se-
cunda, die verò 4. mensis Martii, Pontificalis autem
Sanctiss. in Christo Patris & D. N. D. Innocentii Di-
vina Providentia Papæ XI. anno tertio, supradictum
Decretum, affixum & publicatum fuit ad Valvas Ba-
silicæ Principis Apostolorum, Cancellariæ Apostolicæ ac
in acie Campi Floræ, ac in aliis locis solitis, & con-
suetis Urbis, per me Franciscum Perinum, ejusdem
Sanctiss. D. N. Papæ & Sanctissimæ Inquisitionis
Cursorem.

MA 87

F I N I S.

F R A N C I S R I C H A R D

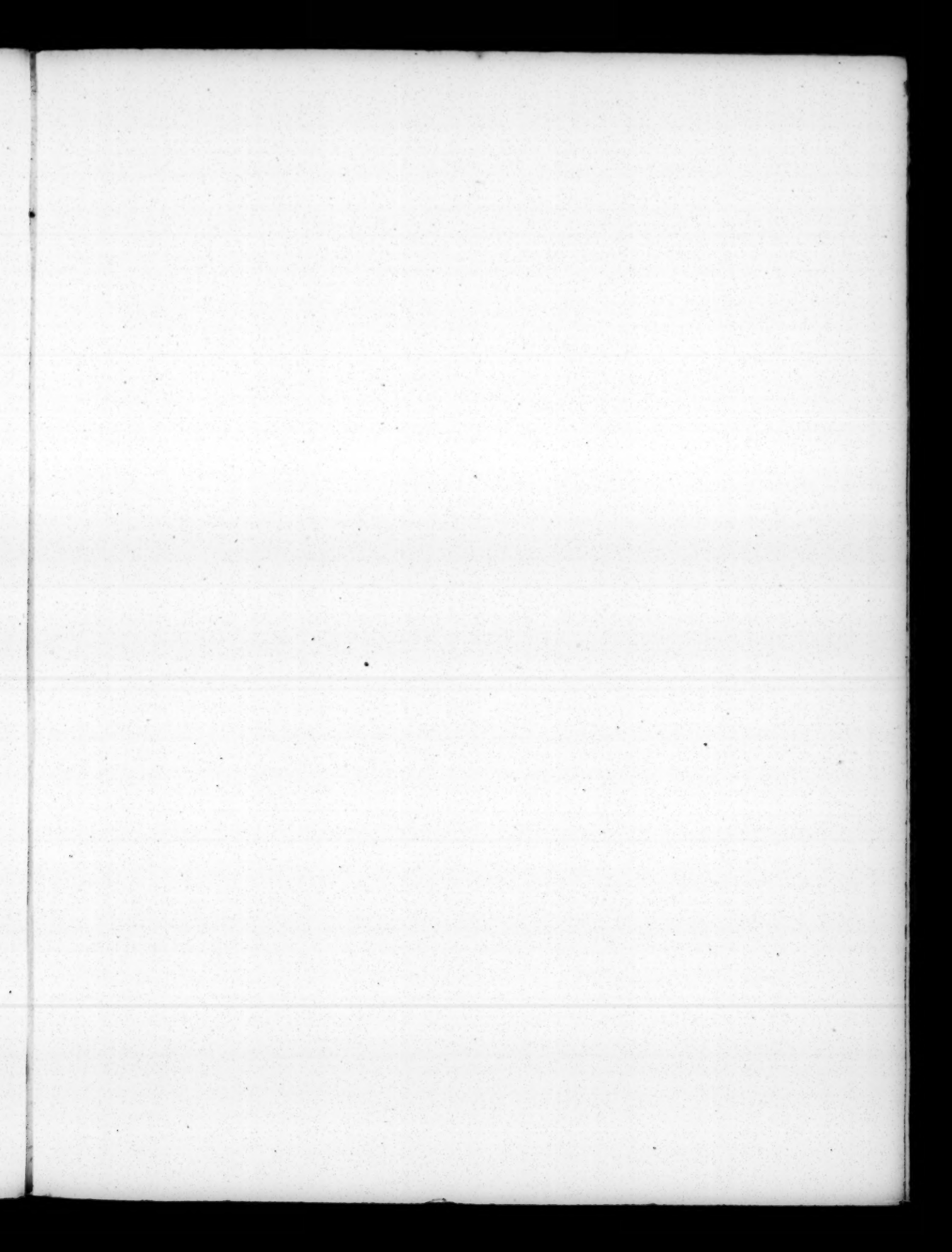
Notary to the General Inquisition of the Holy Roman Church.

IN the Year from the Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1679. the Second Indiction, the 4 of the moneth of *March*, the Third Year of the Pope-dom of our most Holy Father *Innocent* by the Divine Providence the XI. Pope. The foresaid Decree was offered and published at the Gates of the *Basilica* of the Prince of the Apostles ; and in the Apostolical Chancery, and in the Field of *Flora*, and in the other usual and customary places in the City, by me *Francis Perin* Messenger to our most Holy Father the Pope, and to the most Holy Inquisition.

The End.

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a review of the literature on the topic of the effect of the environment on the development of the individual. The second part of the paper is devoted to a review of the literature on the topic of the effect of the environment on the development of the individual.

[illegible]



THE
Conversion & Persecutions
OF
EVE COHAN,

Now called

Elizabeth Verboon,

A Person of Quality of the Jewish RELIGION.

Who was Baptized the 10th of October, 1680.
At St. Martins in the Fields,

By the Right Reverend Father in God,

WILLIAM,

Lord Bishop of St. ASAPH.

L O N D O N :

Printed by J. D. for Richard Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown
in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1680.

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THE PREFACE.

THe World has been so often deceived in many pretended Converts, who make a Trade of changing their Religion, that it is no wonder if Men are not easily perswaded of the sincerity of those who come over from one Religion to another; since it is certain the prepossession of Education and Custom is so strong, that such as turn to a New Religion, must either be led to it by a clear Conviction, which will shew it self in other signal Effects, or are guilty of great levity and fickleness of Mind, that disposes them too easily to change for changes sake; or do it upon a baser account, of working upon the Compassions of those, who being very Religious themselves, are apt to deal their Charity liberally to such as seem to follow the steps of Abraham, who being called to it, forsook his Kindred and Country to serve the true and living God.

But here is a Convert that is indeed a Disciple of the Cross, and has, in all the steps she made towards her Change, been oft in danger of her Life, and has suffered much from her Mother and Kindred: Whose Persecutions ceased not after she had taken sanctuary in this Country, where she might reasonably have thought, that either
the

THE PREFACE.

the Jews durst not presume to have pursued her any longer; or if they would have attempted it, could not have found Instruments to have served their wicked Designs. But even here, as they found out cursed Tools to have spirited her away; so when they failed, they betook themselves to all the Arts of Villany, in which they are so well practised: and hoping that nothing could resist their Wealth, of which they resolved to be prodigal upon this Occasion, they carried their Designs so far, that she was neglected by some, and hardly used by others, from whom a greater Zeal to the Christian Religion ought to have been expected.

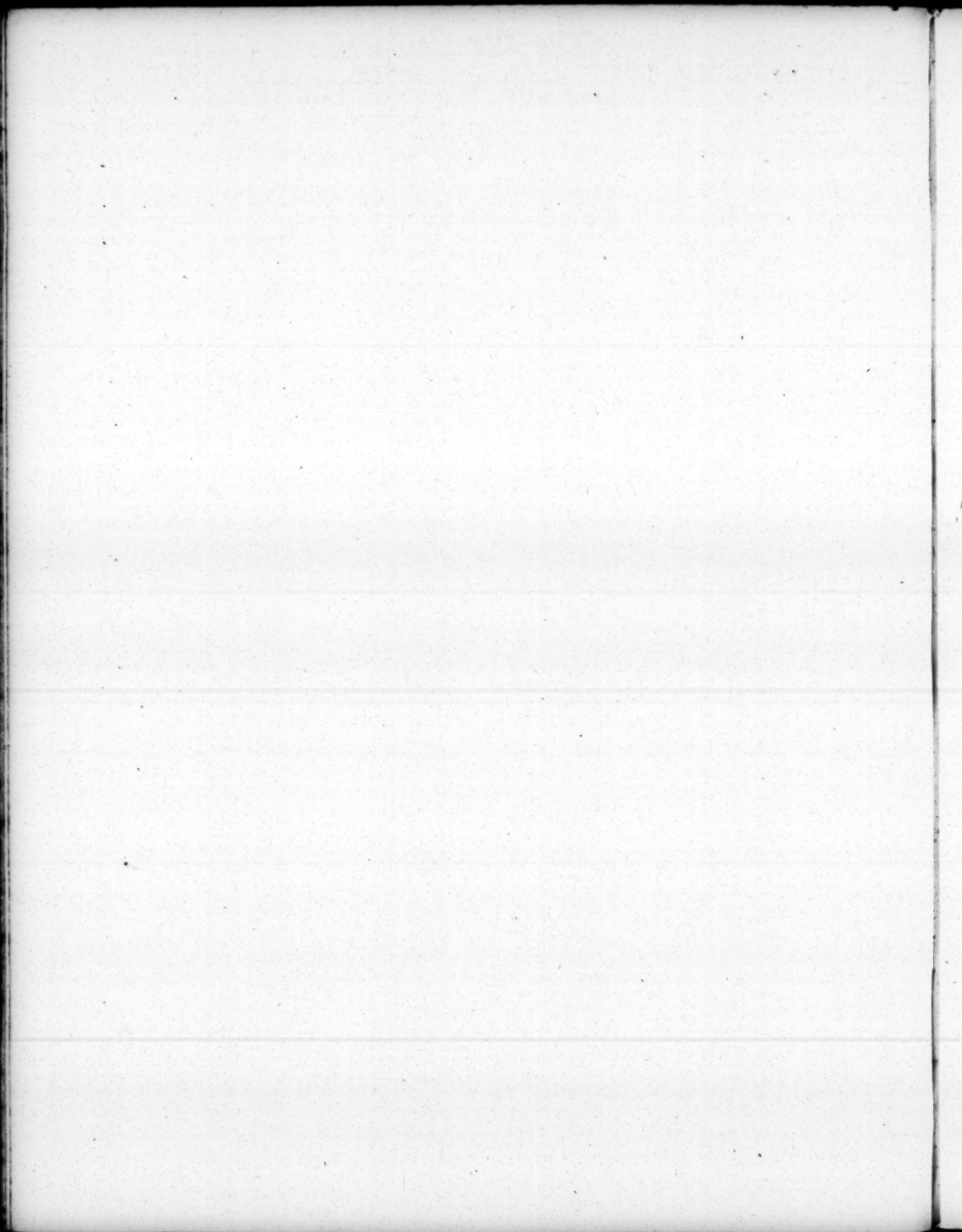
When she seemed thus abandoned by many Christians, the Jews then hoped to have prevailed on her weakness and fears, and her Mother writ tenderly to her, to perswade her to return home again: But God left her not wholly destitute, for as he directed her to lodge in a House, where she met with all the care and tenderness she could have expected from her nearest Relations; so she was found out by that eminent and learned Convert Charles du Veil, Doctor of Divinity; who being born and bred a Jew, was first converted to the Christian Religion in France; but both he, and his most learned Brother, seeing and detesting the Idolatry of the Church of Rome, forsook the great Advantages they had, and might have expected there, and came hither, and joined themselves to our Church. This Dr. Du Veil, remembering that word of our Saviour to St. Peter, When thou art converted, strengthen the Brethren, made it his Business both to instruct and comfort her, and to procure the charitable Supplies and Assurances of others to her.

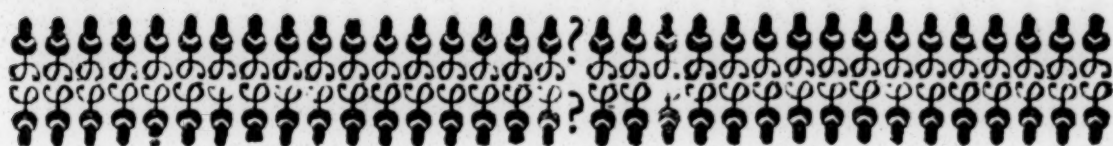
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THE PREFACE.

He applied himself chiefly to the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, as the Churchman most concerned in it, since this Convert had taken shelter in the Parish of St. Martins, of which he was then Vicar: and he followed her Concerns with that Zeal that the Occasion required. And the Lord Mayor of London being informed by him of the whole Business, has taken it into his care, with that sincere and hearty Affection which becomes a Christian, and so great a Magistrate; and is contriving the most effectual means possible, not only to do her right against her Oppressors, but also to have her possessed of a fair Estate that belongs to her in Holland: The hazard of losing which Estate, together with both Liberty and Life, she run with chearfulness, that she might embrace the Christian Religion. The particular account of so remarkable a Conversion, and those things which happened upon it, I hope will be no unacceptable entertainment to the Reader; and therefore having gathered the Passages and Steps of it together, upon very good Authority, I now offer them to the World.

THE





T H E

Conversion & Persecution

O F

ELIZABETH VERBOON.

E *Lizabeth Verboon* carries her Christen'd Name from the Baptismal Font, and her Surname from her Husband Mr. *Michael Verboon*, but her Name formerly was *Eve Cohan*: Her Father was *Abraham Cohan*, a Man of great Wealth and Credit, not only among the Jews in *Holland*, but among the *Dutch*: So that as *Michael Levi*, the Sollicitor for the Jews, informed the Lord Mayor, he was chief Governor of the Dutch Plantations in *Brasile*; and was then believed worth 100000 *l. Sterling*, but lost a great deal of it when the *Portugueses* beat the Dutch out of *Brasile*; yet, he said, that to his knowledg he died worth 20000 *l.* or upward: He died about ten Years agoe, when this his Daughter was not twelve Years Old; who has lived ever since under her Mothers

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care : Her Name was *Rebekah*, alias *Elizabeth* : She was Daughter to one *Pallacius*, who as this Convert had been told, was sent Ambassador from the States, and was one of the Professors in the University of *Leyden*. *Levi* knew this better than she did, and told the Lord Mayor that he was sent Ambassador, both to the Emperor of *Morocco*, and to the King of *Poland* ; what he professed in *Leyden* we do not yet know : It may be supposed, from his Negotiations, that he was a Civilian. He was a Jew in his heart, but gave himself out for a Christian : So that his Daughter, and other Children, as we are informed, were all Baptized.

This *Eve Coban* lived with her Mother at *Delft*, where one Mr. *Shol*, that teaches Musick, being imployed to teach her, used frequently to discourse with her of the Christian Religion : and carried her sometimes to Church, on pretence to hear the Organs play ; where she staid, not only while the Psalms were singing, but all the while, both of the Sermon and Prayers : And a New Testament being secretly conveyed to her, she took great delight in reading in it. She says, That which first made Impression on her, was, that their Nation was now dispersed over the World, no more under the Conduct of any Prophet : Nor had they any of those visible Marks of the Favour and Protection of God, which their Ancestors enjoyed in those Ages in which the Books of the Old Testament were written. So that they seemed cast off by God, and under these Curses threatned by *Moses* and

and the Prophets : and yet they kept the Laws of *Moses* better than ever, and were more careful than their Fathers had been to abstain from Idolatry. When she read the Account of our Saviour's Passion, she felt her self mightily affected with that passage of *Judas's* confessing that he had betrayed Innocent Blood ; and his being so transported with the horror of it, that he went and hanged himself.

This did first open her eyes, about two Years agoe, and from that time she was ever since disposed to become a Christian. But it coming some way to her Mothers knowledg, as she discharged the Musick-master, so she treated her very severely, and shut her up as a Prisoner near six months : and when gentler Severities were ineffectual, she threatned to poison her if she changed her Religion. So that once, for eight days together, she durst eat nothing that they gave her, till she saw others taste of it before her. She was oft beaten by her Mother, and not suffered to come to the Door, or look out at those Windows that opened to the Street, lest being in a Christian Country, she might have discovered her Designs to such as would have assisted her in bringing them to perfection. But that which confirmed her in the belief of Christianity, was, what she read of the Resurrection of our Saviour, of which he had given assurance to his Followers before his Sufferings ; this did so effectually convince her, that He was her onely Saviour and Redeemer, that she called often on him for his assistance

and direction, and resolved to dedicate her self to his Service.

While she was under those Apprehensions and Fears, he that is now her Husband, Mr. *Michael Verboon*, then served her Eldest Brother, *Jacob Cohan*; he is descended of honest Parents, though but of a mean condition: He had been entertained by one of the Admiralty of *Utrecht*, as his Servant for three Years. After that he served the *Heer Waerkendam* (one of the States General, who was sent Ambassador into *Denmark*) other three Years; and when he left his Service, he had a Certificate of his Faithful Service, signed by his Lady, himself being then from home, bearing date the third day of *May*, 1679. From thence he went to serve *Jacob Cohan*, and staid with him nine months, and had from him a Certificate of his faithful Service, two days after he left him.

There has been very great enquiry made concerning him in *Holland*, and all People there give a good Character of him. He being in the same House with her, addressed himself to her as a Suitor for Marriage, which she for some months rejected, but at last gave him some encouragement, though no promise nor assurance; and indeed intended then no more, but to make use of his kindness to her, so far as to be conveyed, by his means, into some place of safety, where she might without danger profess her self a Christian. Upon this he left her Brother's Service, and resolved to go for some time into *France*, and went on his way as far as *Brussels*.

She

She was daily in fear of her Life, and the rather, because her Mother had said to her, that Mr. *Honslaier*, a Minister at *Delft*, had been with her to demand her from her, because he understood she had an inclination to turn Christian. This we have learnt from *Holland* was not true, but only pretended by her Mother : and it is probable was said by her, that she might by that Artifice draw from her Daughter the discovery of a correspondence she suspected might be between the Minister and her. These things made her desirous to be out of their hands ; so having contrived the way of her escape, she got out of her Mothers House in the end of *May* ; and knowing by a Letter that Mr. *Verboon* wrote to her, that he was still at *Brussels*, she went thither. But being more concerned to prelerve her Life, and to save her Soul, then careful how to live, she did not so much as carry away the Jewels that were in her own possession : so far was she from robbing her Mother, or giving the rest of the Family any ground to lay those Actions on her, by which they hoped to have ruined her : though a parcel of very fair Jewels, that were her Mothers, lay so open to her very Eye, that she could easily have carried them away if she had designed it.

When she saw that the Christians at *Brussels* worshipped Images, and hearing that the Christians in *France* were generally guilty of the same Idolatry ; she resolved rather to come into *England*, and be Baptized in a Christian Church, that was not defiled with such Abominations :
and

and Mr. *Verboon* having been bred a Protestant, and making her understand the difference between the two Churches, she chose to join her self to a Protestant Church. So they went to *Newport*, and from thence came to *England*, in *July*, and took Lodgings in Mr. *Peter Lavignes* House, a French Taylor in *Bedford-bury*. She carried her self there very decently and vertuously; the People of the House knew that she went oft to Prayers: Mr. *Verboon* and she lived like Brother and Sister together; sometimes they went to the Dutch Church in *London*. The mean while she went to the Countess of *Arlington*, to desire her to help her to a Service; but that good Lady knew not how to recommend her, till she had a farther account of her from other hands.

On the 27th of *July*, *Moses Cohan*, her youngest Brother, and *Samuel Vandersee* her Cousen German, to whom, as it is said, her Mother intended to have married her, found her out, and took Lodgings in the same House. This made Mr. *Verboon* more pressing to have her marry him, fearing they might, either by force or perswasion, prevail with her to return.

So on the 29th of *July*, they went out to *Knightsbridg*, with two Witnesses, and were married there, according to the form of the Church of *England*. *Levi* was not ashamed to say, before the Lord Mayor, that she was within six weeks of her time; yet she having been now ten weeks married, appears not to have been with Child till after her Marriage, of which she has since miscarried

ried by fright, as shall be told afterwards. And her Husband with a solemn Oath declared to Bishop *Lloyd*, that she kept him at a due distance ever till they were married.

Her Brother brought her a Letter from her Mother, in which she charges her with no dishonest or unhandsome thing, but with many fair Offers and Promises, persuades her to abandon *Verboon*, and return home again.

Vandersee did, by many impious Blasphemies against the Person of our Blessed Saviour, endeavour to divert her from her Resolution of becoming a Christian.

But seeng all these ways were ineffectual, they resolved to betake themselves to more desperate and mischievous ones. And for this end they consulted with *Michael Levi*, the formerly mentioned Solicitor for the Jews; who laid the Train artificially enough to have spirited her away. He came often to the House where they were lodged, and dealt with *Mistress Lavigney* to help him to speak with *Mistress Verboon*; he offered her a Present, and made her many promises of large Rewards, both of Gold and Silver, if she would perswade her to go back to her Mother: But as *Mistress Verboon* could not see him, so *Mistress Lavigney* worthily rejected all his Offers, though he came four times to her, hoping

hoping, by such Importunities and Bribes, to overcome her at last. They intended first to have arrested Mr. *Verboon*, hoping if he were once put out of the way, they might deal with his Wife more effectually: but when the Bailiffs were brought about the House, he was, by his Landladies care, conveyed out at the Window. It is plain, they have no just ground of any Action against him, for two days after he left her Brother's House, he had a discharge of his Service under his Hand and Seal, bearing date the 17th of May, 1680.

When those two Jews had been five weeks in the same House with her, and perceived all the ways of Persuasion and Bribery were insuccessful, they then betook themselves to other Courses, in which they hoped they should succeed.

Michael Levi found out two fit Tools for their purpose, one *Holland* a *Middlesex* Bailiff, and one *Hammond* a Serjeant, belonging to the Poultry-Counter; the former of these came sometimes into the House where they lodged, as a Porter, carrying Jewish Meat to *Cohan* and *Vandersee*; by these means he was not suspected, and so found an opportunity to execute a Warrant upon Master *Verboon*, under the name of *Eve Cohan*, on the first of September, for forty pound, at the Suit of her Mother. There was Bail presently offered, by
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the procurement of the Landlord and his Wife : The Bailiff seemed willing to accept it, but *Hammond* had learned his Lesson better ; and pretended he must needs carry her to the Under-Sheriffs Office in *Hatton-Garden*, and so hurried her into a Coach, into which *Hammond* went with him : but Mistress *Lavigne* thrust her self also in with them to see what should be done with Mistress *Verbeon* : and those who offered to bail her, followed them to the Sheriffs Office.

All the while that this was doing, *Levi*, the principal Contriver, was standing at some distance, to see the issue of the Plot he had so skilfully laid, and carried himself, as if he had known nothing of it, but asked one, for what was that disturbance ? the Woman he spake to, perceiving he was a Jew, treated him with the Indignation that such a Provocation seemed almost to justify ; and he fearing some violent effects of it, ran away. But *Holland* the Bailiff, instead of carrying his Prisoner to the Sheriffs Office, where those that went to be Bail, staid some hours in vain expecting them, ordered the Coachman to drive within the Liberties of *London*, and then discharged her of the Arrest he had her under, and immediately *Hammond* took out his Mace, and arrested her for 2000 l. at her Mothers Suit, and so carried her into *London*.

It was in vain to tell them, that she being married, and under Covert-barr, was liable to no Arrest for Debts; for though the Certificate of the Marriage was shewed them, they who had other Instructions from *Levi*, resolved to finish the Project he had laid: which, as *Hammond* then declared, was for carrying her away into *Holland*. And *Levi* confessed afterward, before the Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs*, that he had employed *Hammond* to Arrest her. When the Coachman had driven to the Rose Tavern near the Poultry Counter, *Hammond* had a mind to make *Mistress Verboon* to go up two pair of Stairs; but she was in such a fright, and trembled so, that she sat down in the first Floor; and there *Mistress Lavigne* began to open the Business to some Company that was in the Room: but *Hammond*, in a great rage, called the Drawer, and made him drag her out of the Room; and then going up one pair of Stairs higher, he went about to persuade her to be contented and go home in quiet, for, said he, *Mistress Verboon* should not go to Prison, but lodg in his House, where she should be well used: and told her, that *Levi* had employed him in this Business, who never undertook any Affair in which he did not succeed.

But finding she still persisted in her resolution of assisting of *Mistress Verboon*, and of bringing some
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to Bail her, he threatned her that she should never be paid what was owing her, and that she and her Husband both, should come into great trouble and danger, by meddling further in it ; but if she would make no more noise, she should not only be paid, but well rewarded.

All these had no effect on her, so a Person she had sent for coming to them, he forced *Hammond* to carry her to the Counter ; for they knew well the design of carrying her to the Serjeants House, was only that she might be conveyed away more secretly.

She being lodged in the Prison, Master *Lavigne* fearing that the Jews might have taken her out of Prison, set some to keep constant watch before the Counter Gate ; and after two days entred an Action of 500 l. against her, that so she might not come out without his knowledg ; and lest the Jews should have brought some to have bailed her out, that so they might get her into their Power ; he continued his Watch there [employing some, on whom he knew their Bribes would have no influence] several Nights before the Counter Gate. There was need of all this Caution, when the Jews were so cruelly set on the poor Womans destruction ; and had found out such fit Instruments

for their ends. She knew what she was to expect if she fell in their hands, for *Vandersee* had told her, That if she proved with Child in their hands, she should see it when delivered of it, but never more : but she had reason to look for further Effects of their enraged Cruelty, if they had her once in their Power. And that those, whose Ancestors in Unbelief, had with so bloody a Malice crucified our Blessed Saviour, would have spared no invention of Mischief, to execute their Revenge on one, that was now resolved to believe in Him.

But so zealous was *Hammond* to serve the Jews in this Plot, that seeing *Mistress Lavigne* was like to raise a great stir about it, and that neither Promises, nor Threatnings, nor Violence, could work on her ; for he found the calling of her *Witch*, *Bawd*, and such other base Names, and the beating her, and pulling her by the Hair of the Head, could not deliver him from her Importunities ; he thereupon contrived another way to frighten her, or to have her torn in pieces by the People.

It is probable that *Levi* contrived this also, for both he and the other Jews came oft and drank with *Hammond* at the Rose Tavern : but whosoever contrived it, this way *Hammond* took ; The
next

next time he saw her, he cried out, *A Papist Bitch, a harbourer of Jesuits*; though it is notoriously known, that both she and her Husband have been always good Protestants: with this Out-cry he brought many together; who if her Sister had not been there, and brought some Friends to rescue her out of their Hands, had very probably done her much mischief.

But the poor Prisoner, who now seemed in a forlorn state, was not forsaken of him, to whose Service she was resolved to dedicate her self. *Mistress Lavigne* had brought *Dr. du Veil* to her while she lay at her House, as the fittest Person to instruct her, having been himself of that Religion. He waited on her every day during her Imprisonment, and comforted her much in her Afflictions: for these were the Pledges of her being to Reign with Christ, since she now suffered for him. He took care also of providing such Supplies as her Necessities called for.

And above all the rest of the good Offices he did her, he acquainted the Lord Bishop of *St. Asaph* with the Matter, in whose Parish this Prisoner was lodged, when she was so violently and fraudulently carried out of it; He had been out of Town when she was taken, but coming to it
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the next day, he set about it with all that diligence and zeal which the occasion required.

But now the Jews finding their Prisoner was under such a Protection, betook themselves to more Artificial Methods; and knowing that there was no ground, neither for the Action of 40 nor of 2000 *l.* let these fall the next Court day, and brought two new Actions, one of 500 *l.* at the Suit of *Vandersee*, and the other of 200 *l.* for Trover and Provision at her Mothers Suit; and they entertained my Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs* his Son to be their Counsel.

A Reverend Divine had informed my Lord Chief Justice of the Affair, who ordered a hearing of the Business before himself at his House, on the 10th of September: where because Bishop *Lloyd* could not then attend, he sent Mr. *Tissar* to appear for Mistris *Verboon*. When they came thither, *Levi* and *Vandersee*, with *Hammond*, being on the one side, were called up Stairs, for what end is not known: but after a little stay they came down, and soon after my Lord Chief Justice came out, and said, he was in haste, and must go to *White-Hall*, and so could not hear it: but he very mildly said, "He saw the thing was a Trick, and that "*Hammond* had been abused; but he bad him go "from him, to the Judg of the Sheriffs Court, and
" tell

“tell him, he perceived it was a Cheat. This was all could be obtained for him. So the poor Christian Complainants went away, as much cast down, as the Jews were lifted up with this great Success.

On the 7th of September, the Trial for *Vandersee's* pretended Debt was brought into the Sheriffs Court, where Mistris *Verboon's* Attorney, Mr. *Croß* of *Woodstreet*, though he knew of her Marriage, yet pleaded *non Assumpsit*. So the Witnesses were ordered to be summoned to the next Court Day; which was the 9th, and then the Trial was put off till Saturday. Then the Jews had obtained a *Leve-tur* for removing it to the Lord Mayor's Court, for a further delay: but the Lord Mayor being informed rightly of the Matter, by that worthy Gentleman Mr. *Crisp*, the Common Serjeant, presently signed a *Remandetur*, by which the Business was turned back to the Sheriffs Court; for the Jews had such a good acceptance with the Lord Chief Justice, that they hoped now to have wearied the poor Prisoner out with Vexatious Suits and Delays.

The Common Serjeant did also most worthily Bail her, on the 11th of September: So being at liberty, she resolved to delay her Profession of the
Christian

Christian Religion no longer, having been now as it were initiated into it by the Cross which she had born so long.

Yet the Bishop of *St. Asaph* resolved to delay it till he got a return to a Letter he wrote to the Minister of the English Congregation at the *Hague*, desiring him and Mr. *Swanwick* (a Learned Advocate there, with whom he had made an Acquaintance, when he waited on her Highness the Princess of *Orange* into *Holland*) to inform themselves of as many Particulars as they could learn concerning Mistris *Verboon* and her Husband: and having received a long and full Answer from the Minister to whom he wrot, he perceived it had been known in *Delft*, by the means of the Musick-master, that this Convert was enclined to be a Christian; that she had been sometimes at Church to hear Sermons; that she used often to read the *New Testament*; and that her Mother had treated her barbarously; but the Ministers had not demanded her, as her Mother had said to her.

So that was a piece of the Mothers Craft, to fish out of her Daughter what Correspondence there might have been between them and her: and for Mr. *Verboon*, they had a good Character given of him by all that knew him; only the angry Mother accused him of some ill things; but the discharge

charge of his Service two days after he left the Houſe, ſhews theſe were all Calumnies. And in a word, the Biſhop found that every thing that Miſtris *Verboon* had told him, proved to be true : So having uſed this Caution, which the many Cheats of pretended Converts had made more neceſſary, he reſolved to Baptiſe her into the Chriſtian Religion ; and left the particular care of inſtructing her on Dr. *du Veil*, who had of his own accord travelled much in it, and had followed all her Concerns with a very tender Care and aſſiduous Zeal.

But though ſhe was bailed out of Priſon, yet ſhe was not delivered from the Perſecutions of her Family. They knew well ſhe had ſtollen nothing from her Mother, and that ſhe owed her nothing.

On the contrary, her Mother owes her her Portion, which by *Levy's* own account, will riſe to above 2500 *l.* And he alſo ſaid, That her Mother had offered her to him with 3000 *l.* Portion in preſent, and more after her own Death.

Vanderſee, when he was before my Lord Chief Juſtice, pretended, that all he did was on the Mothers Account, and that Miſtris *Verboon* was indebted ſo much to her in Mony. But nowv in the Sheriffs Court, *Vanderſee* ſued for a Debt pretended

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to

to be due to himself. Her Marriage was proved in Court, by the Oath of the Minister, the Clark, and two Witnesses ; but all that went for nothing, the Attorney having made another Plea. But then for the pretended Debt, no Evidence was brought, but her Brother *Moses* ; and he could speak no English, but as *Smith* his Interpreter swore : he said, upon his Oath, that he saw *Vandersee* lend her four Duccatoons at Mr. *Lavigne's* House, which comes to about two and twenty Shillings English Mony : So now all the Actions of 40, 2000, 500, and 200 *l.* upon which they had so long vexed and imprisoned her, dwindled into this small Debt ; which the Jews knew, if it had been due, they could have had it any time for the asking. But so impartially did the Jury proceed in this Verdict, that upon this single Evidence, and he manifestly a Party in the Conspiracy, and swearing on an English Bible, which they count a prophane Book, and on the back side of it too, which Dr. *du Veil* told them was no Oath by the Jews Doctrine ; yet upon this Evidence they cast Mistris *Verboon* ; so that after all other Rigours, Costs of the Suit were to come on her, according to our Law ; which the Judg of the Court set at 40 *s.*

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From all this it is apparent, that the whole Business was a Conspiracy of the Jews, of which *Levi* was the chief Contriver, and *Hammond* the main Instrument, though the Lord Chief Justice was so favourable to him, as to say, He was abused in that matter, and drawn into it. Both of these expressed their Joy, not without some transport, when the Jury gave their Verdict. *Levi* said, He would give 500 *l.* on condition she had not been bailed: *Hammond* said to those who had depended much on the Bishop of *St. Asaph's* Assistance, *Where is your Lord now?*

Mr. Verboon was advised to Arrest *Vandersee* for the false Imprisonment of his Wife; and on the 4th of September he Arrested him in an Action of 200 *l.* which was not out of reason; but very modest for one that had suffered so many Arrests for such great Sums, and all for nothing: but *Levi* soon bailed him; and so prevalent were the Arts and Presents of the Jews, that it was entred in the Books but 20 *l.* So that whether they are Plaintiffs or Complainants, they are resolved to shew their skill; and perhaps have a secret Pleasure to let the World see how much their Practices can work on those who are called Christians; even in a Matter wherein the honour of Jesus Christ is so much concerned.

But the Malice of the *Jews* stopt not her, for perceiving that Mistris *Verboon* vvas by her Marriage covered from all their Suits, they resolved on another vway, vvhich looks like a Design to destroy her.

Levi had said before my Lord Mayor, that she vvas vvithin two months of her time, and therefore he could not but believe she vvas vvith Child, and very capable of being frighted into Miscarriage.

But it vvas a sure effect of their Revenge on her Husband, against vvhom *Vandersee* had expressed so much malice, that he hath often said he vvas resolved to kill him, though he should be hanged for it. So on the second of *October*, Mr. *Verboon* vvas Arrested in an Action of 200*l.* and it appears that the Bailiffs vv ere again instructed to behave themselves vvith more than ordinary rudeness: one of them vvas *Benedict Helm*; there vv ere others vv hose Names are not known. They came at Dinner-time, vvhen they might expect to find them at Dinner together: they seized upon him at Table, and dragged him forth vvith their utmost violence; vv hich vvhen Mistris *Lavigne* saw, and vvithal took notice of a Coach at the Door, she immediately reflected on the Trick that they had put on them before: and therefore ran to him, and clasped her Arms

Arms about his Wafte, to keep him from being thrust into the Coach. The Bailiffs, to be revenged on her, beat and bruised her Head, Brest, and Body, vvith the greateft fury; of vvhich the marks appear yet on her: Her Head vvwas broke in three places, and fhe vvwas thereby, as the Chyrurgeon has certified under his hand, in great hazard of her Life: yet fhe clogged them fo, that they could not get their Prifoner into the Coach; and the People beginning to come about them, they were fain to thrust him into an Alehouse near at hand: from whence fhe prefently fent an Advertisment to the Bifhop of *St. Afaph*. Upon his coming, and offering the Bailiffs Bail, they faw it in vain to attempt any thing farther, and fo accepted the Bail. But though Mrs. *Lavigne* was forced to keep her Bed fome time, by the Wounds and Bruifes fhe received, yet this had a more fatal effect on poor Miftris *Verboon*; who when fhe faw the Bailiffs dragging her Husband, fell prefently in a fwoon; and being then young with Child, was fo difordered by the fright, that fhe has not yet recovered it; but on the 9th day after fhe mifcarried. The Midwife, and others that were with her, are ready to declare upon Oath, that the Conception had been fome days dead, and wafed within her; and that it was not above eight or nine weeks old, though fhe had
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been eleven weeks married. So false was that Imputation which *Levi* cast on her before the Lord Mayor, that she was within two months of her time. How far the Law will charge this on the Bailiffs, or on the Jews that set them on to it, I do not know ; but sure I am, they are in a high degree guilty of Murder before God. When all these Effects of the Malice and Industry of the Jews had appeared so evidently, the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, who had before acquainted the Lord Mayor with the Business, having received the Answer formerly mentioned from *Holland*, did then, with more assurance, desire his assistance in this Affair, in which the Honour of the Christian Religion, and of the English Nation, was so much concerned.

The Lord Mayor did thereupon send for *Levi*, to hear what he could say for the defence of himself, and of his Countrymen: who made some pretended excuses for himself, as if he had not meddled in the Matter at all ; but he did not deny that he believed the Design of the Jews was to force Mrs. *Verboon* to go back to her Mother, who he acknowledged was a severe and cruel Woman. By his own Story, the Lord Mayor perceived clearly what a malicious Contrivance this whole prosecution of Mrs. *Verboon* and her Husband had been ; and told *Levi*, very roundly, that they should soon
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see what a thing they had done, who finding shelter in a Christian Country, and being so obnoxious to the Law as they all were, durst offer such an Affront to the Religion, and to the Nation, as thus to endeavour to Spirit away one, to whose charge they could lay nothing, but her turning Christian. This he assured him should be carried so far, as to reach their whole Congregation. There was no way to redeem them from trouble, but for them to bring over her Portion from her Mother, and to satisfy her to the full for the Costs and Trouble to which they had put her : And if they did not do that, he assured him, he would carry the Matter as far as the Law would allow him against their whole Sect : and though his time was near an end, yet he knew his Successour would pursue it with the same vigour, with which he was resolved to begin. He gave also order to some to bring him an Extract of the Laws in force against the Jews. And for *Hammond*, no doubt he will be made an Example for his impious Conspiracy with the Enemies of Christ, against one for turning to him, which was the only root of all the malice they bore her.

This Matter being thus put in a fair way, the Bishop resolved to receive her into the Christian Church by Baptism. He gave the Right Honourable, Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, one of his Majesty's principal

principal Secretaries of State, an account of all the steps of this Affair; who as he has expressed in his whole Life a true & sincere love to the Christian Religion; to which he has been an Ornament indeed, by the gravity and strictness of his deportment, in all those high Employments in which he has behaved himself with so much Honour; So he received the Bishop's Information of this Conversion and Persecution, with that sense which might have been expected from so good and so great a Man. He offered, not only all the assistance which he could give her in his Office, or at the Council-Board, when the Matter should be brought thither; but concerned himself so particularly in it, as to be her Susceptor in Baptism; and those two most Religious and Devout Ladies, the Countesses of *Thanet* and *Clarendon* very readily took upon themselves to be her Godmothers. So on the 10th of *October*, after Evening Prayers, she was Baptized in *St. Martins* Church in the Fields. She has since said, that she felt an unusual Joy in her Mind, when she was initiated to Christianity, having now performed vvhat she had long purposed and vvished to do: and though she saw a Jew in the Church, looking and laughing at her in the very time, this did not a vvhit disorder her. But as it may be supposed, her inward and vehement desire of *Baptism* might have

have supported her till that was over; so the Night after it, those Frights and Disorders she had been put in formerly, chiefly that last when her Husband was Arrested, brought pains on her, which ended in an Abortion, as was formerly told.

This Recital was thought necessary, to let the Nation see what a sort of People these Jews are, whom we harbour so kindly among us; who, as they yet lie under the guilt of that Innocent Blood, which their Fathers wished might rest on them and their Children: so continue not only in their obstinate Infidelity, but do still thirst after the Blood of such of their Nation as believe in Him whom their Fathers Crucified; and whom they in derision called often to this Convert that *hanged Man*. He was indeed hanged on a Tree by the Jews of his Time, but they themselves knew then that He rose from the Dead, and so triumphed over all that Hell or hellish Men had contrived: and tho they hired the Souldiers, that first saw Him rising out of the Grave, to suppress so dreadful a Truth, as his Resurrection must needs have been to them, yet it broke out with such undeniable Evidence, that ~~now~~^{not} a few of those who had procured his Death, came afterwards to believe in Him: nor could they, by the Imprisonments, Whippings, Stonings, and all the other Effects of their enraged Cruelty, by which those first Converts to Christianity suffered so much, fright
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them from publishing those things which they had seen and heard. One of whom, as he was among the most violent Persecutors of that way, so he was one of the most learned and zealous of their Religion; was by such an irresistible force from Heaven both convinced and converted, so that he became from the Chief of Sinners, the Chief of the Apostles of Christ.

According to the sage Advice of *Gamaliel*, the Event clearly proved that this Doctrine was of God: for as of old, *Dagon's* falling before the Ark of God, was a proof of the weakness of the Idol, and of the Majesty of the living God, whose Simbole the Ark was; So their being driven out of their Land, their Temple being destroyed, by which all those Expiations, which that Covenant afforded for Sin, can no longer be had; shew that the Covenant with their Fathers is dissolved, their Ceremonies are ineffectual, and the whole *Mosaical* Religion is determined long agoe. *Josephus*, the last of their Writers, to whom any credit is due in Matters of History, has given a great, though a short testimony to these things; and though he has not enlarged on our Saviour, as he has done either on *St. John the Baptist*, or *St. James the Lesser*, the Brother of our Lord, as he is commonly called, knowing how displeasing it would be to his Countrymen to dwell much on such a Subject; yet he was too faithful

faithful a Writer, to have quite passed over a Matter of such great consequence.

I do not design to inflame any to Rage or Fury against the Jews, nor do I desire to have any force put upon their Consciences: *For the Wrath of Man worketh not out the Righteousness of God*; but I have the rather written this, to provoke all, that may be concerned in the Sequel of this Affair, to proceed in it as becomes truly zealous Christians, and to redeem the Nation from the Infamy that so base a Conspiracy (if not severely punished) will bring on it; that so those Enemies of Christ, if they are suffered to live among us, yet may not again dare to adventure on such Practices, against those who forsake their blind Superstition, and come to believe in the only Saviour of the World: And that those who are called Christians, may by the signal punishment of those Instruments of Wickedness, whom they found among us, be so terrified, that they may no more, with *Judas*, for a little Mony, betray a Member of Christ, to be Crucified by them.

F I N I S.

Enchilada 2/25 to 2/26 1880

Enchilada 2/26 to 2/27 1880

Enchilada 2/27 to 2/28 1880

Enchilada 2/28 to 2/29 1880

Enchilada 2/29 to 2/30 1880

Enchilada 2/30 to 3/1 1880

Enchilada 3/1 to 3/2 1880

Enchilada 3/2 to 3/3 1880

Enchilada 3/3 to 3/4 1880

Enchilada 3/4 to 3/5 1880

Enchilada 3/5 to 3/6 1880

Enchilada 3/6 to 3/7 1880

Enchilada 3/7 to 3/8 1880

Enchilada 3/8 to 3/9 1880

Enchilada 3/9 to 3/10 1880

Enchilada 3/10 to 3/11 1880

Enchilada 3/11 to 3/12 1880

Enchilada 3/12 to 3/13 1880

Enchilada 3/13 to 3/14 1880

Enchilada 3/14 to 3/15 1880

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Enchilada 3/16 to 3/17 1880

Enchilada 3/17 to 3/18 1880

Enchilada 3/18 to 3/19 1880

Enchilada 3/19 to 3/20 1880

Enchilada 3/20 to 3/21 1880

Enchilada 3/21 to 3/22 1880

Enchilada 3/22 to 3/23 1880

Enchilada 3/23 to 3/24 1880

Enchilada 3/24 to 3/25 1880

ORDER BY THE COURT

IN THE MATTER OF THE ESTATE OF

JOHN J. HENRY, DECEASED

VS. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

IN OPPOSITION TO THE PETITION

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

FOR AN ORDER OF EXCISE

ON THE ESTATE OF JOHN J. HENRY

DECEASED

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Jovis 23. die Decembris, 1680.

ORDERED,

That the Thanks of this H O U S E be given to Dr. Burnet, for his Sermon Yesterday preached before this H O U S E; and also for his Book Entituled, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*. And that Dr. Burnet be desired to print his said Sermon.

Will. Goldesbrough,

Cler' Dom' Com'.

A
SERMON

Preached on the
FAST-DAY,

Decemb. 22. 1680.

At St. Margarets Westminster,

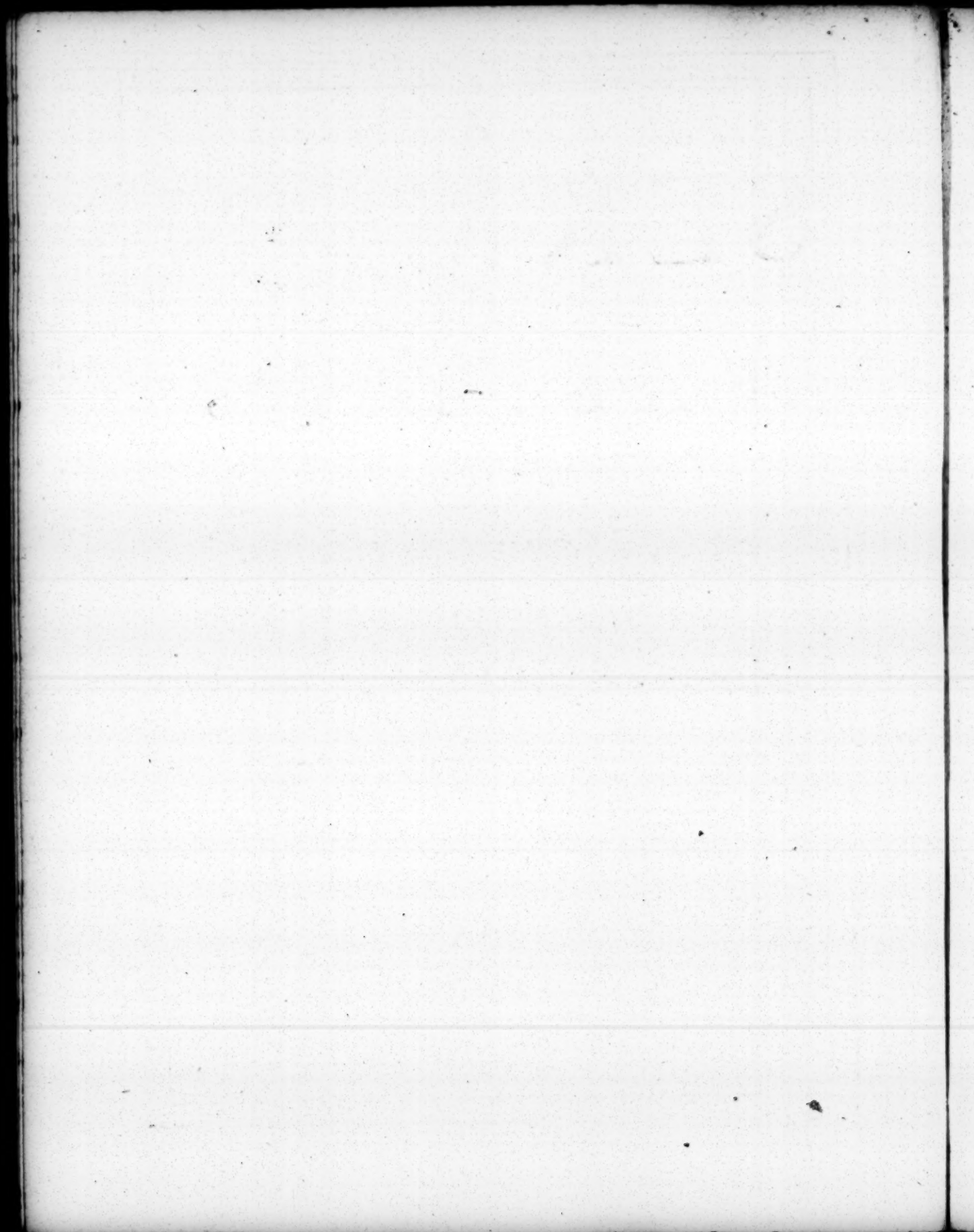
Before the Honourable
House of COMMONS.

BY

GILBERT BURNET, D.D.

L O N D O N,

Printed by J. D. for Richard Chiswell, at the Rose and
Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1681.



Rev. 3. 2, 3.

I have not found thy Works perfect before God. Remember therefore how thou hast received, and heard, and hold fast, and repent. If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a Thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee.

THere is nothing in which Men of all Religions do so constantly agree, as in the Duties we are now about : so that it may be justly called *The Voice and Law of Nature*, which directs all people, when in great Straits, or under great Fears, to call on that God whom they serve, to implore his Pity, and pray for his Assistance. I need not tell you how all *Heathen Nations* do it : the *Jews* practise it : *Christians* of every Perswasion have upon all great Occasions, and in all Ages, set about it solemnly. Some, with the Pageantry of *Heathenish* Processions ; and others, with the simplicity that becomes their Profession, as We do this day.

When the Ship in which *Jonas* endeavoured to have fled from the Discharge of an uneasy Commission which God had given him, was driven in a Storm, and brought to great Extremities, every *Man* called upon his God : only the guilty Person, whose God could only hear and help them, lay fast asleep. I need not enlarge

Jona 1. 5.

on the too visible Occasions of our Calling on God at this time : a sadness that is spread over the Faces, and fills the Hearts of all Men ; the present Distractions We are under, and the greater Mischiefs of which We are afraid, speak aloud, and need not be further described : so that all good Men had in their secret Mournings, and in their Wishes for a Publick Humiliation of the whole Nation, anticipated the Address of this *Honourable Assembly*. It is well that We pay this visible Homage to Religion and its blessed Author. In this Storm We have but one God to fly to, and one Lord and Mediator, by whom We may Address to him : If the guilty Persons will sleep on still, or do worse, continue Sinning while we are Fasting and Mourning ; yet if We *Cry mightily to God*, We may reasonably hope that He will ease Us of that load of our Sins, which only can, and certainly will sink Us, if it still hang on Us. When We consider Our present ill Condition, and alas ! perhaps this is but the beginning of Our Sorrows ; and reflect on the Signal Blessings We have received from God, and that We still retain that holy Religion which was revealed from Heaven by Jesus Christ, *The great High Priest of our Profession*, We cannot be long to seek for the true Causes of all those Evils which We either feel or fear. Truth is still the same, and of the same Value with the Author of it ; and the God of Truth changes not. What has then separated between God and Us ? and what hath raised that thick Cloud that seems to be set over Us, and is ready to discharge it self in *Fire Brimstone, and a horrible Tempest* ? God's *Hand is not shortned, that it cannot save, neither is his Ear heavy that it cannot hear* : But it is our Iniquities
have

have separated between us and our God, and our Sins have hid His Face from Us, if He will not hear. Therefore those whom you command to plead with You, in the Name of God, on such Occasions, ought to Cry aloud, and not spare, but with all the plainness that becomes this Place, and this Time, Shew you your Transgressions and your Sins. Isa. 58. 1.

In order to this, I have made choice of these words, being a part of a short, but weighty *Epistle*, written by St. John, in the Name of Christ, to the Church of *Sardis*. Of it in particular, we have so little recorded in the History of the Church, that We can gather nothing from thence to give us a clearer Light into the meaning of these words: so I shall go no further than the *Epistle* it self, for setting before You the State in which it was at that time. *Sardis* had a great Name among the other Churches, as being one of those planted by the Apostles: *It had a Name that it lived, yet was dead:* Vers. 2. the Power and Life of Religion was under a great decay, the Remainers of it in some few Persons, that *had not defiled their Garments,* were even ready to die: Vers. 4. they were all that were left of those who had at first sincerely embraced the *Christian Religion*; they were but a Remnant of what had been, and they were like to drop off soon: but for the rest, tho they retained the outward Profession of their Religion, yet Christ *knew their Works*: and though in some things they might be praiseworthy, yet they were not full Weight and Measure; they were not such as became their Circumstances, their Light, the Advantages they had, nor the Age they lived in, in vvhich they ought not only to have been *blameless and harmless,* but to have lookt like the *Sons of God,* and

Phil. 2. 15. *to shine as Lights in the World, holding forth the Word of Life. In a word, their Works were not perfect before God.*

Upon this, direction is given them, how to amend what was defective or amiss among them: they were to *Remember what they had received and heard*, from the Apostles: They were to make that the Standard of their Actions: they were neither to frame a Religion to themselves, out of their own Imaginations, or make up a mixture of *Heathenism* and *Christianity*, to which many were then inclined; nor were they to be seduced by any false Teachers from the Apostolical Doctrine, which was their Rule; to this they were to adhere, and to *hold it fast*. They were to maintain it in its Purity uncorrupted while they lived, and to deliver it so to their Posterity at their Death.

They are also directed in the use of it, not to preserve it only as a matter of Speculation, or as a Denomination by which they were discriminated from others, but were to improve it so as to be the better for it; *To Repent*, to change their Hearts and Lives. If they were not awakened by this Alarm given them from Heaven, they were to look for a more terrible Blow, which should surprize them in the midst of their Securities, as a Thief when he is least lookt for: which also insinuates the Severity, as well as the suddenness of the Stroke. Thieves that break in in the Night, commonly carry all away with them that is worth their pains. On the other hand, the Remnant, who were then *but a few, that kept their Garments clean*, are comforted with the hopes of enjoying God in a State of more perfect Holiness, expressed in the Figure of *walking with Christ in White*:

White : and to encourage others to follow their steps, a general Promise is made to all them that continued to the end in that course of Life, that they should be advanced to the same State of perfect Holiness : their Names were now to be written in the *Book of Life* ; and at the Great Day, when these Books shall be opened, Christ would, before God, Angels, and Saints, give such a Testimony to them as is recorded in the 25th Chap. of St. Mat. Gospel, *When I was Hungry, ye Fed me, &c.* This *Epistle* being thus explained, it will not be difficult to apprehend what the Particulars are on which I shall enlarge : They are these five :

1. Jesus Christ observes, and will reckon with every Church, according to the Blessings which they have received, if they live not suitably to them.

2. The Rule by which we are to examine our selves, and by which God will judg us, is the Doctrine which the Churches received from the Apostles.

3. All those who have heard and received this Doctrine, ought to keep it carefully, and to convey down that Sacred Trust committed to them to the succeeding Generations.

4. The chief Use We ought to make of this Doctrine, is to reform our Hearts and Lives ; to repent, and to forsake our Sins.

5. Such as will not make this Use of it, have reason to look for sudden and severe Judgments. All these things are clearly gathered out of my Text, and seem to comprehend the full sense of these words, *I have not found thy Works perfect before God : Remember therefore how thou hast received, and heard, and hold fast, and repent. If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a Thief,*

Thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee.

To Return to the first.

τέλειος
πεπληγ-
μένος.

I. Jesus Christ observes, and will reckon with every Church, according to the Blessings which they have received, if they live not suitably to them. *I have not found thy Works perfect before God.* *Perfect*: the Greek word is different from that which is commonly rendred *Perfect*, and strictly imports, *accomplished* or *filled up* with such Ingredients as make Works acceptable with God. By this we are not to understand that absolute Perfection, which excludes all Sin, or all Defects; for Works so perfect belong to another State: but such a Perfection as agrees to the Gospel-Covenant, by which all that is sincere is *perfect* in some sort, and will be so accounted for to us by God. Wherein the Works of this Church were not perfect, we can only guess at it, by what we find in the other *Epistles* in this and the former Chapter, and in the *Epistles* written by S. Paul to some other Churches. There are three things chiefly specified and insisted on.

Mat. 13.
20, 21.
Gal. 5.7.

I. Their falling from their *first Love*, and not doing their *first Works*, charged by St. John on the Church of *Ephesus*, and by St. Paul on the *Galatians*: they received the Gospel, according to the Parable of the Seed, *with great joy*: they began *in the Spirit*, they did *run well*, but the fear of Persecution, or the Cares of the World, and the Deceitfulness of Riches, made that the Seed of the Word of God, that had been sown among them, either withered, or was choaked; their
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first Fervour abated, their Love cooled, they became Lukewarm, and then quite cold and dead ; so that those who began *in the Spirit* in a spiritual Course, or had received the Gifts or Graces of the Holy Spirit, ended *in the Flesh*, became carnal and loose men. Gal. 3.3.

2. They are charged for listning to false Teachers and Seducers : they had heard many strange things from the Apostles which were new to them, and these did raise a curiosity in them after Novelties, with a disposition to receive them ; some of them are particularly named in these *Epistles* : some brought in *Heathenish* Sorceries and Idolatrous Rites among them, as *Balaam* and *Jesabel* had done : others loosed all the Tyes of modesty and Wedlock, as the *Nicolaitans* did : others were for subjecting the *Christian Church* to the Yoke of all the Ceremonies of the *Mosaical Law* : and by the Arts which these Seducers used, the Churches that had received the Apostles with great kindness, so that they were ready to have plucked out their very Eyes for them, a phrase expressing the tenderest Affection, yet were too much inclined to entertain those false Apostles. Gal. 4. 15.

3. They were apt to divide and quarrel unreasonably about little and inconsiderable things, and carried these Heats so far, that even when they assembled together to receive the Holy Sacrament, they met *for the worse*, and *not for the better* : so that there were Divisions among them, and the several Parties assumed such Names as they thought would give them the most Credit : some were for *Paul*, some for *Apoll*, some for *Cephas*, and some for *Christ*. And the very Teachers themselves were factions and contentious, so that some at *Rome*, when *S. Paul* was in Prison for the Gospel, preached there *out of Contention*, that they 1 Cor. 11. 17, 18. 1 Cor. 1. 12. Phil. 1 15, 16.

they might thereby *add affliction to his Bonds*: though in that they were disappointed; for notwithstanding their Injustice to him, he rejoiced that Christ was preached by them. Some one or all these had perhaps got into the Church of *Sardis*, for which *S. John*, in the name of Christ, Expostulates with them. They had much to answer for, to whom the Apostles had delivered what they had seen and heard concerning Jesus Christ, confirming it with many Miracles, and had conferred on them extraordinary Gifts, so that they were made *partakers of the Holy Ghost, and of the Powers of the World to come*: These seem to have been the sins of this as well as of the other *Apostolical Churches*.

And now to apply all this to Our own Case, suffer me first in the Name of God to plead with you, and to set before you the many blessings you have received from him, beyond most or rather any Nation now in the World: We are born in a Country that abounds not only with all that is necessary for the Inhabitants, but yields Us great store of very valuable Goods which We exchange with other Nations, and bring over such things as grow not among Us; with a vast encrease of wealth, which from all parts of the World flows unto Us: Our Country being equally well situated for security and Traffique, We have almost forgot when We were visited with the Plague of Famine. We are under a Government so rarely tempered by Law, that in it We have all the Advantages of other Constitutions, and avoid the mischiefs of the several Forms of Government, as much as is possible for any thing that is managed by mortal and sinful men to be: So that after any of the Convulsions that have been among Us, it has been still found necessary to return to the old Channel, and observe

serve the Landmarks which Our Forefathers set Us. These Blessings We enjoy beyond any Nation in the World, but these We have in common with the former Ages; they are also Temporal and end with this Life, We have yet much more to answer for.

We have the Light of the glorious Gospel of Christ among Us, and therein the Way to Life and Immortality hereafter, is opened to Us. This We have freed from all the impure mixtures of Idolatry or Superstition with which it is defiled in other Churches, and are delivered from the Tyranny of a Foreign Power. We have had Our Religion long secured to Us by Law, with all the Encouragements that can be expected, in a Church so happily constituted between the extreams of Ecclesiastical Tyranny on the one hand, and Enthusiastical Principles on the other hand; so that it is only our own Fault if We are not the Sanctuary and Defence of all other Reformed Churches, as well as We are the chief Object of the Practices and Designs of Our Enemies at *Rome*. This We have likewise in common with the former Age: but I shall next enumerate those Blessings that We of this Age have been more particularly favoured with: They are great and signal, and so obvious, that it will be enough to name them.

We were involved in a long and tragical War at Home, but were not swallowed up in it. Our Neighbour Island drank indeed of a bitterer Cup, and was covered almost all over with the Blood and the Carcases of the slain. But here the storm was not so terrible: The Conquerors were so restrained by that Supream Power that governs the World, that it is no small wonder there was so little Mischief done, by those who had

the Power to do so much: When Our Confusions thickned so upon Us, that our Government changed almost as oft as the Weather; all things returned of a sudden to their old Chanel, the King was restored, and the Nation was settled in so serene and calm a manner, that it cannot be denied there was a signal hand of Heaven in it. The more have We all to answer for, that have made so ill use of so extraordinary a Blessing; since that time we have had plenty and peace at home these twenty years, no breaking out, no complaining in Our Streets or Countries. We have all this while lived under the clear Light of the Gospel. And though many of the Pastors have much to answer, for their great failings; yet there have been raised up among us not a few eminent and faithful Labourers, who have asserted the Truth, and demonstrated the power of Religion, with as much advantage as hath been done in any Age since Miracles and Persecution ceased: and these have frequently given publick and free warning to the Nation. Many excellent Books have been writ, and Sermons have been published as well as preached, which will remain to the next Age to testify against that we live in. God has been calling on Us aloud from Heaven, both by his Mercies and Judgments, to turn to him, and to bring forth fruits worthy of Repentance, and meet for the Kingdom of God; that is, for his holy Gospel. A raging Pestilence, and a consuming Fire came quick one after another to awaken Us effectually: yet though We were then engaged in an expenceful War, God did not deliver Us up into the hands of our Enemies, though he corrected Us so severely himself.

These

These things did perhaps give a little stop to some persons, though others went on still publishing their Sin as *Sodom*; but with the return of Peace and the continuance of Plenty, We returned to, or still continued in our Sins: We have been delivered from another War since, and the ill designs of wicked Men were defeated and came to nothing: and now for above seven years We have slept in a profound Peace, and as profound a Security, when there was nothing but Vastation and Misery in the Countries that lie next to us: But our Enemies slept not, they were contriving how to make Us return back again into *Egypt*, or submit not our Necks only, but our Souls and Consciences to that Tyrannical yoke of the *Roman* Slavery; and thought the Design so well laid for *rooting out* that which they call a *Pestilent Heresie*, that it was upon the point of being executed. Then did it appear that God was still watching over Us for good: and he that saw all these secret contrivances, so closely carried and cemented with so many sacred ties, disappointed all their Councils, and brought all their Designs to Light, when We were least aware of it; being, though sensible of a great Danger hovering over Us, yet little apprehensive that it was so near Us, and was to break out in such a manner. I need not run over all those steps, by which Divine Providence has brought out what they intended we should never have known, till We had felt it, and been past the possibility of preventing or redressing it: They are well enough known, and are often in all our Mouths, Oh that they were as much in our Hearts!

And now put all these things together, and see if it may not be said concerning Us, what the Prophet *Isaias* said of the people of the Jews, *God has planted a Vinyard in a very fruitful place, with the choicest Vine, and has fenced it, and built a Tower in it*: In a word what more could have been done in this Vinyard, that has not been done in it? And therefore, as partial as we are apt to be in our own concerns, it may be referred to our selves, to judge between God and Us. We see and acknowledge what he has done for us; let us next consider what Grapes we have brought forth; what returns We have made to God? Have Our works been perfect before God? Alas! why do I say perfect! Have they not been on the contrary the worst, the most impious, and immoral that many could think on? We have exceeded the Sins of the Jews, and the Vices of the Heathens. It has not been only a slackning or going back of the Power of Religion, but an open revolt against Heaven; in too great a part of the Nation a Banner has been set up for Atheism and Impiety, and all have been encouraged to come about it. The Sins which our Popish Forefathers, and our more remote Heathenish Ancestors were so much ashamed of, that they committed them in corners, We have seen done in the sight of the Sun. The belief of a God, that sees, rewards and punishes, the rules of Vertue, and the doctrine of Christ have been by some openly assaulted, and treated with indignities which no other Nation could endure; while others have, if not directly consented to them, yet looked on as unconcerned, have laughed at and been pleased with them. Advantages have been taken from the Hypocrisie or Enthusiasm of the last Age, to throw off the very appearances of

of Religion or Vertue in this Age: and it has passed for a piece of Gallantry and decent Breeding to be above the fears and apprehensions of a Supream Power, or a Future State. Have we forgot how publickly that great Blessing of the King's Restauration was abused? It grew to that height that it was thought a Scandal not to concur in all the excesses of Riot and Intemperance that did then defile the Land. Whither shall we now turn our Eyes? If on this place, Luxury, Immorality, and open Lewdness meet us almost in every corner: If on the Country, how does Intemperance, Injustice, and a total neglect, if not a resolved scorn of Religion fill most places? And the excesses of Drinking have in many parts of the Nation, not only corrupted Civil Conversation, but vitiated the very Vitals of our Government, by the ascendent that such practices have had in so essential and main a part of our Security, as are the Elections of this great and Honourable Assembly: of whom, if some generously scorned such methods, too many have complied too much with so base and so ignominious a custom. If we have thus abused the earthly Blessings of Peace and Plenty, and have much to answer for on that account: Oh what can we say to excuse our selves who have not only brought no Fruit to perfection, notwithstanding all that Seed of the Gospel that has been so plentifully sown among us, but have done what we could to defie God himself, and to drive him out of our Country, being weary of that very dead Form of Religion yet remaining. And to bring this home to our present Circumstances, though we are under great apprehensions of losing this blessed Light; what are we doing to engage God to be on our side?

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We have been now for above two years in great Disorders, full of Alarms, and under eminent and visible Dangers; but what Lust or ill Custom have we parted with? What demonstration have we given to God or the World, that we consider Religion, as it is indeed the Power of God to the Salvation of our Souls? Or what do we for our holy Faith, that Infidels, Mahometans, Jews, or Papists, would not do for their Perswasions? Do we continue still in our Lewdness, Intemperance, Oppression, Injustice, Falshood and ill Nature, while we are talking of preserving our Religion, and yet are doing all we can to undermine or overthrow it?

If God is against us, all that we can do for preserving Religion, or our other just Rights, will either by his wise and holy Counsels be quite blasted; or perhaps the very methods that to us seem the most probable to secure them, may in conclusion really introduce that which we fear so much. Are our Works perfect before God who knows them? To make a Work perfect, it must be good in it self, flow from a good principle, and be directed to a good end. The greatest part of our Works are faulty in all these particulars, so that neither We nor our Works can be accepted with that God, *that is of purer Eyes than that he can behold Iniquity.* Some of our Works may be in themselves good, and such is a Zeal for the Reformed Religion; but if some do not believe that about which they make so much noise, or if others have no design but to serve base Ends or private Interests, which they hid with the pretence of Religion, and are ready to throw it off, when they have attained that for which they are
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in truth only concerned, shall not God search this out ? Things may be so dressed up, as to have a fair appearance, but to God they appear as indeed they are : So the true value of us and our works, is according to what we are in his sight, from whom nothing can disguise us. From all these things it is but too evident, that our Works are not perfect before God.

If we will consider more particularly what may be supposed to have been the ground of the Expostulation in my Text, with this Apostolick Church of *Sardis*, we shall find the parallel betwixt it and us agrees but too well. These Churches had fallen from their first Love, and their first Works : Oh what sad decays are we come under ! And how much have we declined from that Zeal and Love which our Fathers bore to the Reformation ! There were two things that were visible in the practice of those who first embraced it among us : the one was the great pleasure they took in reading the Scriptures, from whence they were in derision called *Gospellers*. When the Bibles were first set up in Churches, and went at such rates that ordinary people could not buy them, what a running was there to Churches, and what Crouds gathered all day long about such as could read, to hear this blessed Word, which is now in all our Hands, and yet is scarce ever considered by us ? Some read it only to abuse it, and make themselves merry with some Atheistical Jestes to which they wrest it : Others judge that indecent, so because they will make no ill use of it, they make none at all, and never open it but for fashion : some imploy their time in searching into the abstruser parts of it,
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with a prying and vain curiosity : some read it meerly to acquire a faculty of talking in such a Stile, and so either they pervert the Scripture by their false Glosses, or only learn to defend some Opinions out of it, or to discourse in that Dialect, for private Designs, to which that is perhaps some way necessary. But who readeth them with a simplicity of Mind to be directed by them, and to be inwardly inflamed by the heavenly strains in them? So that we have little left among us to entitle us to the Name of Gospellers.

The other chief Character by which the *Reformed* were at first known, was their applying themselves only to God through Jesus Christ. This was intended to take men off from two fatal Errors, in which they had been formerly led ; the one was relying on such external Works as were really of no Value at all, and were only the jugglings of those deceitful Guides, that had set up Pilgrimages, slight Penances, and the purchasing Indulgences, in the room of that which our Saviour had revealed to the World ; the other was their imagining that they were justified by the Sacraments, upon some slight acts of sorrow or devotion. In stead of these things the Reformers set up the applying to God through Jesus Christ according to the methods of the Gospel : so that great and frequent addresses to the Father through his Son was the Mark by which they were then known : This begetting in them a sense of that Love which their Saviour had for them, could not but kindle returns of Love suitable to it ; and that must needs reform the inward Man, upon which Purity and Holiness of Life will certainly follow.

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This was the main Article of the Reformation, and being that upon which the Hopes of Salvation depended, vvas indeed the thing of the greatest Consequence ; though it vvas afterwards managed with too much Metaphysical Nicety. In sum, this being the chief Character of a true Protestant, vve may soon see how much vve have fallen from that Love vvhich our Fathers had to this Truth, while they lived ; and that appeared more signally by their dying for it, vvhen they vv ere called to give their last Testimony to it. But what is all this to us ? Are vve living under the Influences of that Love ? Do our Hearts burn with the sense of it ? What Reverence have yve for the Person, or vvhat Obedience pay vve to the Doctrine of our Crucified Saviour ? If any of this remain, it is much spent, at least, and ready to die.

The second Thing charged on these Churches, vvas, their being apt to be carried away by the cunning flight of those vvho lay in vvait to deceive, and their being too easily disposed to vitiate Christianity vvith the mixtures of Judaism, or Hethenism, or other Errors. Our Vices have taken us off from the Practice of the plain and indispensable Duties of our Holy Religion ; and then it is no vvonder vve find no pleasure in that Doctrine vv which can give no true Comfort to such as continue in their Sins. This disposes People to seek that elsewhere, vv which they cannot have among us : and therefore a Religion made up of Pomp and Shew, vv wherein God and his Saints vv ere offered to be bribed, in vv which they knew the Rates of Sin, and the Price of Heaven, found us but too well prepared to become Proselytes to it. Our Sins have been also so visible and scandalous, that they have made our Communion grow
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loathsome to many well-disposed, but weak minds, and have tempted them to separate from our Assemblies, when they saw such mixed multitudes among us : so that they have run into Sects, that had the appearance of greater gravity and strictness.

3. And we are no less faulty in the third Particular, of contending out of measure, for things that are no way essential to Salvation. Things of so indifferent a nature, that succeeding Ages will wonder how Men could manage such long and eager Contests about them. We have fallen into Passions concerning them, these have grown up to a hatred, which hath broken out into most violent and dismal Effects, and seems now settled into a formed Rent and Separation. Where is that charitable, healing and compassionate Temper which becomes Christians, and reformed Christians ? especially when they are as it were struggling for Life. O, shall nothing make us wiser ? shall neither the Advantages our Enemies take, nor the Prejudices Religion suffers by our Contests, dispose us to bear with one anothers Infirmities, and to manage our Differences, if we cannot entirely bury them, with a more Christian and decent Temper ! There have been Extreame on all hands : neither side can free themselves from being too much exasperated : The resentment for what has been done in the several turns of Affairs, has gone too far with us. It is not so much our Differences that divide us one from another, as our Alienation one from another which widens our Differences, and makes them appear to be greater than indeed they are. So on all Accounts we must acknowledg, that when our Works are weighed in those just Ballances, they cannot be found perfect before God. I hope we are all in some measure convinced

vinced of this : The thing is alas too visible. What is then to be done, but to set about a real Reformation, vvith all possible seriousness and sincerity ? And in order to this, and to direct us in it, here is a Rule and Standard given, by which we may govern our selves in the Means or Methods to it ; and that is the second thing I proposed to speak to.

2. The Rule by which we are to examine our selves, and by vvhich God vvill judg us, is the Doctrine which the Churches received from the Apostles, *Remember therefore how thou hast received and heard.* Here is a certain fixed Rule ; vve are neither left to the Heats of our own Fancies, nor to the Uncertainties of Tradition, nor to the Impostures of such as may pretend to the government of our Consciences : but are conducted by a more certain Thread. It is true, in the Apostles days this Doctrine was at first preached and received, before it was written. There was no great danger as long as they lived, who might be appealed to in any Difficulty which could arise concerning their Doctrine : so it is a vain way of arguing, to infer from the mention of *Tradition* in the Epistles, that we, after so many Ages are past, and so many Impostures have been discovered, should be obliged to receive what may be obtruded on us as Apostolical Tradition. Tradition while the Apostles lived, was what the Scripture is now : And indeed, so uncertain a conveyance is Oral Tradition, that in the very Apostles days, or soon after, when there were no Advantages to be made by such Cheats, and so there was less to tempt Men to them, yet many false Gospels were given out, and false Doctrines were infused into some weaker People. We know how unfaithful a Conveyer Tradition was of Natural Religion among the

Gentile Nations : The Gospel tells us how the Jews doted on the Traditions of their Fathers, and by them *made the Commandments of God of none effect*. The uncertainty of Tradition where it was not put in Writing, appeared within an Age after the Apostles, in the Contests concerning the Observation of *Easter* : both sides vouching the Practice of the Apostles, and that even while some were alive, that had seen them, and had lived with them. But after that Wealth and Greatness had corrupted the Church, and this Holy Religion was made an Engine to advance the Ambition and Interests of designing Men, then what a swarm of supposititious Writings appeared every where to support some Opinions or Designs ; many of these were discovered and branded, but others passed without a Censure ; so that it was long before Criticks in this and the former Age, could find out what was genuine, and what was counterfeit.

The most advantageous Imposture was coined and received in the 9th Century ; a whole Volume of the Epistles of the first Bishops of *Rome* from the Apostles days downwards, was pretended to be found ; in which they were represented as governing the Church in the former Ages, with the same *fulness of Power*, that their Successors have pretended to since. This was rejected by some in that Age, but kindly entertained by those that were more concerned for their own Greatness than for Truth : and by the Presidents in these Epistles, they justified what they did, till their Tyranny came to be generally submitted to : And now when these Epistles are found to be spurious, they have been forced to throw them away ; but stand upon Possession and Prescription, though it began at first upon this and some other Impostures,

postures, not unlike it, such as the Donation of *Constantine*, and many more.

They well know that their Cause cannot be defended if the Scriptures are appealed to : these in many Points are directly against them, as in the Worship of Images, and Angels ; the Praying in an unknown Tongue ; and the denying the Chalice, or saying, that Christ's Body which is now in Heaven, is in the Sacrament : in other things they are silent, such as the Pope's Power, the Infallibility of a General Council, the praying to Saints, the redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, Indulgences, Pilgrimages, with a thousand other additions, by which they have vitiated the Purity of that Holy Doctrine, vvhich the Apostles delivered to the World. This is the Foundation of our vvhole Religion, that we believe all that the Apostles delivered to the Churches, and no more : So we stand to this Appeal in my Text, *Remember therefore that thou hast received and heard.* It vvere easie to instance it in many Particulars, and to shew you how at first Ignorance and Superstition let in some Customs ; and perhaps those vvho introduced them at first, being innocent, but weak Men, meant vvell in it : So to draw the Heathens off from their Idolatry, they directed them to call on Saints, instead of the Gods they had formerly vvorshipped : and to perswade People to receive the Sacrament with great devotion, they strained their Eloquence and Invention to recommend the value of it in high Figures. Many more might be named, but these may suffice : Afterwards, when the *Roman* Empire was over-run by the Incurfions of the Barbarous Nations, and Civility, Religion, and Learning vv ere almost driven out of the World ; then some crafty and aspiring Priests came to graft upon the
Customs

Customs of the former Times, new Opinions, and still to add new Rites, till in the end they swelled up to what they are now at in the *Roman Church*. When these Opinions were first broached, Visions and Dreams were given out to support them: and if these lesser Frauds did not prevail, pretended Miracles were not wanting to give them credit, till they were received; and being once received, they were enrolled among the Traditions of the Church, and so were no more to be contested or denied: if any presumed to do it, it was at his Peril. These Miracles were coined so, as to fit not only the Doctrine it self, but the way of explaining it; and as new ways of explaining were fallen upon, new Miracles suitable to these new Expositions were at hand.

When the Doctrine of the Corporal Presence was first received in the 9th Century, it was believed that the whole Loaf was an entire Body of Christ, so that he was sliced in pieces, and eat up in Gobbets; and so they continued to understand it near 300 Years. Then the Miracles to prove it were adjusted to that Conceit; it was given out, that it did sometimes bleed, and pieces of it were said to be converted to pieces of Flesh: but after that the School-Divinity came to be in request, this way was not found so defensible, nor so decent: and then it was said, Christ was in every Crumb of the Host; so that upon the breaking it, an entire Christ flew off from the rest, which yet remained still as entire as it was, notwithstanding that Diminution: and then as they blessed Wafers instead of a Loaf, so the former Miracles were not so much talked of, though some ignorant Priests, that did not consider that these were contrary to the Doctrine of their Church, did in some places

places continue to act the former Cheats ; but new ones were more generally invented, and Christ was said to appear all in Rays, over or upon the Host : so well practised were they in the Arts of Jugling, as to make their Tricks always agree with their Hypothesis.

In opposition to all these false Doctrines, and lying Wonders, the Reformed have from the first beginning of the Reformation, set up the whole strength of their Cause, upon this single Plea, of receiving nothing as a part of their Faith, but what could be found in the Writings of the Apostles ; that so all agreeing on a common Umpire, their Differences might be more easily composed. The Church of *Rome* knows well what the Issue must be, if this is granted, and so have put the strength of their whole Cause upon the Authority of the Church, that is, themselves ; and the certainty of Oral Tradition, handed down by such Men as themselves are : Whether the one or the other seems to be the more ingenuous Principle, the more certain method of Trial, and the less liable to Deceit, I leave it to the Consciences of all wise and good Men.

But as we ought to *remember what we have thus received and heard*, so the end of this is not barely for speculation, to inform us about some Notions, or to furnish us with Arguments and Discourse ; these things are only necessary for a further end ; that our Minds being well informed, and our belief rightly directed, we may govern our Lives according to what the Holy Apostles have left to us. It is, because *their Works were not perfect*, that they are here charged *therefore to remember the Doctrine that they had received* : What shall our Knowledge, our Orthodoxy, and soundness of Opinion avail us, if we do not reduce it to practice ? unless it be to heighten
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our Condemnation, and to intitle us to more Stripes, and severer Judgments. Here we will find our Duties set before us, and from thence we will both know what our Sins have been, and how to turn from them. O that there were such a Heart in us! But as we ought to remember and improve the Doctrine delivered to the Church by the Apostles, so we ought to keep it carefully.

3. And this is the third Particular I am to speak to : All who have received this Doctrine, ought to preserve it, and to convey down that Sacred Trust committed to them, to the succeeding Generations. This is to *Hold fast* what we have received and heard. The meaning of this, considering the Circumstances the Church of *Sardis* was in, is either that they should preserve it pure, and keep it as it was delivered to them; or that if Persecutions should arise for the Faith, they should not depart from it for the Love of this present World, or make shipwreck of it; but should *hold fast the Profession of their Faith without wavering*. There were many Tares sown then in the Field of the Church; many of the Followers of *Simon Magus* were corrupting the Christian Religion; it was necessary on that account to look carefully to that Sacred *Depositum* that was put in their Hands. There was also a black Cloud gathering, a Persecution was coming on the Church: One Storm had passed, that had been raised by *Nero*, and they were now in another set on by *Domitian*; therefore it was necessary to put them on their Guard, and to charge them to keep, or *Hold fast* the Doctrine delivered to them. This was all that they could be obliged to. But in our Circumstances there is somewhat else imported in this Holding fast, that

that we ought not only to keep our Religion pure, and to be ready to suffer for it, if we are called to it ; but since we enjoy the Protection and Security of Law, and lawful Authority, we ought to hold that fast, and deliver it down to our Posterity, as we have received it from our Fathers.

We are to keep it pure from the Corruptions that may be introduced to vitiate the simplicity of our Holy Religion. We know the Enemies of the Church sleep not, though the Watchmen sleep too often. While we have Adversaries that are so restless and industrious, that make up in their Arts of Insinuation, and indefatigable Diligence, what is wanting in the Justice and Goodness of their Cause ; on these our Eyes ought to be much set. They have corrupted Religion wherever their Arts have been successful ; and have endeavoured to overthrow all Governments, and broken the Peace of all Societies, that have been so much on their Guard as to look carefully to them. For that same Principle that makes them burn and destroy where they have Power, makes them also incessantly plot and practise where they have it not. Severities in Matters of Religion are indeed contrary to that humanity that is imprinted in our Nature, and to those Rules that are often repeated in Scripture. But if any Sect of Religion continues to breed frequent and almost uninterrupted Disturbances in any Government, it is not enough to punish those that are found in the Fault ; but if it is evident, as it is certainly in this Case, that their Doctrine sets them on to, and will bear them through in such Conspiracies, it seems not possible to secure the Peace of a Kingdom so much infested by them, as we have been now 120 Years, but by delivering it entirely out of their hands, and putting an utter
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end to the Distractions we have been in, and the Mischiefs we have smarted under, by their means. They will live much better among their own Friends, beyond-Sea, where they may freely exercise their own Religion; and I am sure we will be much the happier and quieter for being freed from the trouble they have given us. And thus we are to *Hold fast* the Apostles Doctrine, and to keep our selves from the Infection of those who have corrupted it.

But if this cannot be done, and if God either to punish us for our former Sins, or to raise again the true Spirit of the Reformed Religion, to purifie us from our Dross, and to melt us into one Lump, and close up those Breaches which we have been rather widening than healing, will deliver us up into the hands of our merciless and implacable Enemies; then, as we know what we are to look for, so we ought to prepare our selves for it, and resolve to be *faithful to the Death*. We know what will be, not only by what has been, but by what is the Doctrine of that Church, of extirpating Hereticks, decreed in their General Councils: and what they have met with of late among us, has so whetted their Spirits against us, that if ever we are in their Power, the Cruelty of their Religion, being quickned by their private Resentments, we can look for nothing, but either to be forced to worship a piece of Bread, and to renounce that Faith which we now profess, or to seal it with our Blood, and that perhaps in the cruellest manner. I know it is not easie for Flesh and Blood so much as to think on these things without horror; But Oh, what will it be to suffer them! It will not be our living peaceably, nor our keeping our Belief to our selves, that will secure us: we must in all things comply; nay, and if we should dissemble and comply, we must by an over-acting Zeal

Zeal procure our Pardon for what is past, and beget a Confidence in them for the future. I shall on this Head represent a little of what you may expect, by mentioning some few Passages of *Queen Maries*, never to be forgotten, bloody Reign, that are not so generally known. At first She promised the continuance of the Established Religion; soon after She procured it to be generally changed, even while the Laws were yet in force for it: But then it was said, none should be forced in their Consciences, if they would live peaceably. But when the Change was fully brought about, then, according to the Natural Genius of that Religion, an open and undistinguish't Persecution was resolved on. Orders were then sent from the Council Table, to the Justices of Peace, to have Spies in every Parish to observe every Man's Deportment: a bare Suspicion vvas ground enough to proceed upon. Persons being presented upon Suspicion, were imprisoned: and, without any Proofs or Witnesses brought against them, Articles vvere offered to them; to vvhich if they did not in all things answer according to the Doctrine of that Church, and if they could not be induced to change their Perswasions, they vvere condemned to the Fire, though they had neither said nor acted any thing contrary to the Established Religion. And it went yet further: The Justices of Peace having been often writ to, grew more and more backward to these Cruelties, especially vvhhen they saw them burn poor People single at first, then by pairs, then six, eight, ten, and thirteen were burnt in one Fire: neither the Blind nor Lame, aged Men, nor Women near their Time, no nor new-born Infants, escaping the rage of these Butchers: Then to make way for the Courts of Inquisition, a Commission vvas

given to a selected Number, of vvhom three was a Quorum, to make enquiry over all *England*, not only of such as were suspect of Heresy; but of all that did not expresse their Zeal for the Popish Religion, in taking Holy Bread, or Holy Water, or going in Processions; which tho they are not things to which all in that Communion are obliged; yet these discovering the Affections and Inclinations of the People, such as did them not, vvhere to be proceeded against upon these Suspicions. At first such as vvhere burnt, had their Lives offered to them at the Stake if they would Recant; but as the Persecution went on, they became more barbarous, so that it vvvas not enough for one to Recant then: for a Sheriff was cast in Prison and fined, for staying the Execution of one who did it: It was said, if he Recanted sincerely, it was better to burn him, than to leave him to the Temptations of becoming a Relapse; and if he did it not sincerely, it was pity to spare him. So which way soever it was, Die and Burn he must. And that none might escape out of their Toils, care was taken to secure all the Ports that none might fly beyond Sea.

Here is a sad Prospect before us; but in what Disposition are we to bear it? We have no reason to doubt but great numbers will turn with the Tide, as they did then. Many who seem now to be hot and zealous for the Protestant Religion, will then, perhaps, be as busie to discover and accuse those whom they now censure, not only rashly, but maliciously. Men of ill Lives, and defiled Consciences, want that Principle vvvhich must strengthen them to bear the Cross, and make it easie and comfortable to them. It is quite another thing to own this Faith in our present Circumstances, from what it will be to adhere to it then.

It is not yet come that, and God of his infinite Mercy preserve us from it. We are taught by him that knew our Nature well, *to watch and pray that we enter not into Temptation; for tho the Spirit, or our sublimer Powers may be forward and willing, yet the Flesh is weak.* We are therefore to do all that is in our Power, and is consistent vvith that Religion vvhich vve profess, to prevent this. You of this Honourable Assembly are now entrusted with the keeping this Doctrine, as it is a part of the Law of the Land; the People have trusted you with all that is dear to them; and it is hoped you will acquit yourselves as worthy of so great a Confidence. On this I shall enlarge no further, but apply to you the Message Esth. 4. 13. which Mordecai sent to Queen Esther, when her People were marked out for destruction: *Think not that you shall escape more than all the rest: for if you altogether hold your peace at this time, there may come enlargement and deliverance to us from another hand; but you and your Houses shall be destroyed: and who knows if you are come into this trust for such a time as this is.* If any shall, either on the one hand, give up this Holy Religion, and those means which are most effectual to secure it, for private or base ends of their own; or, on the other hand, shall, to gratify their Revenge, or to advance any ill Design, endeavour to drive things to Confusion, so that we become a Prey to a formidable Neighbour, where Popery, with its concomitant Tyranny, shall subdue us at once: These are the Betrayers of their Religion and their Country, and do entitle themselves to the heaviest Curses in the whole Book of God.

But the Nation hopes better things from you: and, as we pray for it, so are we confident they shall not be ashamed or disappointed of their hope. Your maintaining the Laws, or providing such new ones:

as our present Circumstances call for, for the preservation of our Religion, is not all that you are to do for it; there are many other Things besides that come under your care, which are also necessary, that we may *Hold fast* this our Profession. I shall name two Particulars. The one is, that there are so many Parishes in this Great and Rich Kingdom, in vvhich there is so little Provision left for those that labour in the Work of the Gospel, that it is not possible, humanely speaking, to find fit and able Pastors to undertake such a Charge upon so mean an Encouragement: and many of these fall to be the greatest and the most populous Parishes in their Neighbourhood: *The Labourer is worthy of his Hire*: But in many of these the Hire will not amount to the meanest and most frugal Subsistence, that can consist with the decency of that Function. If weak or scandalous Men are cast on such Places, so that the People are neither instructed nor edified by their Labours, but are rather scandalized by them: it is worth your serious Consideration, to find out effectual Means for redressing so great an Evil, by which so many Souls are lost, and such a Door has been opened to Seducers and false Teachers among us. The other is, that we will endeavour to secure the Reformed Religion among us, by doing all we can to maintain the Outworks of it, I mean, the Foreign Churches, some of whom are now in a most deplorable and sinking Condition. The Methods that *Julian* the Apostate used to extirpate Christianity, not by the quick and sharp Ways of Persecution, but by slower Steps; being now taken to root out that, which main Force could not do. To these we ought to extend our Compassion and Assistance, as we would expect
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the like from others when we may be brought to drink of the like bitter Cup, which how near it may be to us, God only knows. But all these Means will prove ineffectual if we have not God on our side ; except he watch over us, and build up our Ruines, you that build, ^{Psal. 127.} and we that watch, shall labour in vain. This leads me to the fourth Particular, which is,

4. That the chief use we ought to make of this Doctrine, is to reform our Hearts and Lives, to repent of, and forsake our Sins. *Repent* : I shall not here run out into a large Discourse of this, but sum up in short what is comprehended under it. The word imports more than a bare sorrowing for our Sins, or an external change of our Life, and does chiefly signifie the inward Change and Reformation of our Minds : when we put on a new Disposition, come under new principles, and are inwardly turned in the value and estimate we have of things, and in our practical judgments and formed Resolutions. Repentance is, when a Man having another sense of God, and true Goodness, another apprehension of Vice and Sin, other thoughts of a future State, other Impressions of the Love of Christ, and the Truth of the Gospel ; and all these things growing into formed Principles in him, his Mind is turned to such a detestation of his former course of Life, as engages him not only to forsake it, but to enter upon a quite different Course ; so that he feels himself inwardly regenerated and changed. Oh, have I not been describing a thing little understood ! Some sorrow for Sin, which is scarce possible for the worst Men to avoid, is all the Notion too many have of it : Others fancy to compound for their Sins, with some Austerities, by an outward pageantry, or compounding
with.

with God or his Saints if they can, and doing it effectually where they can, with the Priest: believing that his absolving them is of some other Virtue, than a Declaration to them of what they may certainly expect if they are sincere in their Repentance. But if these things come short of a true Repentance, what is to be said of those who have not so much? who have no remorse for their Sins, but live on securely in them, or do worse, *Glory in their Shame*. These are far enough from having repented, who are growing up daily to a higher pitch in their Impieties. You have expressed your sense of the Necessity of this Duty, by your addressing about it: but if it goes no further than the solemnity of a days vacation from Business, or abstaining from Meat, and the hearing some Sermons, or joining in Prayers; this can have no other effect but to raise our guilt higher, by our pretending to draw near to God with our Lips, when our Hearts are far from him. Our Sins are drawing heavy Judgments on us: our Repentance only can prevent them; not such a trifling Performance as I have described, but a sincere and entire turn to God. We ought to be humbling our selves in secret, every one for those Sins by which we have provoked him, and have been adding to that great Heap of Guilt, by which we have been too universally treasuring up Wrath against the Day of Wrath. We are apt enough to censure the Vices and Failings of others, especially if on other Accounts we are displeased with them, and if we our selves are not visibly faulty in the same kind. But there are other Sins, besides Uncleaness and Intemperance, which may involve us in the common Ruin that threatens us. And if we know our selves guilty, even of that which we censure in others, we by judging them do
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condemn our selves. Let us collect our Thoughts, and ask our selves, What have we done? Have we been adding Sin to Sin, and perhaps Hypocrisy, or a counterfeit Zeal to all the rest? We are under the Eye of the All-seeing God, to whom all things lie naked and open, *Darkness before him shineth as the Day; the Darkness and the Light are both alike to him.* Let us not deceive our selves; God is neither to be mocked, nor bribed. It is only our sincere Repentance that can again restore us to his Favour; and if the Sins of the Nation are not grown to that height, that, as is said of the Sin of *Manasseh*, *God will not* 2 King. 24. 4 *pardon it; so that though Noah, Job, and Daniel,* Ezek. 14. 14. *were among us, they could only deliver their own Souls;* We may hope, that upon our Repentance, either that Cloud of Wrath, now over our Heads, may be broken and dissipated, or, at least, that our Peace and Tranquillity may be so lengthned out, that *the Evil shall not come in our Days.*

If we Repent truly, we will lay down our Animosities and Quarrellings about lesser Matters; and finding how guilty we are all in the presence of God, we will be more gentle in the Judgments we make of others, and more severe in the Censures we pass upon our selves. We will change the course and frame of our Lives, not only in such Instances as are more scandalous, and so may be a prejudice to us in our other Designs, but will enter upon another Method and Way of Life, such as becomes Christians. If this is not done, all that we do beside, will not be effectual to preserve us. If God is still offended with us, he will not want Instruments

for our punishment, though we had not a Papist in *England*, nor an Enemy in all the World.

But on the other hand, If we sincerely turn to God, as we know in general he is gracious and merciful, slow to Anger, and full of Compassion; so we have, in particular, all the Assurances that either his Promises, or the Experience of former Times can give us, that He *will receive us graciously; that he will take away all our Iniquities, and heal all our Back-slidings.*

Personal Repentance, and the mourning for the Sins of others, are Duties incumbent on all: To these you stand obliged in your private Capacities; But as you make up this Honourable Assembly, there is a futher Repentance incumbent on you. You, who represent the Nation, ought, in the Name of the whole Body of the People, to think on such Laws as are necessary for the restraint of Vice. It is visible, the Impiety of the Nation has made way for Popery; and though that were out of doors, yet if the other continues still, it will prepare us to open Atheism and Irreligion. God cannot be at Peace with us, while our Adulteries are so many, while Drunkenness is so common, while Religion is so much scorned, even by those who seem zealous for it; while Cursing and Swearing are the usual Dialect; while Profanity, Scurrilous Talk, and many other things which ought not to be named among Christians, are so openly and bare-facedly practised among us. By your endeavours to redress these, and at least, to make People ashamed of them, if they

they do not forsake them ; You shall also, in your publick Capacity, shew the reality of your Repentance, both to God and the World. It is an ordinary thing for all People, who have some one great thing in their Eye, to look only at that, and to over-look many other Things, if they do not immediately belong to that of which they are chiefly afraid. Popery is now in your Eye, and it ought to be so, till you have to purpose secured us from the danger of it : But at the same time you ought to look further, to the Ground of God's displeasure against us, to that which has brought us into all this Danger, and must certainly bring ruin on us in conclusion, if effectual Remedies are not found out in time. Our Irreligion and Impiety has made many to be little concerned in these Matters ; and our Contentions about some inconsiderable Things, has diverted the Thoughts and Endeavours of others, to the securing of particular Interests, or making of Parties.

To these, if you provide effectual Remedies, both for reforming and uniting us, then you shall be had in perpetual remembrance, as the Repairers of our Breaches, and the Restorers of our Ruins : so that all shall bless you, and in their wishes for a happy Parliament, shall name you with Honour, and wish it may be such a one as this has been.

We have all the reason in the World to conclude, that this Nation is dear unto God ; and we are sure, the Holy Religion we profess, is from him ; why should we then despond, and not still hope in that God, who has hitherto given us such abundant Proofs

of his care of us, and of his regard to the Reformation among us. When we remember by what steps and methods it was brought in and established here ; How short the Storm was in Queen *Mary's* Reign, and that she died without Issue, which might have brought us both under Popery, and made us a Province to a Foreign Tyranny ; when we reflect on the long and glorious Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* ; on the happy disappointment of the *Armada*, believed and called *Invincible* ; the discovery of the *Gunpowder Plot*, with the later Blessings yet in our Eyes ; we have from all these much reason to conclude, that we are in a special manner favoured of God. Nothing can break off this course of Mercies with which he has followed us, but our obstinate persisting in our Sins : If we resolve on this, there is nothing before us, but a fearful prospect of Wrath and Indignation. And this leads me to the fifth and last Particular, of which I proposed to speak, which is,

5. That such as do not make this use of the Gospel, as to be thereby led to Repentance, have reason to look for sudden and severe Judgments. *If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come upon thee as a Thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee.* God's Judgments are a great depth, and the Methods of them are unaccountable : Some wicked Nations, and Impious and Tyrannical Governments, have flourished long ; Triumph and Victory have seemed entailed on them. The *Assyrian* of old, and the Turkish Empire at present, are great Instances of this. These are Portions of the World, which

which God for their other Sins gave in prey to savage Masters ; whose Prosperity made them the fitter Instruments of his Justice. But it is observable, that those Nations whom he has more especially favoured, are more signally punished when their Sins have been so notorious, that it seemed necessary to give publick Evidences of the impartiality of God's governing the World. *You only have I known of all the Families of the Earth ; therefore will I punish you for your Iniquities.* *Amos 3. 2.* The whole History of the *Jews*, till their final and almost total Destruction, is one continued Instance of this. The Roman Empire, when it turned Christian, but was not much reformed by that Light, was given up to be wasted by swarms of *Goths, Vandals, Huns*, and other Northern Nations, who for near two Ages together, laid it so waste, that what by the Destruction they made, and the Famine that followed upon that, which brought after it unheard of Plagues, the History of that Time contains a Succession of the most terrible Miseries that can be imagined. The *African* Churches, that were the best regulated of any then in the World, yet having fallen from their first Love, and being rent in pieces by Schism, and becoming generally corrupt in their Manners, notwithstanding the excellent Bishops that were among them ; St. *Austin* in particular, who was the last of those that were sent to warn them of the Judgments they might look for, which he did faithfully ; but nothing prevailing, they were first destroyed by the *Vandals*, and then so totally by the *Saracens* and *Moors*, that the Name of Christ is called on no more in them, except it be in their Dungeons,

geons, by those miserable Captives that are kept in such slavery among them, that it should tear every Christian's Heart to think on it. The Eastern Empire was first by the *Goths*, then by the *Huns* and the *Avars*, afterwards by the *Saracens*, and finally by the *Turks*, so wasted, that the small Remains of Christianity among them, serve only as the Ruins of some great Fabrick, to shew what once it was. The City of *Antioch*, once among the noblest of the World, in which that glorious Name of Christian first began, was by a frequent return of most terrible Earth-quakes, and devouring Fires, so ruined, that it is now but a small inconsiderable Village. *Sardis*, in my Text, is no better: These Seven Churches here writ to, are now under the slavery of *Mahometans*, and indeed retain little but the Name of Christian; some of them are so entirely destroyed, that it is not so much as certain where they stood. When we hear of these things, we ought wisely to consider of these Works of the Lord: Why should we hope to escape, if we are as guilty as they were? But to turn your Eyes to what is nearer you; After the Gospel was planted here in *Britain*, while we were under the Roman Yoke, and was watered with the Blood of many Martyrs that suffered under the Heathenish Persecution; The *Britans* being blest with Peace and Prosperity, did soon forget God, and fell from their first Love. Then what Judgments fell on them? The Northern People being more Warlike, broke into the Southern Parts, who were soft and luxurious: These hiring the *Saxons* to their Assistance, were thereby brought under a much more cruel

cruel Bondage ; and those either rooted out the Christian Religion, or drove it up into the Mountainous parts of this Kingdom. What the Sins, both of the Clergy and Laity were, is set out by *Gildas*, that lived not long after that Time ; and they resemble our present Condition so much, that it gives us cause to fear the Parallel shall be as equal in our Judgments, as it is now in our Sins. When the Reformation began first in *England*, many run into it, rather out of hatred to the Clergy, and love to their Lands, than out of Zeal for the Truth : So that the Bishops in King *Edward's* Time, did, by some Letters which they sent about among their Clergy, call upon them to warn the People of the heavy Judgments of God, ready to fall upon them : but they went on in their Sins with a high hand, so that the Land was full of Oppression and Injustice, Adultery and Sensuality : God visited them for these things, and took away that blessed young King, and left them in the hands of a superstitious and bloody Princess, who fearing her own Power was not strong enough to alter the established Religion, married the Prince of *Spain*, and by a vast Treasure which he brought over into *England*, corrupted the great Men, and the Publick Councils of the Kingdom ; so that all that had been building up in twenty five years, was overthrown in a little more than one, by Parliaments, over whom Spanish Gold had greater influence, than the Sense of their Trust, or their Regard to God and their Country. Shall I put you in mind of the terrible Judgment of God, that broke out lately on our neighbouring Island, where, the Barbarity of the Natives
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being sharpened by the Cruelty of their Religion, and the Practices of their Priests, a Massacre and Destruction did almost wholly consume them? How near were we brought to utter Ruin? and how long were we ruled by the Sword, during the late Wars?

Are all these things forgotten? Or, do we remember them, only to furnish out Discourse with them? We at present are all sufficiently apprehensive of our ill Condition, we see the great Danger we are in of Popery's subduing us; we see an overgrown Neighbour ready to break in upon us, or at least, upon that which is but a step from us. There is a Fermentation among our selves, so high, that it is like to involve us in great Confusions: The things that belong to our Peace seem to be hid from our eyes. Is not all this of the Lord? Most of the Evils we either feel or apprehend, are the natural Effects of our Sins and Vices, as well as of the Judgment of God punishing us for them. The Vices too common amongst us, have corrupted the Minds, and darkned the Understandings of many, and are like to become their own Punishments.

All these things are but the beginnings of Sorrows, which seem to be coming on us. What do we then? Do we sit crossing our hands, accusing one another, or it may be, faintly condemning our selves? We perhaps imagine, if we were rid of Popery, all would be well. It is certain, we should be much better than we are: but if the Root of our Distemper remains, the carrying off one Sympton will but dispose the way to another. God can either plague us,
by

by delivering us up to a forreign Enemy, who shall have no pity on us; or can again send his Arrows among us, a Pestilence to sweep away our Inhabitants, or a Fire to burn down our Cities. He can leave us to bite and devour one another, till we are consumed one of another. And if he come upon us, what can we do to withstand his mighty Arm? Can we restrain his Thunders, or be proof against his Arrows? O how weak are all Devices, when God blasts them! If our Distractions continue, we are like the Builders of *Babel*, so divided, that nothing but utter and irremediable Confusion is like to be the end of them, if we once fall in pieces.

Well, we are yet in Peace, we rise up and lie down in quiet; how long it will be so, we cannot tell: We seem to be near great Convulsions; we have no reason to desire them. We are now full of Wealth, our Trade is free, and much spread; we have a Concurrence, both at home and abroad, of many things that might yet make us a great and happy People, but want the Power to improve it. What shall the end of these things be? It were too great a presumption in me, nor proper for this place or occasion, to enter into Particulars; but one thing I may adventure on, which is, If you of this Honourable Assembly, who have now bespoke the Prayers of the whole Nation upon your Consultations, would frequently address your selves to God, and set off such Hours as your Business can admit of, for earnest Prayer to God, to direct and bless your Councils, and to bend all your Hearts, to that which is both most for his Glory, the Establishment of his true Religion,

G

ligion, and the Security, Peace, and Happiness of the Kingdom ; we might justly hope, *that God, even our God, would give his Blessing to Endeavours so begun, and so managed : Then should the Light of the Gospel, which is our Glory, still dwell in our Land : Mercy and Truth should meet together, and Righteousness and Peace should kiss one another : Then should the Lord give us that which is good, and our Land should yield her increase. O that there were such an Heart in us, that we might fear him, and keep his Commandments always ; that so it may be well with us, and our Children after us, for ever.*

To God the Father, Son, and Holy-Ghost, be all Honour and Glory, both now and evermore.

FINIS.

Books lately Printed for Richard Chiswell.

- G** *William's* Display of Herauldry, with large Additions. *Folio.*
 Dr. *Burnet's* History of the Reformation of the Church of England;
 The First Part. *Fol.*
 —His Second Part, compleating the said History, is now in the Press.
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 —His Translation of the Decree made at Rome, March 2. 1679. condemning
 some Opinions of the Jesuits, and other Casuists. *Quarto.*
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 Earl of *Rocheſter*; written by his Lordship's own direction, on his
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 and Matters relating thereunto, from the Exceptions made against it,
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Ab. Seleir's Remarks on the State of the Church of the 3 first Centuries. *Oct.*

NEW YORK: Basic Books, Inc., 1980. Pp. 200. \$12.95.

Clayton Mayor

1880-1881 Mayor of the City of
New York, N.Y.

This book is a record of the
work of the Mayor and
Council of the City of New York
during the year 1880-1881.
It is published by the
City of New York, under the
direction of the Mayor and
Council.

W. A. G. 1881.

Clayton Mayor.

Martis vij. die Septembr' 1680. Annoque Regis Caroli secundi Angl', &c. xxxij.

THis Court doth desire Dr. *Burnet* to Print his Sermon Preached on the second of *September* instant, at *BOW- Church*, before the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of this City.

WAGSTAFFE.

A SERMON

Preached before the
Right HONOURABLE
THE
Lord-Mayor
AND
ALDERMEN
OF THE
City of London,

AT
BOW-Church, September 2. 1680.
Being the Anniversary Fast for the Burning of
L O N D O N.

By GILBERT BURNET.

The Second Edition.

L O N D O N, Printed for *Richard Chiswel* at the *Rose* and
Crown in *St. Paul's Church-yard*. 1681.

SEYMOUR

Right Honorable

Lord Mayor

ALFRED R. M. E. N.

City of London

On 11th June 1880

Received of

Alfred R. M. E. N.

the sum of

TO THE
Right Honourable
S^R. Robert Clayton,
LORD-MAYOR
OF THE
City of London.

My Lord,

THE Publishing this Sermon, was no easie part of my Obedience to your Lordships Commands, and to the desires of the Court of Aldermen: for I have no reason to expect it should be so favourably received, when it is brought under the Eyes and Censures of the World, as when it was first delivered. Since the good temper the Auditory was in, upon the remembrance of that great Conflagration, made it pass more acceptably at first hearing, than is to be hoped for upon a stricter.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

stricter review of it. And some Persons of high Worth and Eminence, have been of late, treated so unsuitably, either to their Merit, or their designs in what they Preached, that it may justly give such a one as I am, apprehensions of ill usage, for touching our sores, which are so tender, that some cannot bear the handling them in the softest manner.

But having observed that what I said on these heads, was not unacceptable to your Lordship, who are so great a Judge; I do the more freely adventure on making it publick. Since the Justice, Prudence, and Moderation of your Government, has given your Lordship so great an Interest in the esteem and affections, not only of this great City, but of the whole Nation; that as those who are to succeed you in that high Trust, will be valued and loved, as they follow the Pattern you have set them; so there are few things that can recommend such a Discourse, more, than that I may, by your Lordships permission, say, it was approved of by one of so great an understanding, and so excellent a temper, as yours is generally known to be.

God grant this may have some good effect on those that heard it, or may read it, and that the sad prospect now before us, may by the mercy of God, upon our unfeigned Repentance, be changed unto a serene and happy calm:

The Epistle Dedicatory.

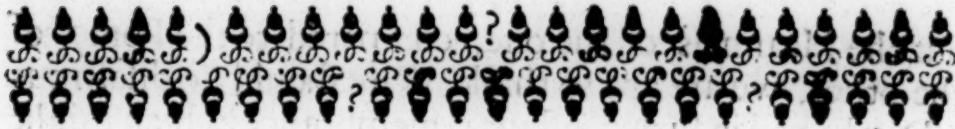
calm : wherein that your Lordship may be a great Instrument , both in this City , and in the publick Councils of the Kingdom, is the Earnest Prayer of

My Lord,

*Your Lordships most humble, and
most Obedient Servant,*

G. BURNET.

G. BURNET.



Amos, chap. 4. vers. 11, 12.

*I have overthrown some of you , as God overthrew
Sodom and Gomorrhah ; and ye were as a Fire-
brand, pluck'd out of the Burning : Yet have ye
not returned unto me, saith the Lord.*

*Therefore thus will I do unto thee , O Israel : And
because I will do this unto thee, prepare to meet thy
God, O Israel.*

TH E remembrance of that dismal Day , which
brings us now together, grows too soon stale
and cold ; and perhaps passes rather as a dole-
ful Tale, that we are to hand down to the next
Age, than as a Subject by which our Repentance and
Humiliation are wrought on. We rather glory in our
Wealth, and the great Splendor of *London* rebuilt, than
are humbled, when we remember how she was laid in
Ashes. The Largeness and Evenness of the Streets, the
Regularity and Beauty of the Houses, the Magnificence
of the Churches, Halls, Gates, the Exchange, the Canal,
the Monument, with the other Glories of the City, do
perhaps so much amuse us ; that, seeing now no other
Marks, by which we can know what Places were burnt,
and what escaped that spreading and devouring Flame,
B but

A SERMON Preached

but the Meanness of the one, compared to the Pomp of the other, we are apt to think, Why should so disastrous a Day be had in such constant remembrance? which might be more suitable when the Wound was green, the Ashes and Rubbish were not removed, when the Impression was deep, and Men were more sensible of their Losses, which in a Succession of fourteen years, they have either digested, or being quite broken by them, have made way for new Inhabitants, that had no share of the former Calamity. But now it may seem too long, to perpetuate the Memory of these black Dayes, and bright Nights, that so many of you looked on then with amazement, and must still reflect on with horror.

Yet if we consider, that, how instrumental soever the Hand of Hell was in it, certainly the Hand, or rather the Breath of Heaven was visible, both in spreading it over so many Regions of this populous City, and in stopping it of a sudden, when the Fire had executed its Commission; we cannot but think it fit, after so long an Interval, still to remember what may be supposed to have been the procuring Causes of such an unheard-of Burning, which seems since, by a sort of Contagion, to have spread into many other Cities of the Nation: And whereas in former times, a Fire that carried away a few Houses was thought dismal; now except it burn down whole Towns, or Streets at least, we think it gentle and merciful. If we also reflect upon the Time when it broke out, that it followed a long and an unhappy War, and a raging Pestilence, our Miseries returning so thick upon us, as Job's Messengers did; all these things concurring with the sad and gloomy Prospect now before us, *It is surely meet to be said unto God, I have born Chastisement, I will not offend any more; if I have done Iniquity, I will do so no more.* And joining that we have seen and felt, with that which is almost all visibly before.

before the Lord-Mayor, Septemb. 2. 1680.

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before us, we must conclude, it is fit to turn to Him, who did some years ago afflict us so severely, but has since given us a long Interval of Peace and Plenty, and seems now to be *bending his Bow, whetting his Sword, and preparing against us the Instruments of War.* Psal. 9. 12, 13.

The words in the Text, pronounced upon the like occasion, offer to us, both the Reflection on what is past, the Consideration of what is present, and the Prospect of what we may look for. Of which I shall first speak a little in General, before I apply them.

This Prophecy was given in Commission to *Amos*, one of the Herdsmen of *Tekoa*, a Town distant twelve Miles from *Jerusalem*, and six from *Bethlehem*; so that he lived in the Tribe of *Judah*, tho' he was sent to the Ten Tribes, that still continued in the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*. *Jeha* having rooted out the *Sidonian* Idolatry of the *Baalim*, he and his Family, as a Blessing, even upon that imperfect Reformation, reigned over these Tribes 104 Years; but the Period of it was now near an end, and with it, of the Peace and Liberty of that Kingdom: For *Jeroboam's* Son, *Zacharias*, reigned only six Months; and his Murderer, *Shallum*, but one Month. *Menahem*, who conspired against him, reigned ten Years; yet against him came up the King of *Assyria*, the conquering Empire of that Age; and tho' *Menahem* redeemed his present Quiet, by the Tribute of a Thousand Talents, that procured them only a while's respite. His Son, *Pekahiah*, being a wicked Prince, *Pekah* conspired against him, and killed him, in the second Year of his Reign. Then *Tiglath-Pileser*, another *Assyrian* King, came, and perhaps pretended to revenge the Death of *Menahem* their Allie's Son, and carried away most of the Land of *Galilee* into

Compare
2 King. 10. 35.
& 13. 1, 10.
& 14. 23.

2 King. 15. 19.

2 King. 15. 29.

Captivity. And the total Captivity of these Tribes sold
 2 King. 17. 6. lowed under their next King. So that from the Days of
 this Prophecy, what by the Revolutions of Government
 at home, what by the Impressions the proud *Assyrians*
 made on them, they had a Succession of grievous Calami-
 ties, which ended in the total Subversion of that State.
 And they were so dispersed in their Captivity, that except
 some Straglers that might have returned with *Zorobabel*,
 they were never again gathered together; so that it is
 now only matter of conjecture what is become of them.

Amos was one of the last Messengers, that was sent to
 invite them to Repentance. God had before spoken to
 them in the dismal Language of his Judgments, by Fa-
 mine, by the blasting of their Harvest, and binding up
 the Clouds, that it did not rain; by such Mildew, and
 Vermin, as had consumed all their Fruits, their Vines,
 Olives, and Figs; by War, and the Plague, to such a
 degree that their Dead were not buried, but lay in the
 Fields, to infect the Air, and to offend the Living. *The*
Stink of your Camps came into your Nostrils. Which are
 all mentioned in the Verses before my Text. And final-
 ly, that some of their Cities had been burnt down by
 the Hand of Heaven. Two years after this another Ca-
 lamity came on them, from such an Earthquake, menti-
 oned by *Zechariah*, that the People, terrified with it,
 thought of flying out of the Land; for this Time being
 2acb. 14. 5. contemporary to that of *Uzziah*, the Earthquake there
 mentioned, which became a Proverb, seems to be the
 same spoken of in the first Verse of this Prophecy. So that
 this honest Shepherd was called from his Flocks, to see, if
 the Simplicity and Plainness of the Man, and of his Stile,
 which is the lowest of any of all the Prophets, could
 be a Mean to awaken them out of their Impieties.

The Sins he accuses them most for, were their *Irreligion*, desiring to stop the Mouths of the Prophets, saying, *Prophecie not*. And tho' they observed the Returns of their Festivities, their New-Moons, and Sabbath-Days; yet they were weary of them, observing them only for Forms sake, and longed to have them over. He also charges them for their *Luxury*: They had rebuilt their burnt and wasted Cities with hewen Stone, and had planted pleasant Vineyards and Olive-yards; they drank Wine in Bowls, someth'ng like Healths now a-days; they anointed themselves with rich Ointment, had their Beds of Ivory, and rich Couches about their Tables, feasted high and had excellent Musick at their Entertainments, were guilty of great Iniquity and Oppression, so that there was no Truth nor Justice among them. And they were become so bare-faced and impudent in their Vices, that good and prudent men thought fit to keep silence in that Time, because it was an evil Time. For all these Reasons the Prophets threaten them with a Captivity, and other severe Judgments; and that because God had known them only of all the Families of the Earth, therefore he would punish them for their Iniquities.

In the Words I have read, he says, *I have overthrown you* (some is not in the Hebrew) *as God did Sodom and Gomorrha*. *As*, does not import in the Scripture-Phrase an exact resemblance, but only some Similitude in general. So that it does not necessarily import, that Fire came down from Heaven on them, but that they were overthrown totally, perhaps by Fire, Thundring or Lightning. The *Chaldee Paraphrast* understood it more generally and rendred it thus: *The Word of the Lord abhorred them, as he did Sodom and Gomorrha*.

You were as a Firebrand pluck'd out of the Burning. A proverbial Form of Speech, either expressing the great Danger.

Zech. 3. 2.
Jude 23.

Danger they had run, with the extraordinary Deliverance they had met with, God rescuing them on a sudden; as also the despicableness of their present Condition; since nothing looks worse than a Firebrand snatch'd out of the Fire.

Yet have you not returned unto me, saith the Lord. They continued in their Impieties, and irreligious Worship, in their Separation from their right way of worshipping God at *Jerusalem*, in their Luxury, Sensuality, and Injustice: and all the Judgments they had felt, which perhaps might have a little awakened them, when they lay under them, had not any such effect, as to turn their Hearts or to change the Course of their Lives.

Therefore thus will I do unto thee, O Israel; and because I will do thus unto thee. Thus, may either relate to the former Judgments, as if they were to be repeated upon them; or to what follows of the Captivity threatned in the beginning of the next Chapter, *The Virgin of Israel being fallen, and not able to rise*; Ten being left of an Hundred, and an Hundred of a Thousand.

Prepare thee to meet thy God, O Israel. This is either an Ironical Alarm to them, to see what they could do to resist that God, the God of Hosts, that formed the Mountains, created the Wind, knew the Secret of Mens Hearts, could bring darkness on the Earth in a bright Sunshine, and tread upon the high Places of the Earth, the great Powers and mighty Empires, at his Pleasure: they were to try how they were able to resist his Thunders, to bind up the Clouds, or the Winds of Heaven or to disperse those Armies that he was to send against them; whom he would inspire with great Courage, when they should be struck with pannick Fear, and such sorrow and dejection of Mind, that all their Songs should be turned to Lamentations. Or this, *Prepare thee to meet*

thy

before the Lord-Mayor, Septemb. 2. 1680.

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thy God, is an Invitation to Repentance, as that which could only avert those Judgements that were ready to break forth on them, and dissipate the Clouds; so that instead of the Storms they had reason to look for, they might be bless'd with a serene Calm, and entire Peace, upon their returning to God.

Having thus opened the Scope and Intention of the Prophet in the Text, I shall now speak to these four Particulars.

- I. When we have met with Judgements, signal, both in their kind, and in the deliverance out of them, we ought to remember God's hand in them, and to consider, for what ends he both laid them on, and took them off.
- II. We ought to consider, what effect these have had on us? Whether they have made us turn to God, or not?
- III. We are to consider, how much severer Judgements we may reasonably look for, if those that have already come upon us, have not prevailed to make us return to God.
- IV. Upon all this, we ought to look unto God, and to endeavour to prevent that which we cannot otherwise avoid or resist, by an unfeigned Repentance.

For the First of these : If we believe, that the World is governed by a Supream Providence, we must conclude, that more astonishing and extraordinary Events, not only

only fall not out by chance, but are directed for some great ends, proportioned to such means. If either an Accident, or a Combination of cursed Men, first kindled this Fire, yet the Wind that waited on it, and drove it forward with such violence, that neither the many Hands that were employed to quench it, the Neighbourhood of so much Water, the Engines used, and all the other Means that could be thought on, were effectual to stop its Rage, till it had done its Work, was a manifest Indication of the Hand of God in it. And how much soever Mens thoughts may be now blunted on this Subject, yet then, as I have understood from those that saw it, there were few that look'd on, that seemed not touched with the apprehensions of God's displeasure. Many that were not immediately concerned in it, yet smote on their Breasts, and said, *This is of God, let us return to Him.*

I shall not enlarge on the Description of it, or of the unexpected stopping of it in many places, even in the midst of very combustible Matter; so that the quenching of it had almost as manifest Characters of a Divine Appointment on it, as the Conflagration it self. It would very ill become one that saw it not, to spend much Discourse about it to those that saw it, and as it is to be presumed, will never forget it, but will tell it to the succeeding Age; as God commanded the *Israelites* to convey down to Posterity, the remembrance of the Captivity they had groaned under in *Egypt*, with the signal Deliverance out of it: for things of so extraordinary a nature ought never to be forgotten.

I know it is not fit, upon every Calamity to enter into the Secrets of God's Providence, nor to determine what were, and were not the procuring Causes: or what were the more principal ones. In these Cases men of several Parties, have alwayes found out somewhat in which they thought

thought themselves least concerned, and have been willing to load that with the whole burthen of God's Indignation ; and so upon this occasion, Men have not been wanting to assign such Causes, as might make those from whom they differed more hateful. But who has said, *What have I done?* And indeed, tho' we may err in saying, one thing more than another drew down this Judgment on us, and in the enumeration of the Causes of it, may fail in the Account ; yet it is certain, that when we lay them all together, and more particularly reflect on such of them, wherein we find our selves most concerned, we are in the readiest way to prevent the like, or heavier Judgments, from coming on us for the future. It were also a vain and bold Presumption in any, to enquire into this Secret, Why this City more than others, or these parts of it more than others, were burnt down? Our Saviour, by his Answer upon the like occasion, concerning those whose blood *Pilate* mixed with their Sacrifices, or those on whom the Tower of *Siloah* fell, takes all Men off from such Curiosities, suggesting to them a more profitable Meditation: *I tell you, Nay ; but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.* Luke 13. 3, 5. In general, we are certain that God afflicts us not willingly ; and so, without a more particular enquiry, we may conclude, that there were great reason for this awakening Dispensation. And therefore, instead of looking backward any longer, I now proceed to the Second Point, to examine, What effects this or the like Providences have produced upon us? And whether we have returned to the Lord, or not?

I shall confine my Discourse to those three Heads, on which the Prophet founds his Charge, *Irreligion, Luxury, and Unrighteousness* ; and shall desire you to bear with the Plainness, which becomes such a Subject, and such an Occasion. I cannot say upon the first Head, of *Religion*, that the chief part of the Prophet's Accusation concerns

us: for the Sins of *Dan* and *Bethel* do not belong unto us; we have not set up a new Way of Religion, different from that appointed by God; we have not been guilty of any open Idolatry, in worshipping the Works of Mens hands, or of making any resemblance of that invisible Being, whom we adore. But in the Head of Religion, I shall name other things, wherein we have been as far from returning to God, as the Ten Tribes were.

First, They minded nothing but the external Pageantry, the Musick, and other outward Performances, and were weary often of these, so that their solemn Days were Abominations to God. And now, if we look among our selves, tho' there may be perhaps more Care in this great City, than in any of the World, about the decent Observation of the Sabbath; this is the Magistrates Glory, who do so carefully restrain the Violation of that holy Time; yet many of those, who in compliance with Custom go to Church, do it meerly for Form. But if we examine what these Assemblies amount to, for the greatest part, we cannot think but God abhors and despises them. Many go to them only for Custom; others, to shew their vain Apparel, and dress themselves with such gawdy Pomp, as if it were a Play, rather than the Worship of God, they went to bear a share in. I speak not against modest Decency and Cleanness; but the vanity of many Peoples Dress is no small Scandal to our Churches, who not only gratifie their own Pride, but do all they can to distract and tempt others.

In the Worship of God, how little serious are we in all the parts of it? We confess our Sins without Contrition, we pray without Devotion, we praise God without Affection, we hear the Scriptures without Faith: So in a word, all is but Form, and even of that we grow soon weary. Any Excuse serves us, either to be absent, or to come late. The too visible coldness of most Peoples behaviour
shew,

before the Lord-Mayor, Septemb. 2. 1680.

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shew, their Hearts join not with their Bodies or their Lips in the Worship of God. For Sermons, they are hearkened to, as other Discourses are, which we either censure or commend, as we see cause, or perhaps sleep all the while: But if we do mind them, it is for most part rather to furnish our selves with some Notion, to maintain Discourse, and to grati^fe our Vanity, than to be truly edified by them. And what we hear that more immediately concerns our selves, we put off, perhaps, with a slight Groan, and may be say within our selves, *God be merciful to us, we are all Sinners.* Do we think God is pleased or can be delighted with such Assemblies?

For the two Sacraments, the Devotion of the one is almost quite gone, it becomes a matter of Entertainment, and is used as a Ceremony that brings much Cost with it; the Sponsors considering more the Fees they are to give, than the Vows they make; and these being so slightly made, no wonder they are slightly performed. It is true, the other Sacrament is kept up with a little more seriousness, some more Preparation and Devotion, but because People are a little apprehensive of this, many take the best course they can to ease themselves of it, and do not receive in many years, unless the Law of the Land make it necessary, which is by too many more considered than the Laws of Christ in his holy Gospel. If we sum all these together, and reflect on the Coldness and Deadness we are all guilty of, in our Religion and religious Worship, can we think that we have yet *returned to the Lord*? Can such a dead lifeless way of serving him, be acceptable to him, that knows how far our Hearts are from him, when we draw near to him with our Lips? Can he take pleasure in these Assemblies, which, as all Forms must be, that are not enlivened by an internal Devotion, grow burdensom to our selves; and are only kept up as a Compliance, either to Custom, or some Remainder of a natural Religion,

Religion, that we have not been able to extinguish quite in our Consciences, after many Attempts made to sear them.

But to all this it may be opposed, Are not we zealous for the Reformation? Sure all this Heat and Flame must rise from true Religion? I deny not, but this great City has been on all occasions very forward in expressing their Zeal for the Reformation; but even upon this Head, God has not a few things to charge us with. St. *Paul* tells us of a Zeal of a far higher Strain, than I am afraid ours rises to, even of *giving ones Body to be burnt*; which yet would profit nothing, if it flowed not from true *Charity*. So if our Heat about Religion rise not from a true and internal Love to it, God may make it useful to others, but it shall avail us nothing. The Corruptions of true Religion, in all Times, have risen from this, That those who would not submit to the necessary, but hard and difficult parts of it, have studied to cheat themselves, and if they could, to bribe God, by setting up in room of these, some more easie and pompous things, which their Circumstances qualified them for, and they have spent much of their Wealth and Heat upon these. Some have adorned Churches, and adulterated several parts of Religion, by the Splendor they have added to them: Some have been very exact in external Performances; others have taken pleasure even in rigors on themselves; and others have been active and zealous in that Cause, which they took to be the Cause of God. According to the difference of Mens Constitutions, so they have chosen various Wayes, that did most sute with their Tempers, and by a great Zeal about these, have pacified those Clamors, which otherwise are apt to arise in a guilty Conscience. The Sanguine love Pageantry; the Flegmatick, the dull return of their Forms; the Melancholy affect Severities; and the Cholerick are peevish and passionate, and think those Heats that are natural to them, are Sacrifices of great

great value with God. But will he accept of these from such defiled hands?

I know, those that are inwardly possessed with the Love of God and their Neighbour, and have a just sense of the Love their Redeemer hath shewed them, must have a very lively concern in those things that relate to his Glory, and the Salvation of our Souls. But if we only put on a heat, and counterfeit a Zeal, where there is no good Principle under it, this is but to mock God, and think to pay him with false Coin, because it has the superscription of the true. If our Zeal is only Passion or Faction, then to offer this up to God, is to bring wild-Fire, and kindle it on his Altar.

There are two sad Indications, that declare the Zeal of the greatest part is no better: The one is, that the rest of their Lives are not of a piece with their Zeal. It is an impudent thing for any to pretend, that he is concerned that others should glorify God, when he is so ready to dishonour him himself; or that the sincere Belief, or pure Way of Worship, may be preserved, when he so cares, as if he neither believed in his Heart, nor worshipped God in his Spirit. God is not mocked, but discerns through all our Disguises, the secret Thoughts and Intentions of our Hearts. I speak not this to cool or lessen your Zeal for the Reformation, but to direct it aright, that it being fixed on a better Principle than either Passion or Interest, may have a deeper root, and a stronger operation, may be more acceptable with God, and more effectual by his Blessing: which cannot be expected to hypocritical Pretences, or at best, the Fermentation of Revenge or Interest.

Another sad Symptom, that shews our Zeal about Religion is not what it ought to be, appears in these unnatural Heats, that grow every day among our selves, for things, of which, to speak modestly, a Man must say, they

they deserve not that warmth which we bestow on them. If a Man is so far free from the Contagion which most are infected with, by being of a Party, as to consider the things themselves, he cannot but stand amazed, to see Men, who agree in all the Substantials of Religion, quarrel so violently about some external and less important Matters, when the Enemy is at the Gates. It was one of the clearest Demonstrations of the Wrath of God on *Jerusalem*, that during their last Siege, the Factioned were so high within, that as they had any respite from the Enemy without, they were destroying one another. They would not know the things that belonged to their Peace in time, and so they were hid from their Eyes in the day of their Visitation. When the *African* Churches were ready to be devoured by the *Vandals*, who besides the Barbarity of their Tempers, were *Arrians* by their Religion; The Schism of the *Donatists* did so rage, and was managed with such heat, too much of both Sides, as St. *Austin* laments, that it was a manifest sign of their approaching Ruine; yet that holy Father, with the other Bishops of that time, made great Offers for comprehending the *Donatists* within the Unity of the Church; one was, to take them into a share of their Functions, and that the Survivor should be the sole Pastor. But secular Men enflamed the Differences, and the Governors punished the *Donatists* so severely, that St. *Austin* wrote often to them, to stop these violent Proceedings. But that holy man died, while *Hippo* was besieged, and the Prop of these Churches being removed, they soon became a Prey to their cruel Enemies, who brought them all under a most terrible and undistinguish'd Persecution.

When the *Mahometan* Impiety, and *Saracen* Empire, was spreading in the East, the *Greek* Empire fell into such Divisions and Animosities about the will of Christ, and the Use of Images, that disjoynted them one from

Lib. 1. con.
Paym. cap. 7.
lib. 3. con. Pet.
til. c. 49, 50.

Epist. 60,
127, 158,
159, 160.

from another, and made way for the growth of *Mahometanism*. Shall we follow these Paterns so carefully, as if we were afraid to miss such Calamities as fell on them? Are we so little sensible of the Advantages we give our Enemies, and the weakning we bring upon our selves, by such Jealousies and Heartburnings? St. Paul, when the *Corinthians* following their just Law-Suites before Unbelievers, brought thereby a Scandal on Christianity, charged them *rather to suffer Wrong, than that a Brother should go to Law with a Brother*. If such things, which had a foundation in Justice and Property, were to be forbore for their Indecency; O how much more reasonab'e is it now for those who publish the glad Tidings of Peace, to lift up their Voices as a Trumpet, to sound a Retreat from this ungodly War in our Church, and to call Men off from their unseasonable Heats, to a greater Calm and Temper, when the Effects of them are like to be so fatal.

It has been the Device of the Church of *Rome*, both to keep Unity within her self, and to foment Differences among others, ever since the Reformation. They have Differences among them of a far higher nature than any we have among us. The most material Differences in Matters of Doctrine, that have raised the greatest Animosities in this Island, have been about the Nature of Divine Grace, and the Order of the Decrees of God: but those have been carried as high, if not higher, in the Church of *Rome*. I need not mention the many Differences among the several Families of the Schoolemen, who have invented various Explanations of almost all the Mysteries of their Religion, and have defended their Sentiments with as little Modesty of Language, as many of our Writers do; yet all this has not broken their Church. In that which is to them the fundamental Point of their Religion, *where the supreme Power of judg-*
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ing Controversies infallibly is lodged; tho' they all agree against us, that there must be a living infallible Judge, yet they do not agree in whom this Power is placed. Many set up the Pope; others are so ashamed of this, that they are for the Council, without the Pope; and others chuse a middle way, and are for ascribing it to the Pope and Council together: And yet if the Council has either the Infallibility entirely, or has any share in it, so that it is no where without its concurrence, then they have no infallible Judge, it being 115 years since they had a General Council, and 'tis like to be much longer before another comes.

I need not enlarge on their other Differences, either the ancients' Contests concerning the Immaculate Conception of the B. Virgin, which were not only supported by ordinary Reasonings, but by Pretences to Visions and Revelations; and the latter Contests, that are yet depending at the Court of *Rome*, concerning the Morals of the Jesuits, and other modern Casuists: All these shew the Varieties among them in Matters of Doctrine.

Those who have Travelled among them, and narrowly observ'd their Customs, see that there are no small Diversities in the Rites and Forms of their worship. Every Nation, and every Religious Order, has some Rites that are peculiar to them; and tho' the *Roman* Office is now used most commonly, yet as the *Ambrosian* continued long at *Millain*, and the *Mozarabick* in some parts of *Spain*; so here in *England*, the Southern parts followed the Use of *Sarum*; the Northern, the Use of *York*; *South-Wales*, the Use of *Hereford*; and *North-Wales*, the Use of *Bangor*; besides a peculiar Use that *Lincoln* had for that large Diocese. All which shew how willing they were to knit all People to their Communion, indulging them some peculiar Rites, either different from, or added to the

the rest. So well have they studied the Policy of keeping their whole Strength united together, against those they call Hereticks, and their common Enemies; tho' they have not been able to bring all their Votaries to an Uniformity, either in Points of Doctrine, or the Forms of Worship.

They have no less industriously blown upon and improved all the Differences among the Reformed, to break them among themselves. Could so small a matter, as the Difference about the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, (which was only a speculative part, since their Worship did not differ,) have so divided the *Lutheran* and *Helvetian* Churches; if some secret Practices of theirs had not wrought on the Weakness and Passions of some angry Men? The *Papists* saw this as well on the one hand, as the Princes and soberer Divines perceived it on the other. At one Publick Conference, appointed by the Diet of the Empire, between *Papists* and *Protestants*, for settling Religion, the *Papists* knowing their weak Side, and desirous to throw a Bone among them, proposed, that they should first agree to condemn the *Helvetians*. *Melancthon* perceived what this aimed at, and so studied to divert it, but other peevish Divines grew so hot about it, that they broke up the Meeting, to the no small joy of the Popish Party.

Hist. of the
Council of
Trent. lib. 5.
Anno 1557.

How far they may have practised among us to inflame our Differences, I shall not determine, but I am sure there is nothing we can possibly contrive, more both to their Advantage and Satisfaction, than this is. The Heathen Philosophers had different Schools, but worshipped in the same Temples. The Primitive Christians differed in many Customs, both about the Observations of *Easter* and *Lent*, with many other various Rites; but they never broke the Bond of Peace and Perfection, the Unity of the Church, till the Bishops of *Rome* began

gan to lay their Yoke upon the other Churches. It were a great happiness to be exactly of the same mind : and such as differ from the Publick Constitution, ought certainly to examine the ground of these Differences, with calm and unprejudiced minds : And to pronounce my own opinion freely, and without reserves, I am very confident if that were done, with the Care and Application that is requisite, the Truth would soon appear to be of our Church's side : and if there be yet any Defects in our Constitution, or any thing that requires Amendment or Improvement ; as no doubt, none ever was since the Apostles days that needed it not ; then let clear Reason, and calm, but steady Endeavours be used for compleating or ordering what is wanting or amiss among us ; which his late Glorious Majesty offered to redress, for settling this Church. And it will seem strange, if any who glory so much, and so justly, in the Honour the Church received by so great a Testimony, as his Martyrdom gave it, should not follow those Thoughts, which He, after a long course of Sufferings, and deep and devout study about them, had taken up ; a due difference being made between the things that he offered in compliance to the heat of that time, and the more retired Reflections himself had.

But if so great a Happiness, as a compleat Unity cannot be attained to, let us, at least, lay aside our Unnatural, Unchristian, and unpolitick Animosities ; condescending to the Infirmities of the Weak, and pitying them rather than insulting over them : Let such mutual allowances be given as Humane Infirmary, the weakness of many mens Reasons, the strength of their Passions, and the force of Prejudice and Education require. And if we will so order our Zeal, that its first and chief Operation be on our selves, reforming our lives, and purifying our Hearts, and then apply it proportionably to other things,

things, giving to every part of Religion such a share of it as the importance of the thing requires ; then a great deal of our heat would be soon allayed.

But to speak plainly ; Is it a Christian Zeal to disseminate Lies and Scandals ? To expose men that have deserved highly , for some supposed Mistakes ? These things ought not so to be. If those that run about with the greatest violence, blowing on such sparks , would examine themselves, as in the presence of God, what is the secret cause or spring of all their Motions, I am sure much of it wil be found to flow from *bitter Envy and Strife, which bring* ~~on~~ *Confusion and every evil* *Jam 3. 16, 17.* *work : and not from the Wisdom that is from above, and is first pure and then peaceable , and easie to be entreated.* And as we ought in meekness instruct those that oppose *2 Tim. 2. 25.* *themselves ;* so others should not express too great uneasiness at the instructions we offer them.

If we will reflect on the high value our Saviour set on our loving one another , that thereby *all men should* *Joh. 13. 35.* *know that we are his Disciples,* it would soon change our Temper ; so that being ashamed of our former Contests, if we could not of a sudden come to think the same things ; yet the same Spirit of Meekness, Humility and Charity dwelling in us, we should soon grow up into one Body : from which we are not kept, so much by the Differences themselves that we dispute about, as by that Alienation of Mind, which hath so violently rent us from one another. And this makes that for all the Evils which we have either felt, or do still fear, instead of accusing or condemning our selves, we lay the blame wholly upon others. The City blames the Country, and the Country the City : We of the Church blame those of the Separation, and they of the Separation blame us of the Church : But alas ! who look into their own Consciences, and humble themselves before God !

This Evil is of the Lord, therefore let us turn to him with our whole Heart: and we shall certainly feel, that as a spirit of true and real Holiness rises in us, we shall grow above these Contests for small matters. For God seems to punish us with this division of Language and Heart, as he did the Builders of *Babel*, for our other sins; since without a stroke from Heaven, a common measure of Infatuation could not carry this so far.

And now I go to the next particular charged by the Prophet on these Tribes, wherein they had not returned unto the Lord: That was *Luxury*. They had rebuilt their Houses, furnished them gloriously, and surfeited themselves with their Plenty: which they abused by their excessive Intemperance, both in eating, drinking, and in other Jollities; being insensible of the Judgements of God, that had either fallen on them, or were hanging over them. And in this, how parallel are our sins to theirs? This City is rebuilt with an increase of *Luxury*, as well as Order and Beauty: How many do exceed their Rank and Condition, the many Breakings do too manifestly declare: few are contented to live in that moderate Frugality and Decency that their Ancestors used; and complain of want and decay of Trade, because their comes not in enough to supply their Vanities, or to serve their *Luxury*. The Intemperance that abounds is too notorious to be much inslited on: as if those Liquors which God hath blessed us with, for refreshing and restoring our Spirits, were to be used either for the inflaming of our Lusts, the depressing our Reasons, impairing our Healths, and the profuse wasting of our Time and Estates. Inventions also must be fallen on for the decent forcing others to the like Excesses, by setting Healths about. A practice so ridiculously Brutal, that it were a loss of words

to go to expose it : Hereby men are not satisfied to Gratifie their own Intemperance, but most lay snares for others. And how studiously do these Agents for Vice, endeavour to corrupt all that are so unhappy as to fall in their ill Company ; training them on by degrees, till they have raised them to the like pitch of Impiety with themselves. To this is joyned the Excess and Curiosity of Entertainments, which has been long accounted one of the special Vices of this City. Our Bodies when nourished in the most moderate manner, and kept down with Exercise, yet are apt enough to raise many Temptations in us : which we ought not to cherish, by laying in a too plentiful provision for the Flesh, with its Lusts and Affections. When People give themselves up to all the incentives to Lust, and by Jollities, Musick, Balls, Drinking and Feasting, have laid themselves out to so many Temptations, and prepared so much fuel within for these impure Flames to work on ; it is no wonder that all excess of Riot and wantonness should follow such Disorders. The Indecencies of both Sexes going to Taverns, the corruption of a defiled Stage, the gross Liberties which many take, have now run us into such a mire of Filth and Sensuality, that it is scarce decent to rake in that kennel : and to speak of the things that are done, alas, not in secret, but in the sight of the Sun ; *Shall not God visit for these things?* Have we yet returned unto him ? or do we not go on to dare Heaven, and work all manner of Abominations with greediness. And while such Vices abound, and so many Judgements hang over us, who is betaking himself to Fasting and Prayer ? who hath cut off any of his former Excesses, or is accusing himself ? Sin and Lewdness are still growing, and its like will go on, till, as the Prophet threatens, *God shall make your Sin to go down*

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at Noon, and darken the Earth in the clear day. Poetical Expressions for unlook'd for Miseries. Then he will turn your Feasts unto mourning, and all your Songs unto Lamentations: and instead of the vanities of your Apparel, and the costly dresses on your Heads, will bring Sackcloth on all your loyns, and baldness on all your heads, and make your mourning to be like the mourning of an only Son.

The third thing for which the Prophet accuses the ten Tribes, is, that which Luxury must carry with it, to support it; their *Injustice* and *Oppression*. A man that spends profusely on himself, as he disables himself from giving the Poor such a share of his Wealth as he ought to do; so he grows unable to perform those stricter Duties of Justice and Equity to his Neighbours with whom he deals. Men that will live high, must maintain it by all possible means: If the cheating, even a Friend, the Sophisticating corrupted Goods, the defrauding Creditors, by covering one with some Protection, or pretending he breaks, to force Abatements of just Debts, or perhaps the profuse wasting both his own Stock, and the Stocks with which others have trusted him, become necessary to furnish out his Luxury and Vanity, he sticks at none of them. I do not doubt but the Regulations made in this great City are as exact and well considered as in any such City in the World; but as long as the high way of living continues, many unrighteous things must be invented for defraying that Expence. Justice and Righteousness are among the first Elements of Virtue, which Nature does so early teach all men; and are so necessary to the Peace and Government of the World, that we do very impudently pretend to the high things of Religion, if we have not begun with these, which are the lowest steps to it. If Trade is carried on by
Lying,

Lying, Cheating, Sophisticating, Extortion, and unregulated Usury, can a Blessing be expected from Heaven, on Wealth so acquired? If men make *their* 8 ch. 5, 6, 8, v. *Weights small, and falsifie their Balances by Deceit, so that they sell the Poor bread, shall God forget these things? shall not the Land tremble for this, and every one mourn that dwelleth therein?* If the Mysterie of some Trades consists in the Cheats of them; if Retailing is manag'd by lying; if Debts are paid by coufenage and fraud; if Bargains are made after too much Wine hath numbed or overheated the Spirits of the one Party, of which the other takes the advantage; if men have ever so much wealth and cunning both in acquiring and preserving it; yet according to the Prophetical expressions in the Ninth Chapter, *Though they dig unto Hell God will* 9 ch. 2, 3, ver. *take them thence, and though they climb up unto Heaven he will bring them down, though they hide themselves on the tops of Mountains, he will search and take them out from thence, and if they should lie as close as in the Bottom of the Sea, he will command a Serpent to bite them.* In these Points we ought on such dayes of Humiliation, if we intend not to add the Mockery of these to our other Sins, to examine our selves, as in the Presence of God, and see whether we have either departed from our old Sins, or instead of doing that, do not only continue in them, but contract new Guilt. If we will break the Yokes of Oppression and Injustice, if we convert what formerly went to our Luxury and Vanity, and apply it to the Necessity of our poor Brethren; and if instead of these Forms (in the repeating which we have too long placed all our Religion) and of our bitter Heats, we do follow *Peace with all men, and Holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord:* then when we pray to him, he will hear our Prayers, *our Light shall shine out under all that Darknes, that now covers us; God shall*
guide

guide us continually, and so satisfy our Souls; that we shall delight our selves in him and his Service.

But if we will still continue in our Sins, and satisfy our selves with so slight a way of serving God, then we may look for either the like, or heavier Judgments: which is the third thing I proposed to speak to; *Therefore thus will I do unto thee.* All the Corrections that God layes on us, are to amend us, but if these prevail not, then other severer means must be used for the same end, more searching Medicines when gentler ones cannot raise or carry off the Humours; and in Conclusion, God often makes those Nations on whom he had bestowed the most discriminating Marks of his Favour, the most publick Instances of his Justice, as he did the *Jews* of old, for their Idolatry, and the *Roman* Empire, after they had so strangely corrupted the Christian Religion: more signal Judgements being perhaps the only Means left to work on some, whom indulgent Providences do not prevail with; who indeed can be awakened by nothing, but Thunder and Lightning. In the Government of the World, the Methods of divine Providence are so mysterious, that it very ill becomes us, to take on us to judge how things shall fall out; yet since *Solomon* has observed that there is nothing new *under the Sun*, and by what has been, we may collect what may be; there are two things threatned by this Prophet; a *Famine*, not of Bread, nor a *Thirst* for Water, but of hearing the Word of the Lord: so that they should wander from Sea to Sea, and run to and fro to seek it, but should not find it. The other was, that they should go unto Captivity before their Enemies, where God should command the Sword that it should slay them, and he would set his Eyes on them for Evil and not for Good. It is worth our time to consider what we may expect either of these wayes.

Eccles. 1. 9.

8 ch. 11, 12.

9 ch. 4.

As for a Famine of the Word of the Lord, whether it shall come upon us, from that Religion which openly professes its Design to be to take the Scripture out of the hands of the People, or from any other hand; we have Reason enough to look for it, when we consider how horridly we have neglected and abused it. The greatest part never trouble themselves about it, and, perhaps, since their first Education and Child-hood, have never looked on it; others have read it, and fixed it more carefully in their Memories, but rather that by talking in that Stile, they may conceal their Villanies; and by the Misapplication of it, excuse their Errors and Faults: but how few read it with a plain Simplicity of mind, to receive Instruction and Light from it, and to kindle greater Warmth of Affection in them, from the many excellent Passages in it: which, what Effect soever they may have on vulgar Readers, are, to those that read them, with a well-disposed Mind, strong and sharp as a two-edged Sword. It cannot be denied, but Religion, among us, has lost much of its Force and Authority; and many, seeing thorough the Hypocrisie of one sort, and the Formality of another, have come to imagine, that there is nothing in it but either Custom or Interest. And I wish the great Scandals that our Contests have given to all men of clear and disengaged Reasons, may not have occasioned or encreased this in a great Measure. Universally the Gospel is preached and heard without that Sense, which a thing of such high Consequence deserves; for certainly, it must be acknowledged, that either Christianity is a Contrivance or Dream, or that it is the most important thing in the World. How far other Accidents may deprive us of this, of which the Force and Efficacy is, in a great part, gone, we do not know: whether downright Atheism, or the Disbelief of all revealed Religion,

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which

which has got such footing among us; or other extravagant Conceits of extirpating a Gospel-Ministry, as the decentest Introduction to these, may not bring us within this Curse, I shall not play the Diviner: but the great rage by which many endeavour to make the Clergy hateful and contemptible, with a Concurrence of some other things, seems to give just Apprehensions, that we may live yet to see such days.

I confess, on the other hand, the Appearances seem more probable and threatening, that we shall be brought under the Tyrannie of that Church, that can never hope to advance her Interests, but by suppressing this Light, by prohibiting the Scriptures, and perswading the World to deliver up their Faith and Conscience to the keeping and governing of their Priests; for who can go over to them, till his Mind is so loaded with Prejudices, that he dares not use his Understanding and Reason? Can any man believe that a Bishop, chosen with all the craft and intrigue that can be used among the cunningest Statesmen in the World, should be presently the Head of the Church, the Universal Pastor, St. Peter's Successor, and the Supream Judge of all Controversies? who though he understand no Divinity, and practises as little Morality, yet must decide all Controversies of Religion; and that in his Sentence all must acquiesce. He that can believe this, is well enough prepared to go over to them, and to believe the only thing I know, which is more incredible; that a Priest, by vertue of a Character given him, which is every whit as unintelligible as this great Effect of it, can, by pronouncing of five words, make a piece of Bread and a little Wine, become the whole and entire Substance of the Body and Blood of Christ; so that it is all in every crumb and drop of it. These are things to which men must be long and well prepared, before they can think

think they believe them: for it may be justly made a Question, Whether they do, or indeed can believe them? This Religion must of necessity, for its own support, extinguish the Light of the Scriptures: in which, the part that came more immediately, than any other, from God himself, has not escaped their Expurgation: I mean, the ten Commandments; of which, the Second, one of the fullest and most copious of them, is left out of their Catechisms; because it must have cleansed the Churches of Images, and the many other Monuments of Idolatry, with which they have defiled it. And in the New Testament, that part of it on which they have built most, is yet so contrary to one of their Devices, that it was fit for them not to let the People understand it. I mean the Institution of the Eucharist, in which Christ said, *Drink ye all of this*, when he gave his Disciples the Cup. They had also made their Worship so ridiculous, by the many strange Legends read on the Saints dayes, to which both the Collects and Anthems for these Offices do relate, that it had been hard to have brought the People to hear these things gravely: Therefore it was very fit, for these ends, to have their Worship in an unknown Tongue: though St. Paul has written so copiously on that Subject, that it is not easie to imagine how their minds are composed, who believe that he was inspir'd, and yet approve of a Worship, in a Language not understood by the People. 1 Cor. 14.

But after all these Corruptions of theirs, why should we not think it reasonable to believe, that since we have given our selves up to some of the worst Effects of Popery, God should abandon us so far, as to suffer us to come again under that yoke, from which, by a mighty hand, he delivered our Fathers? While we worship him meerly out of Form, what difference is there be-

tween that and the *telling of Beads*? If we think a loose Life may, by a few touches of Sorrow, be so expiated, that these shall carry us to Heaven, is not this almost as bad as to believe *Attrition is sufficient to Salvation*? If we think our coming to Church, or Sacrament, will save us, is it not as bad as their *Opus operatum*? If we blindly deliver our selves up to a Party, and follow all its Interests, what better is this than their *Implicit Obedience*? and if we allow our selves in that rage and violence, by which many carry on their Opinions, seeking the Ruine of all who differ from them, and spare no Methods, how false or cruel soever they be; This is not far from their *Extirpating of Hereticks*, and saying, *there is no Faith to be kept to them*. If by these and many more particulars, we examine how much the Spirit of Popery doth still leaven us, many of these who seem most heartily opposite to it, will be found deeply tinctured with it: And if we are secretly corrupted with some of the worst Principles of that Religion before we are aware of it, the other parts will more easily follow. Our Doctrine and Worship are *Reformed*: That we owe to the last Age, and to our Educations: But if our Hearts and Lives are vitiated by the same ill Principles, under another disguise, it will not be so great a Leap as some men imagine to get over that Gulf.

Here is one danger before us: it is a great one indeed, and perhaps the very Methods some may use to secure us from it, may precipitate us headlong unto it. *Caiph* advised the *Jews* to kill our Saviour, fearing that upon his pretending to be a King, the *Romans* might come and take that place; But this did so provoke God, that what they feared, came upon them: so whether some by over-bending their Zeal and Fervour, may not overthrow a Church, which has been, ever since the Reformation began, the greatest Bulwark

wark against Popery, and drive things much further than at present they intend or imagine, I leave it to the thoughts of wiser men.

The other thing threatened by the Prophet, is, their being led unto Captivity, and given up to the Sword. Our present Wealth and plenty, the Situation of our Countrey, the strength of our Fleets, and the natural Bravery of the Nation, may seem perhaps to raise us beyond the fear of it: *England* never having been higher in Trade, our Plantations never stronger and better Peopled, our Dominions never more extended and our Shipping going from under one end of Heaven to another. But alas! if God blast our publick Councils, and strike us at home with such a Division of Heart, that we cannot agree in things that are necessary for common Safety; all our wealth makes us but a more inviting Prey, either for a *Tyre* or *Sidon*, that may be near us, who would gladly carry our Trade from us; or for a great Conquerour that hovers over any of his Neighbours, to spy from whence he can receive an Addition to his Empire and *Glory*. And if God intends to give us up to Captivity, he will take away the Heart from our Counsellors, and Spirit and Courage from our Armies and Fleets; as the Prophets threatened the *Israelites* often, that those to whom God was to deliver them up, should come upon them with so unresistable a Force, and meet with so faint an Opposition, that they should easily fall into their hands.

There is nothing in which the overruling Force of divine Providence, shews it self more than in the rising and falling of Empires; in which we find often, great Kingdoms subdued by a small Force, while the one were elevated with more than ordinary Courage, and the other side, by a Series of odd Accidents, as much depressed: so that vast Treasures and great Armies have melt-

ed to nothing ; and sometimes without any visible Fault in the Conduct ; where no rational Account can be given, but that Heaven was on the one side. If God is against us, he needs no Instruments to chastise us with ; he can either by binding or opening the Clouds or Winds of Heaven, blast all the Fruits of our Industry or Trade : he can bring out of the Dust of the Earth, Swarms of Vermine to plague us ; he can discharge his Arrows, and again send the Plague or a Fire among us, or so give us up to Madness and Disorder, that we shall again fall in unnatural Wars at home, and destroy one another.

Some of these Dangers are not so remote, as to be look'd upon as the dark Dreams of melancholy men, or the Speculations of a disturbed Fancy ; what has been may be, and is, perhaps, nearer than we imagine. I shall not encrease your Horror at the Return of such things, by a pompous and tragical Description of them ; you need but reflect on what you have seen and known of many of them : and what if these shall return upon us again ? What if this fruitful and peaceable Land, be again made a Field of Blood, and be waded on both sides, by the Blood of *Englishmen*, Brother fighting against Brother, till being thus weakened at home, we become an easie Acquisition, to those who long for such a Breach among our selves ? And does not the Prospect of these things affect us ? What remains then, but that I conclude with the fourth particular, of which I proposed to speak, that our turning to God, is that which only can prevent those Judgments that we cannot resist. There is no Counsel nor Divination against God, he makes the Diviners mad, and brings the Counsels of the Heathen to nothing ; he makes the Devices of the people, of none effect : we can neither withstand his Power, defeat his Wisdom,

nor

nor escape his hand; we can only humble our selves before him, and turn to him with our whole Hearts; and thereby avert all that storm of heavy Wrath, that is ready to burst out upon us. If there were a general turning from the evil of our ways, from the Intemperance, Uncleaness, Injustice, and Impieties, that have so long prevailed among us; then how soon would all these dreadful Symptomes of God's Displeasure fall off? Upon the Repentance of *Nineveh*, those Judgments which were so near, that the short period of forty days were prefixed to them, were put off to a longer time: The external, but feigned Humiliation of *Ahab*, procured to him a Reprieve of that Sentence the Prophet had denounced. So if there were but a cessation from these horrid Impieties by which God is so highly dishonoured, and of those publick and avowed Vices which no Christian Nation practises now more openly than we do; and which have, in a great measure, taken our Spirit and Sense from us; we might hope for a longer continuance of that Tranquillity, which we still enjoy. But if no warnings will prevail, if neither past Calamities, nor threatened Miseries, nor the sense which some, who have gone in the same *excess of Riot*, have expressed of it when they were near Death, will work on a wicked generation, it seems such are already under that Curse given in Commission to *Esaïas*, *Make the Heart of this People fat, and make their Ears heavy, and shut their Eyes; lest they see with their Eyes and hear with their Ears, and understand with their hearts, and convert and be healed: and that this shall last till the Cities be wasted without Inhabitants, the Houses without men, and the Land be utterly desolate.* Words expressing the highest Indignation possible against such Sinners, who had long abused the Patience of God, and had mocked him, by drawing near to him with their Lips, when their hearts were far from him.

Esa. 6. 10, 11.

But

But if the greatest part will still go on in their Sins, till they perish by them; yet if there were but a small number that would seriously set themselves to turn to God, by Prayer, Fastings, Supplications, and engaging in a course of strict and fervent Devotion, and so stand in that Breach which our sins and Divisions have opened; and instead of looking after News, or expecting much from Humane Councils, till Gods Anger were appeased, would cry mightily to him; these might be the happy Preservers and Deliverers of their Countrey, at least from present Danger. Or if the Sins of *England* are such, that God will not be entreated, even of these, but will give such evidences of his Displeasure, that all shall say, *Verily there is a God that Judges in the Earth*, yet such mourners shall not lose their labour: their Tears and Prayers shall return upon themselves; they shall at the least have their own Souls for a prey, and may be blessed Instruments of gaining some few about them; who, though they may be involved in the common Calamity, yet shall find Mercy in the day of the Lord. God grant there may be many such among us

chap. 5. v. 18. and that for their sakes, *he may raise up the Tabernacle of his Anointed, and close up the breaches of it, and build it up as in the former times*: and so establish us in this good Land, which he hath given us, that we may still enjoy the Blessings of his pure Religion and holy word, with the continuance of our Peace and Plenty: and that if Evil be determined to come upon the Land, that we may not see it, but may be gathered to our Fathers in Peace. To God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be all Honour and Glory, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

F I N I S.

WALSH MISCELLANY

THE WALSH MISCELLANY
CONTAINS
A COLLECTION OF
THE WRITINGS OF
JAMES WALSH
AS EDITED BY
JAMES WALSH
AND
JAMES WALSH

Ward Mayor.

*Martis primo die Februarii 1680. Annoq. Regis
Caroli secundi, Angliæ, &c. xxxiii.*

THis Court doth desire Dr. *Burnet* to Print
his Sermon Preached yesterday (being
the Anniversary commemoration of the Mar-
tyrdom of King *Charles the First*) at St. *Lawrence*
Church, before the Aldermen and Liveries of
the several Companies of this City.

Wagstaffe.

A
SERMON

Preached before the

ALDERMEN

OF THE

City of London,

AT

St. Lawrence-Church, Jan 30. 168^o₁

Being the day of the Martyrdome of

K. CHARLES I.

By GILBERT BURNET, D.D.

The Second Edition.

L O N D O N,

Printed for Richard Chiswel at the Rose and Crown in
St. Paul's Church-yard. 1681.

A

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TO THE
Right Honourable
Sr. Patience Ward
LORD MAYOR of the City
of LONDON.

My Lord,

THE favourable account that was
brought your Lordship of this Ser-
mon (your self by an Indisposi-
tion being kept from bearing it) as it indu-
ced you to desire to see it in Print, which
seconded by the Order of the Court of Al-
dermen,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

dermen, does now make it appear in publick; so it will give a new discovery of the little credit that is due to Report: which though it errs more generally on the severer side, yet in this Instance was too partial to so poor a Performance.

But the Argument treated in it will cover many faults: Especially meeting with such Equitable Judges as your Lordship is. Since the acquitting the Reformed Religion of such a scandal as has been cast on it upon the account of that great wickedness then commemorated, and the persuading all Protestants to live in Peace and Love together, are subjects so acceptable to your Lordship, and so suitable to our present unhappy Circumstances, that the most imperfect Essay towards them will, I presume, be well received, and the Defects of it easily forgiven, by one that employs himself with so much Zeal and Fidelity in the securing our
Holy

The Epistle Dedicatory.

*Holy Religion, and the maintaining of
Truth and Peace in that Great City now
under your Lordships Government.*

*May the God of Truth and Peace lead
us into the way of his Truth, and make
us know the things that belong to our peace;
and may your Lordship be a great Instru-
ment in promoting it. This is earnestly
prayed for by*

My Lord,

Your Lordships most humble
and most obedient servant,

G. BURNET.

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ZECHARY VIII. 19.

Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, The Fast of the Fourth month, and the Fast of the Fifth, and the Fast of the Seventh, and the Fast of the Tenth shall be to the House of Judah joy and gladness and cheerful Feasts; therefore love the Truth and Peace.

IT may be justly doubted whether horrid and unexampled crimes, ought not rather to be buried in oblivion, than be remembered, though with the greatest detestation possible. The mentioning them too often, may make them grow too familiar to our thoughts: and some may be tempted to like them, and approve what it is designed they should abhor: Yet on the other hand, some things carry in the first appearance of them, such odious characters, that the nature of man shrinks at the very mentioning them; so that the frequent remembring them will encrease the horror at them: and the shewing the precipice over which some have fallen, may warn others to beware of approaching too near it, for fear of the like ruine and destruction.

I acknowledge it were better if we could have Job's wish, That *that day should perish, that darkness and the shadow of death should cover it, that it should not see the*

dawning of the day, nor should the light shine upon it. It were better to strike it out of our Kalendar, and to make our *January* determine at the 29th, and add these remaining days to *February*. But alas! this cannot be done; we cannot wipe out this blot: what was done, can never be forgotten. It cannot by others, and by us it ought not to be forgotten. The whole world lookt on with amazement, not knowing whether more to admire the heinousness of the crime, the wickedness of the actors, or the patience and constancy of the sufferer. The cry was loud on Earth, but much louder in Heaven. The shrieks and tears of many good Subjects, and particularly in this *Great City*, which, as I have been informed, spent that day in a general mourning, and bitter lamentation and astonishment, followed it fast, to deprecate those judgements which such guilt gave them cause to apprehend: But the prayers of this *Martyr* went before it, for averting that Curse, which he feared should (but prayed that it might not) fall on his people. We have been since above twenty years putting up by publique authority, and in the name of the whole Nation, *David's Prayer*, *Deliver us from blood-guiltiness, O God, thou God of our our Salvation*. So it may be now perhaps thought that after so long a continuance of mourning this sin is expiated, and the land purged from the defilement of it: Upon which some may ask the Question set down in the former Chapter, *Should I weep, separating my self as I have done these so many years?*

The *Jews* had during the seventy years of the Captivity Fasted in those months mentioned in my Text; the chief steps of that calamity which had so overwhelmed them having been made in these months. On the tenth month and the tenth day of the month (which

(which according to Arch-bishop *Usher* is exactly our 30th of *January*) the King of *Babylon* besieged *Jerusalem*: he took it on the fourth month. It was burnt on the fifth month: and on the seventh month was *Gedaliah* killed: Upon which the few that were left behind, were broken among themselves, and dispersed. But of all these that on the fifth month was the most solemn Fast; and therefore when the Question was put concerning the continuance of the Fast, that is only mentioned: and no wonder: For the burning of the Temple, was not only a temporal calamity, but it deprived them of all the means of obtaining the favour of God, of expiating their sins by sacrifices, and of consulting the *Urim* and *Thummim*. It seemed reasonable enough for them to Fast during the Captivity, while they lay under the sensible effects of these judgements, which had broke out upon them in those days: But that being over, and they being again restored to their Native Countrey, it was no unreasonable thing for them to put the Question, whether that should be still kept up. To this three things are answered.

2 King. 21.

1.

Ibid. ver. 3.

Ibid. v. 8.

Ibid. v. 25.

First, That they had not Fasted aright on these days, *When ye fasted and mourned in the fifth and seventh month, even these seventy years, did ye at all fast unto me, even unto me?* Intimating that it had been only Pageantry and matter of form; they had perhaps hang'd down their heads like a Bull-rush, put on Sack-cloth, and covered their heads with ashes, which were the usual rites of mourning among them: but there had been nothing done on those days, futeable to the occasion, for averting the wrath of God which had then broke out, and was still hanging over them.

Ch. 7. v. 3.

Ibid. 8, 9,
10. ver. 17.

V. 16, 17.

Secondly, The Prophet directs them to do such things which became true penitents, and those that indeed afflicted their souls; to *execute true judgement, and shew mercy and compassions every man to his neighbour, not to oppress the widow or the fatherless, the stranger nor the prisoner, and that none of them should imagine evil against his brother in his heart*: and in this Chapter, that they *should speak every man the truth to his neighbour, and execute the judgement of truth and peace in their Gates*. This being done

The Third thing is in my Text, that upon their *loving truth and peace*, those black and mournful days should be converted to days of joy and gladness.

2 Chron.
35. 25.

How these Anniversaries were first set up, and by what authority, whether by the direction of any Prophet, or by common agreement, does not appear to us. We have both the Institution and the continuance of another Anniversary a little before this expressly set down. Upon *Josiah's* death, *Jeremy* that foresaw what was to follow under the reigns of his degenerated issue, made a lamentation, and set it to be sung by the Quire of the mourners: upon which an Ordinance was made: and those lamentations continued in use to the day in which that Book of the *Chronicles* was writ: which, as appears by the last Verses, that mention the return of the Captivity under *Cyrus*, was above eighty years at least after *Josiah's* death: for his children reigned above ten years, and the Captivity lasted seventy; so long had that Anniversary been observed. And it seems to be almost a law of nature, to commemorate both mercies and judgements on those days in which they have been sent us.

We of this Island have had occasion for Fasts on all these months: On the fourth month, reckoning according to the *Jewish* account, were the fatal Standards set up: On the seventh the horrid Massacre and Rebellion of *Ireland* broke out, and in *England* on that same day of the month, but a year after, the first Battel at *Edge-hill* was fought: On the tenth and on the tenth day of it was that wickedness done which we now mourn for: The King was murdered, and the Government wholly subverted: and on the fifth month were his Majesties Armies, that now reigns, defeated both at *Dunbar* and *Worcester*. It might have been expected that our 29th of *May* should have worn out the remembrance of the 30th of *January*, and now at the end of two and thirty years it may be reasonably asked, Should we still continue to Fast and mourn? Shall the yearly return of this black and dismal day, with the melancholy thoughts and reflections which accompany it, be for ever observed? Shall we convey this entail of sorrow to our posterity? Does this blood continue still to cry for vengeance, as the blood of *Abel* did: or as the *Jews* say the blood of *Zacharias* the son of *Jehojada* the High Priest, continued still to bubble on the floor of the Court of the Temple, where he was killed, till the Captivity, that many thousand Priests being killed on the place, the Earth drunk it up: and shall neither the execution of Justice on the Murderers, nor the Prayers of the whole Nation remove this guilt?

On this occasion it may be no improper thing to run out on the horridness of so unexampled a wickedness: but I hope it is needless: I hope all men carry still in their minds such a horror at that fact,
that

that their thoughts boil afresh within them at every time they reflect on it. Bloodshed without lawful authority fills the mind of the Criminal with black and terrible thoughts: and makes him oft a terrour to himself, so that either the dead Ghost, or the apprehensions of guilt, haunt and follow such till they grow even weary of life; since there can be no reparation made to the party injured: So that it is scarce possible for the Murderer to stop even the cry of Blood in his own Conscience. The Innocence, and the Dignity, and the Sacredness of the person Murdered, are vast aggravations: and if such a crime comes in the conclusion, after so great an effusion of blood, that it has run down like water; and above all, if the actors have done what they could to entitle God to it, doing it with the forms of Justice, so that in the *place of judgement and righteousness, there was iniquity and wickedness*, and by their high pretensions to Piety and Zeal for Religion, the enemies of all Religion have taken advantage to mock at true Holiness, and the enemies of the Reformed Religion have thought they were now furnished with somewhat, by which they might cast back that heavy but just imputation laid on them, of setting up the doctrines and encouraging the practices of deposing and killing of Kings, on the Protestants; All these things concur to aggravate this crime, *Blood defiles the land, and it cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it*: And by Moses law when that could not be found out, God appointed a solemn expiation to be made amongst the Jews, in the name of the whole Nation. Blood is of so crying a nature, that it is said of that shed by *Manasses*, that God would

Ecc. 3. 16.

Numb. 35.
33.Deut. 21.
6, 7, 8,
9, ver.

on the 30th of January, 168^o.

7

not pardon it : neither his late Repentance, nor the Reformation carried on by *Josiah* could avert those judgments, that were the just punishments of such heinous sins. All these things concur to give us a right sense of that guilt, which we now lament and endeavour to remove.

2 King. 24.
4.

It may be expected that I should in the next place enlarge on the Vertues, the Piety, Chastity, Temperance, the Magnanimity and Constancy of mind of this Murdered Prince. But the performing this as it ought to be, I confess, is a task above my strength : especially coming after so many who have done it with such life, that any thing I could add, would be but a flat repetition of what has been often much better said. And indeed we have his character given us in such true and lasting colours, in that *Picture* which he drew for himself, *in his solitudes and sufferings*, that it is perhaps a piece of presumption to take up the Pencil again, and to add any touches to what is so perfect, that it may be made worse, but can hardly be the better for any addition. Besides, that the strains of a Panegyrick do not agree so well with the solemnities of a Fast. I shall therefore say no more, neither to raise the just esteem and veneration of this Royal Martyr, nor to possess you with more detestation of so unparalleled a wickedness ; which as it had no pattern in any former age, so I hope shall never be a precedent for after times : But shall return to the Question put to the Prophet in the former Chapter, with the answer given to it both there and here, and in speaking to it, shall discourse of these three particulars.

First,

First, What ought to be the measures and rules of continuing Anniversary mournings upon such great occasions.

Secondly, What is to be done to have the occasions of our mourning converted into joy and gladness. We ought to *love the Truth and Peace.*

Thirdly, That upon our doing this sincerely, all the sad effects of that which we now mourn for, shall be so entirely removed, that our days of Fasting shall be turned into cheerful or solemn Feasts. To the First:

There is a temper to be observed in publique as well as in private mournings, that they be neither so short, as that it may thence appear we have a slight sense of matters of such great consequence; nor so long, as that either our sorrows rise out of measure high, or by the too frequent returns of those days, the object of our griefs grows too flat. There is a mean between these extremes, *There is a time to mourn as well as a time to rejoice: and everything is beautiful in its season.* I shall therefore offer two rules, by which it may be reasonably determined how long such solemn mournings ought to be continued, and apply them to the present occasion.

One is, As long as the sad effects of that which originally caused them, continue, we ought to keep up our Fasts: for so long God seems to continue his displeasure against us, and therefore we should be still renewing our intercessions to turn it away. As long as the Captivity lasted, the people of the *Jews* did not doubt continuing the observation of their Fasts, but when they were brought back again to their Land, it seemed then more proper to put this Question.

A Second

A second is, When the same or the like sins, which procured those Judgments that are so much lamented, do continue: and when the circumstances of a Nation seem to be almost the same, that they were on the occasion that at first called for their mourning; then it is fit either to continue or to renew their observation of those set Fasts. This was the case at this time of the Jews, they were beginning to contract alliances with the Idolatrous Heathens round about them, which had let in the former Idolatry, that had been the cause of their former Captivity: they became guilty of the same immoralities, and therefore they are commanded *to love the Truth and Peace* that so they being delivered from the Wrath of God, might serve him without fear. And now to apply this to our present Occasion.

There were two very ill effects that followed upon the Crime acted this day, which still continue: The one was, the advantage that many weak and prejudiced persons took against the appearances of Religion, Prayer, and the motions of Gods Spirit; all these having been so much pretended to at that time. Many that were assured the fact was Barbarous, and against all Law, Divine and Humane, came upon that to infer, that Religion, the addressing to God in Prayer, and the being guided by the inward motions of Grace and Gods holy Spirit, were at best but the illusions of fancy, if not the contrivances of designing Men. The Inference was as unjust as could be: yet so it was, that this falling upon young and raw persons, who were by the heat of their tempers, much inclined to entertain those prejudices; and that being wrought on by so great an Agent of *Hell*, as the *Author of Leviathan*

C

was;

was; many were upon this corrupted in their Principles about Religion in general. And for all the sleights of Wit, the shews of Reason, and softness of Style that were in that *Book*, it could never have been so mischievously successful, as it then was, if it had not been for the scandals which were given by the impudent pretensions of many of that time. Their unintelligible way of talking about Religion, their crumbling into so many Sects, the aspirings of many under all the shews of Humility and Mortification, tended to make the Seeds of Atheism grow up plentifully. And to this, I speak it knowingly, we owe the beginnings of all those impious and immoral Maxims which have since overrun the Land. And do not these effects continue still? Is not Devotion accounted by many to be either a matter of Form, or a piece of Enthusiasm? for earnestness in Prayer, and depending on the inward assistances of Gods holy Spirit, how have men who know or value these things little themselves, taken occasion from thence to disparage them with much Impudence and Scorn? Some have thought they could not be esteemed Loyal, if they appeared devout: and therefore to purchase the one Character were willing not only to throw off, but openly to reproach the other all they could. What ill effects this has had, how the Nation has been much corrupted by these Maxims, and God highly offended, is so obvious to every Mans observation, that I need dwell no longer on it.

The other ill effect that still continues, is the prejudice that the Enemies of our Church have cast on the Reformed Religion: as holding that very Doctrine of killing Kings, for which they had been so justly charged. And perhaps

perhaps that which at present is the ground of all our fears, had its rise in a great measure from the Jealousies which upon this occasion were infused against the Protestant Religion. It will be therefore no improper thing to shew you how justly the Church of *Rome* is accused of this, and how unjustly it is cast on those of the Reformed Religion. That this charge is truly fastned on the Church of *Rome* will appear in these particulars.

The power of deposing Kings is certainly a Doctrine of their Church, as appears in the universal agreement to it, and the Tradition of it for above five Ages, in a more uninterrupted and uncontroverted series, in all that time, than can be shewed even for Transubstantiation it self. Now if a King is deposed by the Pope, and after such deposition, if he is not so tame as to lay aside his Regal Dignity, which it is very likely few Princes will do, then they being lawfully deposed, are Kings no more: and if they pretend to be Kings still, they are Usurpers: so he that kills them does not kill a King but an Usurper. And if the Pope creates a new Prince, which by the same Authority is vested in him, and is indeed a branch of the deposing power; then the new Prince being lawfully vested with the Regal Authority, may as justly authorise any to kill the deposed King, as a lawful King may set a price upon any Rebels head. This was well observed by those who undertook to defend the deposing power. *Swarez* writing against King *James* tells him in plain terms, *a That a King who is canonically deposed may be killed by any private man whatsoever.* *Valentia* says, *b That an heretical Prince may be by the Popes sentence deprived of life:* and *Becanus* though Confessor to an Emperor, *Ferdinand* the II. says, *c No man doubts but*

a In Reg. Majest. Brit. Lib. 6. c. 4. Sect. 10
b In Thom. Tom. 3. Disp. 151. c. 4. p. 2. 1
c Cont. Ang. p. 115.

if Princes are contumacious the Pope may order their lives to be taken away. I might name many more, but these may suffice: especially since it is visible that this is a certain and necessary consequence of the deposing Doctrine. And though *Gerson* one of the best Men of his Age, did at the Council of *Constance* where the Papal power was troden under foot, and the Court of *Rome* had no influence (so vain a thing it is to distinguish between the Court and Church of *Rome*) press much for the obtaining of a Decree, *That no subject should murder his King or Prince*, even that could not easily pass: and he himself was in danger of his life for soliciting it so earnestly. In conclusion it was done, but with such a reservation as shews they would only condemn the assassinations of private cut-throats; for those were only condemned *Who killed their King without waiting for the sentence of any Judge whatsoever*: so if sentence is past by any Judge (the Ecclesiastical as well as the Civil) then this decree notwithstanding, it will be lawful for a Subject to kill his King.

I might here run out into many Instances to shew you how acceptable the killing of Kings has been to those of that Church: how *Sixtus* the V. made a Panegyrique upon *Clements* murdering *Henry* the III. of *France* before a Congregation of Cardinals: how *Francis Veronno* wrote both in defence of that fact, and of *Chastells* attempt on *Henry* the IV. how *Garnet* and *Hall* that suffered for the most desperate attempt that ever was, I mean the Gun-powder Treason, are reckoned among the Martyrs in the Catalogues set out by the Jesuites: and under the pictures and prints made for *Garnet* he is called *the true Martyr of Christ*. Legends of miracles have

have been also made for them, which will be reserved till a fit time comes for their Canonization : which they deserve full as well as *Thomas Becket* did, who was the greatest Saint in the Church for some Ages, the blessed Virgin, nay, which is more, Jesus Christ himself not excepted, if we may judge by the devotion that was payed at his Shrine, since by the Legier books of *Canterbury*, it appears yet on Record, that in some years above 950 l. was offered at his Altar, and not a six pence at our Saviours Altar, and but a few pounds at the blessed Virgins. And to shew how well they approved of the Gunpowder Treason at *Rome*, *Gerard*, and *Greenwooll* or *Tesmond*, two of the principal Conspirators, were so well entertained there, that escaping thither from the Justice of this Nation, the one was made the Popes Penitentiary, and the other lived in the English Colledge there, and officiated often in *St. Peters* in the Vatican.

After all this evidence, in which I have not once named *Mariana*, though they would make us believe, he is the only person of their Communion that ever maintained this opinion, it is apparent that the killing of Kings has been openly taught, and publickly encouraged in that Church: and that it is a necessary consequence of the Deposing Doctrine. What hand they had in this execrable crime, and how far they disguised themselves into all the forms and divisions about Religion that were among us, I shall not positively assert: It has been done with very much assurance, by persons of great worth and credit : and there are many probabilities to induce us to believe it.

Two things were observable in the methods of carrying on this great wickedness, clearly borrowed from them :

them: The one was, the actors pretending to Enthusiasms, and inward directions for what they did, though it was clearly contrary both to the Laws of God and Man. That the person of our Prince is Sacred, and exempted from punishment, is a constant Maxim of our Government: which makes his ill Ministers and Councillors accountable for every thing that is done amiss. That the House of Commons cannot set up, by their single Authority, a Court to judge of the life of the meanest subject: that a force put on either House, though but a small part were violently excluded, makes it to be no more a House of Parliament; and that much more when the far greater part was secluded, they were certainly no House of Commons: That one House without the concurrence of the other, and the Royal assent joined to both, could not do any thing legally: and finally, That the Officers of the Army had no right to assume the Government into their hands; were all things so manifest according to the constitutions of this Kingdom, that they who acted so contrary to them, knew they could never justify themselves by either Law or President. It was necessary then to fly to somewhat, that should seem to be above all the limitations and restraints of Law: and that was to pretend secret directions from God. A Doctrine that overthrows the main and fundamental principle of the Reformation, which is, That in all things which relate to God, the Scriptures only are to be our Rule. And indeed it is hard to determine whether the referring all controversies of Religion to one infallible Judge, or the giving up of men to the heats of their own fancies, be the most dangerous principle.

The

on the 30th of January, 168^o.

15

The latter seems worse: for the former leaves us to the mercy of one man, whereas the other exposes mankind to the fury and humour of every brainsick or designing man. It is certain, that in the publick actions of our lives, and in moral matters, Inspiration without a warrant from Scripture, or a clear proof of a Divine Mission attested by some publick and supernatural sign or miracle, is not only a fallacious, but may be a pernicious guide. That this was all borrowed from the Writings, and the publick and encouraged practices of the Church of *Rome*, from whom that which is true and rank Fanaticism has issued out, though perhaps many of those among us are not aware of it, has been made out so fully, and beyond contradiction by an eminent Writer of our own, that I need add nothing in confirmation of what must be universally acknowledged, by all who have read his learned Book on this subject.

Dr. Stillingfleet of
the Fanaticism of
the Church
of Rome.

A 2d thing that appeared in carrying on the wickedness of this day, borrowed from the Doctrines of that Church, was, a principle that all the rules and constitutions of Government may be broke through by the sounder and better part of the people at their pleasure: that Princes and Parliaments, and the major part of either House were subject not only to the whole body of the people, for this would not have served their turn, but to the sounder and better part. The resolving all power in the people, was first taken up by the assertors of the Popes deposing power: for they argued, that if it belonged to the people, then the Pope representing the Universal Church, all their rights did accrew to him; so that in their names he was to dispose of Crowns as
he

he pleased. But here these maxims were thus varied: The power was said to belong to the people in common, but was to be managed by the better part, that is the stronger, *the Army*, who assumed to themselves the name of the better and sounder part: for I am sure I speak within bounds, if I say it was not the Twentieth man, and I do not exceed if I say it was not the hundredth man of *England* that approved of it.

It is therefore a most unjust blemish cast on the Protestant Religion, or the English Nation, to accuse either the one or the other for that which was but the crime of a few hot headed Enthusiasts, or ambitious Souldiers: and those who suffer themselves to be wrought on by so ill grounded a prejudice, and to be so far carried by it, as to renounce our Communion, and go over to the Church of *Rome*, discover plainly that they neither understand their principles nor ours. We detest and condemn it, and they encourage and approve the like practices: and they may as justly accuse the Protestant Religion of Adultery and Theft, because some among us have been avowedly guilty of these sins. The Church of *England* hath ever witnessed her detestation of these practices and principles, and shared deeply in the sufferings of their King: The whole Nation by their Representatives in Parliament has condemned it, and appointed this solemn humiliation for expiating the guilt of it. And many of the most considerable Dissenters, did even then, when it was not so safe to do it as it is now, openly declare against it both in their Sermons and Writings. This is what in Justice cannot be denied them, and many of them were no less active and industrious, and were indeed highly instrumental

mental in the bringing home of his Majesty that now Reigns. If some few have justified the shedding of this blood, as their number hath been but inconsiderable, so their Maxims have been chiefly borrowed from Popish Writers. One great instance of this appeared in many speeches that were printed at that time, and were said to be delivered in their Junto, which were almost word for word taken out of a book, that had been often condemned, and was strictly prohibited, that went under the name of *Dolman*; but was believed to be written by *Parsons* the Jesuit, who was perhaps one of the greatest men that that order has produced, so manifestly did they copy from the Jesuites School: and by that great impiety then acted by them, they have given some seeming but very false colours for taxing the Reformed Religion; by which Popery has had such footing among us. By these things it may appear that we are yet under the ill effects of the guilt of this day, both in the strength that Atheism received by it, and the advantages which the Papists have taken from it.

The other reason of continuing publick mournings is, when we are warned by any sad symptoms, to fear the return of the like or of new calamities: and that this still presses on us, to repeat our solemn humiliations, is so evident, that I need not stand long to make it out. We have been long under fears, that it might happen to us as it did to the Jewish Church, when it was her lamentation, *The anointed of the Lord, who was the breath of our Nostrils, is fallen into their pits.* Our King is more to us in our circumstances than theirs was to them, and we have had more cause to fear that he should fall by the hand of a *Clement*, or a *Ravilliac*,

Lament. 4.
20.

and then what a black prospect have we of most terrible confusions to follow, on such a fatal blow? or if even that sacred life should in a natural way expire, what can we see beyond it but fatal and gloomy days? Or if the disorders among our selves should burst out into blood, what distractions and miseries are like to follow? It is not to be conceived, that among them who are so zealous in the opposing of a Plot against His Majesties Person, our holy Religion, and the peace and safety of the Nation, there can be any that dares mock God and Man so audaciously as to be designing any such thing, at the same time that they are accusing others for it. To suppose it otherwise, were to give credit to the false suggestions and base contrivances of those who design nothing more than to take us off from watching over their motions; by engaging us one against another, and infusing such Jealousies as may effectually divide us among our selves: the only way that is now left, without a foreign power, first to break, and then to conquer those in separated parties, whose united strength they know they cannot resist. I shall therefore rather encourage you to continue in this duty, than endeavour to perswade you to it. Let us remember that we are commanded to *Fear God, and next to*

1 Pet. 2. 17 Honour the King, and by well doing to put to silence the ignorance of foolish men: and that every soul ought to be subject to the higher powers, for the powers that are, are of
Rom. 13. God, and who so resists them, resists the Ordinance of God,
1, 2, 3, 4, 5. and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation; for they are the Ministers of God, wherefore we must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but for Conscience sake. Christ himself taught us to render to Caesar the things
that

that are *Cæsars*, and to God the things that are Gods : Math.22.
 and he being in his state of humiliation but a private 27.
 subject, would not suffer the Sword to be drawn in his Math.26.
 defence, and expressly said, that though he was a King, 52.
 yet *his Kingdom was not of this world, else his servants* Joh.18.36
would have fought for him. These things are plain and
 clear, and need no Commentary : His Apostles also char-
 ged those whom they employed in settling the Churches,
 to put them in mind to be subject to Principalities and Titus 3.1.
 Powers, to obey Magistrates, and to pray for Kings, and
 all that are in Authority ; that under them we may lead a
 quiet and peaceable life, in all Godliness and Honesty. 1 Tim.2.2
 And if it is ever seasonable to enlarge on these duties, it
 is most necessary on such a day ; and that's a principal
 reason for the continuance of this Anniversary : And
 thus I hope I have sufficiently vindicated the continuance
 of our publick humiliation on this and such like solemn
 days.

2. The next thing I proposed to speak to, was the
 duties that belong to such solemn Mournings : Great
 and extream sorrow cannot be expected, when so few
 that were concerned in it are alive ; or if they are, I
 cannot believe that any such are here in this place : And
 for them that were not so concerned, a bare horror at
 the fact, with prayers for averting the Judgments that
 may be consequent to it, is too slight a thing. My
 Text directs us to things of more value and impor-
 tance. We are to *love the Truth and Peace.* By *Truth*
 is either to be understood the entire complex of their
 Religion, called often by *David, the way of Gods Truth :*
 or by *Truth* is meant candor and fidelity among men :
 so this applied to us must be understood either of the

truth of the Gospel, or of sincerity and honesty in our discourses and actions.

For the first of these, we may well call our Religion *Truth*; since we believe nothing, but what Jesus Christ and his Apostles delivered to the world, in the name of God: we have no new Doctrines added to this, introduced by false and deceitful men, supported by lying wonders, or counterfeited Writings. Our Doctrine as it is *the truth of God*, so is to be maintained and promoted by means suitable to the being and nature of that God from whom it is derived. We found nothing on made stories, or forged Records; we teach none of the Doctrines of falshood and equivocation, breach of faith or vows: dispensing with Oathes, dissolving of Leagues or Treaties. All these we have left to that Church, that as she grew up by lies and forgeries, so continues that trade still, which has been in former ages of such advantage to her. I need not insist on the Popes dispensing what the Oathes of Allegiance of Subjects to their Princes, breaking and dissolving Treaties, though confirmed by Oathes and Sacraments; a publick instance of which appeared in the battel of *Uarna*, where the Turk appealed to Jesus Christ, whose name those Christians had affronted by breaking what was sealed by the most sacred tie. The issue was both fatal and disgraceful to the Christian Army: All was done by the Popes Instigation, as well as Authority. A publicker instance was yet given at *Constance*, which shewed that the Church was no better than the Court of *Rome*: When those who came upon a safe conduct, were notwithstanding that condemned to be burnt: and a Decree was made, That Faith given to Hereticks in
such

such a sort was not to be kept ; though they had come to the place of judgment trusting to it, and would not have come without it. And how far they have since that time carried on the Doctrine of Lying and Swearing falsely, may appear by this one clear and undeniable proof: In *March* 79. there were many Propositions complained of at *Rome*, gathered out of the Writings of the *Casuits*, among which these are two.

A man either alone or before others, may when he is asked, or of his own accord, or for his diversion, or any other end, swear that he did not do a thing, which he really did: having a secret meaning either of some other thing which he did not do, or of another way of doing it, or of any other Truth which he adds to it, in which case he is in Truth neither a Liar nor is he Perjured.

Decree of the Pope lately printed in Latine and English. Prop. 26.

A just cause of using those secret meanings is as oft as it is necessary or profitable for the preservation of Life, or Honour, or saving ones Goods, or any other act of Virtue, so that the concealment of Truth seems in that case expedient or desirable.

Prop. 27.

Upon this a condemnation followed by the Pope and the *Congregation de propaganda Fide*. In it we have a Confession beyond exception that these Tenets have been taught among them. But it may be urged that they are now condemned: It is true they are so: But first, though they have been long complained of, they were not condemned till within these two years. Secondly, They were not condemned by the Pope in the Consistory; which would have made the Censure more Authoritative: but by the Pope and the Cardinals of the Court

Court of the Inquisition: upon which a remarkable thing followed. The Jesuites who were much provoked at this Censure, moved the *Procureur de Roy*, or Attorney General at *Paris*, to put in a complaint against the publishing that Decree, since it came from the Court of the Inquisition; which not being acknowledged in *France* nothing flowing from that Authority could be received in that Kingdom: upon which the Decree was prohibited and suppressed: so ready are they to bear down any thing that strikes against these strong holds of Satan among them. And thirdly, This Censure is so penned that it does not import a condemnation, but is indeed only a prohibition: for these Propositions are not declared to be impious and immoral, or contrary to the Laws of God and of Nature: That had been more candid and ingenuous dealing. They are only condemned as being *scandalous and pernicious in practice*, that is to say of ill consequence: and all are required in the vertue of *holy obedience* and under the pains of *Excommunication* to teach them no more: so if a case happens that these may turn useful in practice, then a faculty may be secretly granted for taking off this Censure. From this it may appear what a door they have opened for the most disingenuous practices imaginable: which is a shrewd presumption that their Doctrine is not the Truth, when it is mixed with such arts that favour more of him that was a liar from the beginning than of the God of Truth.

We then that are of the Truth ought to Love it, to reckon it our greatest honour that we are called to the Knowledge and profession of this holy Faith: we ought to adhere to it as long as we Live, and to be ready to lay down

down our Lives for it, if God should call us to it. But our *loving* it, signifies more than barely to speak honorably or passionately concerning it: or to like it in opposition to Popery. To be a Protestant without being first a Christian can signifie nothing before God. To Love it then, is inwardly to delight in it, to be wrought on by its Precepts, so as to conform both our Hearts and Lives to it. Then we Love it sincerely when we measure our Belief by the Doctrines it delivers, and our Lives by the Rules it gives us. And as a particular branch, of *Truth* in the general notion, we must be candid and sincere in all our discourses and dealings: We are not to advance even the best ends by acts of injustice; but to be strict to these Rules of Truth the Gospel prescribes: Not to lie, or spread lies, nor to slander even our greatest Enemies; not to deceive or couzen those that deal with us: but to do to others as we would have others do to us; to do every thing as considering we are under the allseeing Eye of that God, who will judge us for all our actions ere long, and will bring to light the hidden things of dishonesty. If we do thus love the Truth, both in the speculations of it and in reducing these to practice, then we have made one step towards that here promised in my Text.

The other thing enjoined is, That we love *Peace* likewise; not *Peace* in prejudice of, or opposition to Truth: but that *as far as possibly we can we may live peaceably with all men*. Where we are in all things agreed, there to love Peace is an easie and cheap piece of vertue: Of this may be said what our Saviour said of loving them that love us, *Do not Heathens and Publicans the same?* It is a sign of a nature strangely corrupted to begin

gin quarrels and contests, when there is no cause given for them. To avoid this is such a common piece of good nature, that it is rather a wonder how a man can do otherwise: but then does it appear that we love peace, if we can bring our minds to live peaceably with those that differ from us, and have perhaps besides the difference of Opinion really wronged us, or at least done their endeavours. If with such we live peaceably then it appears that we are indeed the Sons and lovers of Peace. It is a false Maxim to think we are then the truest Protestants, when we have departed the furthest that is possible from every opinion or practice of the Church of *Rome*: for in this we may run into extreams: But we are sure we can never run into any extream, by receding as far as we can from that ill temper of mind, which naturally follows that Religion, or rather is become a part of it. How little they love Peace, is apparent from the conduct of Religion in their Hands from Pope *Victors* days downwards. He condemned the Eastern Churches for a thing of so little consequence, as whether *Easter* was to be observed on the 14 day of the moneth or on the Sunday following. Since that time it were endless to shew you what disquiet they have given to the Christian World. They broke with the Greek Churches because they would not become subordinate to them: and then pretended other things, as that they Consecrated leavened and not unleavened Bread in the Sacrament, and that they Taught that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father by the Son, and not from the Son as well as from the Father: and upon these things not only broke Communion with them, but hindred the Princes of the Western Churches to give them any assistance,

assistance, to defend them from the impressions that the Turks were making on them: and resolved rather to deliver up those ancient Churches, and so many Millions of Souls, to Mahometans, than that there should be any Christians upon Earth that would not become in all things obedient and subject to the Papacy. Shall I add to this, their sending so many great Princes with vast Armies, to be destroyed in the Wars, for recovering *Palestine*, which they called the holy War? The many Croisado's that they Proclaimed against Hereticks or even Catholick Princes, as they called them, upon any imperious demands of theirs, when the Emperors or Kings did not tamely deliver up their Prerogatives, as well as their Necks to be trampled upon by them? It were long to reckon up the Princes they have deposed, and the Wars set on by them; but it were endless to reckon all the dismal effects of them. How was *Italy* and *Germany* rent in pieces by their means, with the factions of the *Guelphes* and *Gibellines*? And how often did *England* and *France* tremble at their thunders? Surely these cannot be the Sons of Peace, nor the Head of them the Vicar of the Prince of Peace. Those that dare differ from them, know what the fruits of their Peace is: To be hunted after, To be damned first, and burnt next, are all the effects of their lenity. And as a great man expressed it pleasantly, *Though we are not sure that all whom they damn are damned, yet we are very sure that all whom they burn are burnt.* L. Falk- It is a vain attempt to hope ever to be at Peace with them, for that on which their Church founds all their other Doctrines, being her Infallibility, it is a foolish thing to endeavour to convince them, that they have been in

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any

any one error, who make this the fundamental Article of their Religion, that their Church cannot err. So that all such designs, shew either the simplicity and weakness, or the vanity and the self-conceit of the undertakers. There is no peace to be had with them but at the expence of Truth: if we will renounce our Religion, and believe whatever they shall think fit to prescribe, we may hope to purchase their favour; on other terms we must despair of it: and I hope we will not buy it so dear.

But since we cannot have peace with them, let us seek to have it among our selves: God be thanked none of our differences are such as we may despair of reconciling them; or at least of bearing with one anothers infirmities and mistakes. When we come to die we will have another sense of these things than we now have. Then all those heats and animosities which do now inflame us, will yield us no comfort; but on the contrary, will beget in us severe challenges. Of this I myself was lately an eye witness when called to assist one on his death-bed, who had allowed himself to write with as much virulency as he could invent: but then he with many tears lamented it. It is true, he did not retract his opinions, nor was it thought seasonable at such a time to disturb him with controversie; but he sincerely repented of that bitterness of spirit, upon the account of our differences, and that censuring and detracting humour to which he had given too much way before: He wisht his Soul with the good men of the Church of *England*. He vowed that if he recovered, he should never return to that Vomit: and because he thought he was to die, he signed a retraction of all that

Dr. Lewis
du Moulin.

that was personal in his Writings; and exhorted all others to manage their differences with a more meek and Christian temper. I mention this in so publick a manner, because he authorised the printing of that retraction, which he signed on his death-bed: and I enlarge the more on this, hoping that such an example, from so learned and zealous a man, will have great influence on others to moderate their heat, and to allay their passions. Oh! for more of *that wisdom that is from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, and easie to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisie.*

The circumstances of this day should dispose us all more to this happy temper. I cannot say the breach between the late blessed King and his Parliament, or the War that followed was begun or carried on meerly upon the account of Religion; but certainly the sourness that was on peoples tempers by reason of their differences in Religion, set it on much, and made it more lasting, and end more Tragically. Many were transported at first beyond their duties, by the extream way of carrying matters before the War, by some that were more zealous then prudent: and certainly things were driven much further in conclusion, than was at first intended by them that took up Arms. There is a fatal series in some distractions; one step not only makes way for another, but makes it in some sort necessary for their security that have gone too far. In the end all were losers, and the Nation was like to be ruined. Those of the Church not only lost all that they enjoyed, their Goods, and their Benefices and Dignities, but they lost him who was their *Head on Earth*, who

was and still must be, one of the greatest Glories of this Church. Those of the separation were not gainers by it; a new party not thought of at first, rose up and took the game out of their hands: and when they had forced the Parliament, and killed the King, they entitled the rest to all they had done: and pretended they had gone on truly according to the principles upon which they had set out at first. And though they were gentler to these of the Division, than to those of the Church, yet they were to have been devoured at last, if a happy revolution had not taken the Nation out of their hands. Upon such a sad experiment, especially seconded with those dreadful hazards to which we see our selves now exposed, it might be expected that men of all sides should grow wiser and more temperate; and that many that are for the Church should abate of their stiffness, in things not Essential; and that they on the other hand, that insist on some indifferent matters, would consider things better without any heat and animosity. And thus if we come to *love the Truth and Peace*, that is, to secure the Protestant Religion against those enemies of Truth and Peace at *Rome*, and unite at home all that are capable of it, by adjusting matters among our selves, and those that cannot come into that Union, being at least inoffensive to them that do, and so all living in Love and Peace one with another, then we may hope to see that accomplished in our case, which is in my Text promised to the *Jews*, the third thing I proposed to speak to.

3. That all the sad effects of that for which we now mourn shall be then entirely removed: that our days of Fasting shall be turned into solemn and chearful Feasts: then should our twenty ninth of *May*, swallow up the remembrance of the thirtieth of *January*: or perhaps as the Prophet foretold such happy deliverances should come to the Jews, as should make even that out of *Egypt*, be forgotten; so we might hope for such days as should out-shine and darken the very twenty ninth of *May*. Then might we hope to see *Halcyon* days, or, to speak in an English phrase, Queen *Elizabeth* days again. If we were delivered from the fears of Popery, and an end were put to our contests at home; if King and People, if City and Country, if Conformists and Dissenters all would happily conspire in the duties proposed in my Text, of *loving Truth and Peace*, Then should all our drooping Hearts revive again, all the mists that now environ us should vanish; all our fears and jealousies should fall off: and we being of one Heart and Mind should be the Paradise and Joy of the whole Earth, and the Glory and Bulwark of the Reformed Religion: and this great City should be a City wherein Righteousness should dwell. Then should we lie down and rise in Peace: Alarms and Distractions should cease: Peace should be within your Gates, and Prosperity within your Houses, or rather Palaces for such many of them are. Oh may we ever hope to see such days, and such a time. If we come to *love the Truth and Peace*, then shall even this Fast of the tenth month,

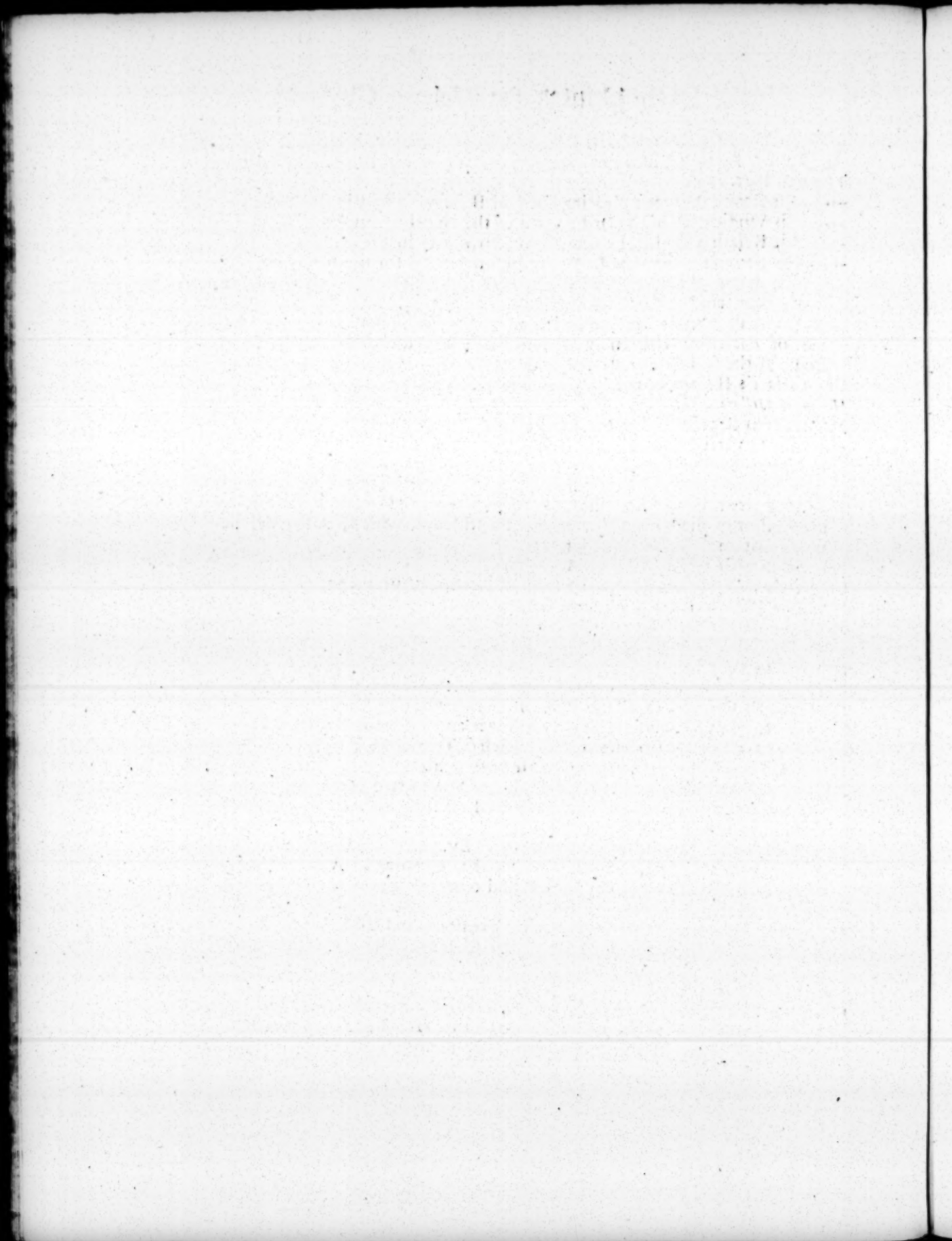
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according to the Jewish account, be to us Joy and Gladness and a chearful Feast. The God of Truth and Peace give us Grace to set about it sincerely. To him be all Honour and Glory both now and evermore.

FINIS.

Books lately Printed for Richard Chiswell.

- G**uillim's Display of Herauldry, with large Additions. *Folio.*
 Dr. Burnet's History of the Reformation of the Church of England ;
 The first Part. *Fol.*
 — His second Part, compleating the said History, is now in the Press.
 — His Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of England. *Octo.*
 — His Relation of the Massacre of the Protestants in France. *4to.*
 — His Sermon before the L. Mayor, upon the Fast for the Fire. *4to.*
 — His Account of Eve Cohan, a Person of Quality of the Jewish Religion,
 lately converted to Christianity. *4to.*
 — Some Passages of the Lite and Death of the Right Honorable John, late
 Earl of Rochester; written by his Lordship's own direction, on his Death-
 Bed, by the said Gilbert Burnet, D. D. *Octo.*
 Dr. Burylace's History of the Irish Rebellion. *Fol.*
 Herodoti Historia, Gr. Lat. *Fol.*
 Mr. Williams Sermon before the Lord Mayor, *Octob. 12. 1679.*
 — His impartial Examination of the Speeches of the five Jesuits, lately
 executed for Treason. *Fol.*
 — His History of the Powder Plot; with a Vindication of the proceedings,
 and Matters relating thereunto, from the Exceptions made against it, by
 the Author of the *Catholick Apology*. To which is added, A Parallel be-
 twixt that and the present Plot. *4to.*
 Mr. Ja. Brome's two Fast Sermons, 1679.
 Dr. Jane's Fast Sermon before the House of Commons, Apr. 11. 79. *4to.*
 Mr. John James Visitation Sermon. *4to.*
 Mr. John Cave's Fast Sermon, Jan. 30. 79. *4to.*
 — His Assize Sermon at Leicester, July 31. 79.
 Dr. William Cave's Sermon before the L. Mayor, *Novemb. 5. 1680.*
 Dr. Puller's Discourse, of the Moderation of the Church of England. *Octo.*
 Dr. Saywell's Original of all the Plots in Christendom. *Octo.*
 Sir John Manson's Discourse of Supream Power and Common Right. *Octo.*
 Dr. Edw. Bagshaw's Discourses on several Select Texts. *Octo.*
Speculum Baxterianum; or Baxter against Baxter. *4to.*
 Mr. Rushworth's Historical Collections, the 2d Vol. in two Parts. *Fol.*
 — His large and exact Account of the Earl of Strafford's Tryal. *Fol.*
 The Country Man's Physician.
 An Apology for a Treatise of *Humane Reason*. By Matth. Clifford Esq; 12 s.
 The Laws against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, &c. explained, by divers Judg-
 ments and Resolutions of the Judges, and other Observations thereupon.
 By Will. Cawley Esq; *Fol.*
 Fowles's History of Romish Conspiracies, Treasons, and Usurpation. *Fol.*
 Rob. Seller's Remarques on the State of the Church of the 3 first Centuries.
Octo.
 Bp. Sanderson's Sermons. *Fol.*
 Dr. Burnet's Fast Sermon before the House of Commons. *Decemb. 22. 1680.*
 — His Translation of the Decree made at Rome, March 22. 1679. condem-
 ning some Opinion of the Jesuits, and other *Casuits*. *4to.*



NOTES

1. The first part of the book is devoted to a description of the various species of the genus *Canis* which have been recorded from the region of the Great Lakes.

II

The second part of the book is devoted to a description of the various species of the genus *Lynx* which have been recorded from the region of the Great Lakes.

Ward Mayor.

Curia specialis tent' in Festo S. Michaelis Archang. Anno Regni Regis Caroli II, Angliæ, &c. xxxiii.

THIS COURT doth desire Doctor *Burnet* to print his Sermon, preached this morning at St. *Lawrence* Church, before the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of this City.

Wagstaffe.

An Exhortation to Peace and Union.

A
SERMON

Preached at St. *Lawrence-fury*,

AT THE

ELECTION

OF THE

LORD-MAYOR of *London*,

On the 29th of September, 1681.

By GILBERT BURNET, D.D.

L O N D O N;

Printed for Richard Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown
in St. Paul's Church-Yard. MDC LXXXI.

11

THE MUSEUM

OF THE

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

WASHINGTON

1881

NO. 1

1881



M A T. 12. 25.

*And Jesus knew their thoughts, and said unto them,
Every Kingdom divided against it self is brought
to desolation; and every City or House divided
against it self, shall not stand.*

THere are some Truths so clear in their own Evidence, that tho they give us light to prove other things, yet they themselves admit of no Proof, but are to be reckoned amongst those Notices that the Mind naturally has, which she can neither shake off, nor dispute. Among those this in my Text is to be numbred; for Union and Peace in Society, as it is the chief End and Design of all those Combinations of Men that run together; so it is the main Support of every State. And tho Governments have differed in almost all other Maxims; some being founded on Vertue, others on Vice; some intended to carry on Justice, and others set up on Robbery and Piracy; yet all agree in this, that they must have Peace at home: And tho many have differed in the Premises, how to compass it; yet all agree in the Conclusion, that it must be purchased at any rate. A Government that admits of Hostility at home; must soon turn *Felo de se*; for this is as a Disease that consumes the Vitals, and when they are wasted, the exhausted Carcase will

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be exposed to every Beast of Prey that seeks to devour it. A Man inwardly sound can resist many Accidents, and live after many Wounds, and a great Loss of Blood and Spirits; whereas he that is vitiated within, is feeble in every thing that he undertakes, and easily overthrown by any Impression made upon him: So the mightiest States, when broken within themselves, are too weak for a much less Power that is entire.

These things are so plain, that it were a loss of Time and Words to dwell upon them. And so our Saviour refers to them, being to answer the most malicious and unreasonable Cavil that ever was, by which the Pharisees endeavoured to take off the Conviction which his Miracles had left on all that saw them, representing him an Impostor, and in confederacy with the Prince of Darkness, so that these marvellous Effects followed upon that Agreement. This they at this time only whispered amongst themselves, perhaps they only thought it; but Christ, to give them a further discovery of that Divine Power that dwelt in him, shewed that he had another of God's Attributes communicated to him, his Omniscience, as well as his Omnipotence, for he knew their thoughts. And being to confute this, so as it should not be possible to reply upon him, he begins with the Words in my Text, as a Maxim so certain, that all Constitutions, good or bad, must agree in it, All that are associated into any Body must take care not to destroy themselves. And therefore since his whole Doctrine tended to the advancement of the Glory of God, to the bearing down of all Vice, Immorality, and Mischief, which are the Strong-Holds of Satan, and of that ridiculous and impious Way of Worship, and Idolatry, which was set up by the Devil's means, the Inference was as certain, as any Proposition in *Euclid* is, that therefore there was no secret Compact between them.

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I shall say no more on the Occasion that led our Saviour to speak these Words, but shall come to consider them in themselves ; I shall not enter into a Panegyrick of Unity, or a Declamation against Discord, a Man may as well praise Light, or commend Health, or shew his Eloquence in disparaging the Gout or Stone ; these things are such, that every Hearer is before hand convinced of them. I shall therefore handle this Subject wholly with respect to Religion, that so it may become this Place and Occasion, and shall speak to these Heads.

1. There is nothing that defeats the Ends of Religion more, and does more naturally lead to all manner of Sin and Impiety, which must end in Temporal as well as Eternal Ruin, than intestine Heats and Divisions about it.

2. The Beginnings of Heats are often very inconsiderable, but by a confluence of unhappy Circumstances they soon grow to be almost incurable ; A Division will end in Destruction. And therefore the first Motions towards them ought to be watched over, and stopp'd, otherwise these Bodies so divided cannot long stand.

3. I shall shew the Weakness of all those Pretences that are used to justify Factions and Divisions.

4. I shall propose to you the Remedies, to which the Gospel directs us, for the preventing and curing this Mischief. And,

5. I shall plainly apply all to our present Circumstances, and the Business of this Day. To return,

I. There is nothing that defeats the Ends of Religion more, and does more naturally lead to all manner of Sin, Immorality, and Vice, which must bring on Ruine in Conclusion, than intestine Heats and Divisions. If we have a right Notion of Religion, we will not consider it only

as a Systeme of Opinions, or a Circle of some Forms, much less as an Engine to raise the Credit and Interest of a Sort of Men that dispense it; but as an internal Principle and Discipline, which tames and governs the Mind, and all its Motions and Appetites, and directs the Course of ones Life. Now the irregular Propensities that are in every one, some being of one sort, and some of another, are so violent and sudden, that the first performance of Religion is to qualify and break these. This cannot be done without much thought, and great recollection; and in order to that a serene and calm Temper is the best Disposition possible; of which the Philosophers were so aware, that they began their Instructions at those purgative Doctrines, before they carried on their Auditors to their sublimer Speculations. And the Quiet of a Society is not more necessary to the Happiness and Advancement of it, than quiet Thoughts are to make a Man wise or good. Therefore every thing that raises Disturbances within is to be guarded against, as that which not only produces the Mischiefs that visibly attend it, but really puts a Man quite out of order, slackens the Watch he ought to have over himself, and sets him on to, or at least very gently excuses him to himself, in many unjust and violent things, which seem often almost necessary to the support of an Interest or Party.

These Heats are bad enough, if grounded upon Civil Matters; but in those there is still some Check from the Thoughts of Religion, or the Return of a Sacrament-Day, which will in some measure bring a Man into Tune, and will at least let him see he is out of the way. But if they are grounded on Differences of Religion, the Evil is less curable, *If the Light that is in us be Darkness, how great is that Darkness!* That which will moderate our other Quarrels, encreases this, when we imagine we are doing

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doing God good Service ; and so the more strict we are, we become the more hot and peevish ; in which we will not only be applauding our selves, but instead of being **reproved** for it by those, who would perhaps chide us for Animosities in other things, we will be cherished and encouraged by them, as Persons zealous in their Matters, or as many call them, in the Concerns of Religion. In this we will by degrees become so corrupted, that one of the worst Vices will carry the Name of one of the best Vertues, our Wrath and Malice will be called Zeal. The ill Effects that this will have on our selves will be, that as this Temper grows upon us, all our inward Seriousness will in a great measure abate, and turn meerly to a Form ; and with that many other Sins will creep in upon us ; yea, we will perhaps grow to that degree, that we will imagine, that by our Rage and Heat we offer up some acceptable Sacrifice to God, to compensate for our other Disorders. We will bear with many ill things in others, because they are of our Party, whom otherwise we would detest for their ill Lives ; and by conversing much with them, we will contract at least a Familiarity with their Vices. And it is very likely the Contagion will not stop at that, there will follow a Train of the most unjust and malicious Things possible ; such as the making and spreading Lies and Calumnies, and the supporting them by Oaths and Villanies. And if this Humor goes on, it will carry those that are corrupted with it to Persecution, if they have Power, and to Rebellion if they have not. And *Oppression will make a wise Man mad*, but much more one that is weak and misled.

And thus a Man suffers mightily in the Peace and Purity of his Mind, by admitting those soure and ill-natured Passions into it. And Societies suffer no less : The private Affections of Relations, the Kindness of Neighbour-hoods,
the

the Order of Corporations, and the Strength of a Nation, are dissolved by nothing so much, as by those peevish and ill-temper'd Humors : So that the Publick Peace, and the Security of the Whole, is sacrificed to those domestick Heats, whilst every Party is more concerned to ruine the other, than even to preserve themselves by a common Defence. And those Heats once kindled, burn longer, and deeper, and are apt to break out after they seem to be quenched, when ever a new Opportunity blows upon them.

That this Temper is certainly followed with those Effects, will easily appear to every one that has seriously observed the Advances it has made upon himself, if at any time he has given way to it. And those who have looked into the Histories of past Times, see almost in every Age the Ruins that it has made ; as Rocks are known by the Wrecks that float about them.

Shall I tell you what havock this made among the Jews? what a desperate and mad sort of Robbers and Murderers their Zealots became? The Humor was far advanced when St. Paul was one of them ; for he going under the authority of that Character, *made havock of the Church, and went from City to City, to imprison and bind all that called on the Name of Christ.* This grew afterwards to a pitch of Madness that is scarce credible, if we had not so good a Voucher for it as *Josephus*, who was an Eye-witness. When the Power of the Roman Empire, under which the whole World did bend, came against them, so that it was necessary for them, either to prevent their Ruine by an early Submission, or to defend themselves from it with an united Strength ; the Rage that was among the several Parties so distracted their Councils, and disordered their Designs, that they could

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could neither prudently submit, nor generously resist, but they languished away in Famine, or destroyed one another in those unnatural Broils within their Walls. When God blest his Church with Peace and Protection, and after a long Trial, during three Ages and ten Persecutions, raised up a Nursing-Father to it; soon after that two Contests arose. One was about a personal thing in *Cecilian*, Bishop of *Carthage*, Whether he, or his Ordainers, had denied the Faith, and delivered up the Sacred Writings, in the former Persecution? The other was concerning a speculative and mysterious Point of the Eternal Generation of the Word, in which it is probable the Difference at first was only in the manner of expression. One of these distracted the best Portion of Christendom, I mean the *African Churches*; and the other, with those Questions that arose out of it, made such havock in the Christian World, for above two Ages, that it not only stopp'd the Progress of that holy Religion, and gave the Heathens the greatest Advantages they could possibly have wish'd; but brought in a Subtilty, and Warmth concerning Speculative Points, that has in a great measure driven out of the World the plain Simplicity of the Gospel.

When the Orthodox Party had Peace and Protection under *Theodosius*, and were deliver'd from the Cruelty of the *Arrian* Princes, then arose a new Debate, Whether those that had complied, and submitted in that time, and were ordained by the *Arrians*, should be continued in their Sees, or not? The *Luciferians* that oppos'd this, were so persecuted by *Damasus*, and his Party at *Rome*, that at one time they broke into their Meeting-House, and killed about seven or eight Score of them. God witnessed his Displeasure and Severity against those Violences; and the Church, both in the East, and in the West, was given

*Libell. Pre.
Marcell. &
Faut.*

Joel 1. 4.

given up to be scourged by vast Swarms of cruel and barbarous Nations, who as the Palmer-Worm, the Locust, the Canker-Worm, and the Caterpillar, are set down figuratively by the Prophet, succeeding one another, every one consuming what the other had left : So these wasted Christendom to such a degree, that it was visible those astonishing Judgments were not the Punishments of ordinary Sins. And all the Evils that were among the Christians flowing in a great measure from those Heats about Opinions, which raised bitter Zeal and Strife, that brought on Confusion, and every evil Work, I may lay the procuring Cause of those Plagues and Desolations, in a high degree, to the charge of their Divisions.

When our Ancestors, the *Saxons*, received first the Christian Religion, tho as it was not of so pure an Alloy as formerly, but much embased in that Age ; so into what Heats did they fall with the old *Britains*, concerning the Observation of Easter, in which we now certainly know, that neither Side understood the Point they debated about. But they were more set on that, and other Superstitious Conceits, than on a real Conversion of the Nation. And how was this Island plagued after that, by the Incursions and Depredations which the *Danes* made for near two Ages ? The Contests between the Greek and Latin Church ended in the Ruine of the Eastern Empire ; and the Triumphs of the Crescent over the Cross, were in a great measure to be ascribed unto that most unhappy Breach.

I shall pursue this no more ; the thing is plain to common Observation, and needs not to be fortified with much Proof.

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It is as certain as any humane thing can possibly be, that when any Body of men are engaged against a Common Enemy, and yet divided among themselves and jealous of one another, they will rather let the Enemy prevail than assist their brethren, even in the wisest and best things, if they think the honour of such actions will raise the credit of their Rivals. And thus if their strength were ever so much superiour to the Enemies; yet when his force is united, and theirs disjointed, they must become a prey to him: but this will hold more certainly if the Common Enemy is really stronger than they are, though united. In such a case their heats among themselves are so unaccountable, that though the World is naturally foolish enough, yet it is not to be supposed that meer folly could carry such a madness so far; there is more reason to ascribe it to the secret practices of corrupted and perfidious men, who are imployed, and may be hired, to be Incendiaries perhaps on both sides. For a wise and watchful Enemy, when one Plot fails, will soon set up another; and will think it an extraordinary happiness, if without the infamy of an Assassination of a *Gun-powder Plot*, which they would not choose but upon extremities, they can make their adversaries so spend their strength one against another, that they shall either deliver themselves up to them, or be able to make a very faint resistance to a vigorous impression: And there is no design so certain as the inflaming of divisions among their adversaries; and that both in Church and State: which when they are once brought to that pass, that both sides have vowed revenge, either party will be so intent on their little designs, that the whole must perish: And some will perhaps come to think it safer to trust themselves to the mercy of their adversary, than to the resentments of enraged Country-men. And thus will they bite and devour one another,

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ther, till they are either consumed one of another, or made an easie conquest to those that both see and improve all their advantages. And so much I have adventur'd to say upon the First head. I come now to the Secor

2. The beginnings of those heats are often very inconsiderable; but by a confluence of unhappy Circumstances, they soon grow to be almost incurable. It is but a division at first, but that will end in ruin. All our evils flow from our own ill humours; and whatever excites or provokes these, be it how inconsiderable soever in its own nature, yet its effects will grow great and remarkable. In Civil matters it is so. What a trifling thing was it among the *Romans* to be of the faction of the *Veneti* or *Prasini*, that betted for matches in the Cirque, which were distinguished by a Livery? yet this produced great Convulsions in the Imperial City; and when the Emperour hapned to be of either side, that party of which he was, thought they had an authority to exercise great Cruelties on all the other faction. But this is much more dangerous, if the ground of the difference is any point of Religion, though ever so indifferent in it self: What heats arose concerning the day on which *Easter* was to be observed? How little did it concern Religion, what *Cecilian*, or his Ordainers were, especially in the age after they were dead? And yet not only a separation and violent rage, but a great effusion of blood, with the other dismal consequences of that blind fury, followed upon this, and the *Africans* continued quarrelling about it, till the *Vandals* came and destroyed both the one and the other. And surely many of the contests about mysteries, began at some unwary expressions, in which the one side fastned ill senses on the words spoken by the other; and the other, rather than yield so far for peace sake, as to explain themselves, choosed rather to justify their words in any sense, than to retract or mollify

hie them: And can we think without astonishment that such matters as giving the Sacrament in leavened, or unleavened bread; or an explication of the procession of the Holy Ghost, whether it was from the Father and the Son, or from the Father by the Son, could have rent the *Greek* and *Latine* Churches so violently one from another, that the *Latines* rather than assist the other, lookt on, till they were destroyed by the *Othoman* Family, which has ever since been so terrible a Neighbour to the rest of *Europe*! Oft-times one contest beeds another; and that which perhaps began at a speculative point ends in a practical one; and that which begins in some Rite or Ceremony, grows at last to a breach in matters of Faith.

The contests whether Christ had one or two wills, being determined by the sixth General Council against the *Monothelites*, they by their interest at Court, got that Assembly to be decried; so that a Picture of the Fathers that sate there being hung up in a great Church, was removed, and those that removed it said to excuse themselves, that no Pictures or Images ought to be in Churches. Upon this those of the other party did violently contend, that Images ought not only to be set up, but Worshipped; and this produced great disorders in the *East*, under two or three revolutions of the Court: and in conclusion, *Italy* shook off the Emperours Authority by the Popes instigation, because he brake the Images. And this gave the rise to another question, whether the Sacrament was only the Image of Christ as the one party asserted, or was the very substance of his body. Both had Councils, which in those Ages past for General ones, of their side. To what has the different explications of the presence of Christ in the Sacrament made by *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, risen, though it lies merely in speculation? It has raised such an alienation, that in many places the *Lutherans* are no less,

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less, and in some they are more fierce, against the *Calvinists*; than against *Papists*. Like a strange sort of people among our selves, that are not ashamed to own a greater aversion to any sort of Dissenters, than to the Church of *Rome*.

But to come nearer home; To what has a contest that began at first about Hoods and Surplices risen amongst us? Those points upon which it began, have been long ago yielded up as indifferent; but new matter will soon be found out by those who have a mind to search for it. In the last age the heats about Divine Decrees, and the Moralitie of the Lords day, almost destroyed us. Now as there is no difference at all remaining about the one, Divines agreeing, as much to press the observation of it, as the greater part of the Nation does in profaning it; so in the other, the mysteriousness of those points being so very much enquired into, there have been such moderate methods used in handling them of both sides, that there are now no more heats concerning them: But alas, though some things fall off, I do not know how it comes that this Monster shoots out always new heads, and there grow up new Subjects for debate and anger; and though at present there are no considerable Contests among us about any Doctrinal points, yet we are not a whit the nearer an agreement: the reason is, the alienation of our minds stands or rather grows still, and this is of late blown up to such a degree by some venomous Libels and Pamphlets, that in the midst of Peace and plenty we seem to be in a posture of War. And what will the end of these things be? if this fermentation goes on, it will burst out at last, and upon the first unlucky Crisis it must produce dismal effects.

It is not so much to be considered what are the grounds of contests in matters of Religion, as what is the temper with which they are managed. Things of great moment

ment may be managed by men of prudent and calm tempers in so soft a manner, that none of their differences shall be able to divide them: and the inconsiderablest things possible, may by the ill natured sophistry of angry men, be raised up to seem matters of the greatest moment. For it is but the fastning an ill name, or an ill consequence to any opinion, that will do it; and then since a consequence if rightly inferred, is really involved in that upon which it follows, it is given out as the sense of a whole party, which detests the consequence, and would forsake the opinion if they could but be perswaded that it really belonged to it. It is in strife as in the letting out of waters, a vent to the least measure does dilute and spread. Therefore the Wise man advises us *to leave off contention before it be medled with.* It may seem a contradiction to leave it off before it is medled with; but we are so early to retire from all contention, that as soon as it appears, and before we have engaged in it, we must break it off. For if we are once engaged, humour, honour and other peevish or designing men will hold us to it: it is best to break it off in time, otherwise we shall have reason to cry out often with St. James, *Behold how great a matter a little fire hath kindled.*

3. I now go on to the Third particular, which is to shew how vain and unreasonable all those pretences are, that are made use of to support this hot and bitter temper. I shall reduce them to these Four. First, Zeal for truth. Secondly, A care to preserve our selves. Thirdly, Authorities from the Old Testament. Fourthly, Authorities from the New. For the first,

It is true we ought to be zealously affected in a good thing; we ought indeed to be much concerned in every thing that relates to our eternal happiness hereafter, and to those means that dispose and lead us to it here. But there

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is also a bitter zeal, which is reckoned among the works of the flesh, and a zeal without knowledge. That zeal which is acceptable to God, must be suitable to his nature, full of goodness, mercy and compassion. If it makes us hate, defame or persecute our brother, we are sure this is not that zeal which will commend us to God. In a word, true zeal is, when out of an inward sense of the goodness of God, and of the excellency of Religion, we have an earnest concern in our minds, that other men may honour and serve him, and participate in those joyes which we feel in Religion. A little reflection on our selves and our secret thoughts will soon resolve the point, whether it is malice and revenge for some injury supposed or real, whether it is some secret design and private end that we disguise with the name of zeal, or a sincere affection to Religion and the souls of our brethren, that governs us. We ought also to be well assured both of the truth and importance of those things on which we imploy our zeal, and not let it run out impetuously on every trifle, and we are still to watch over our tempers, lest our heat carry us too far. And we must never forget that we ought to be zealous for peace as well as truth. Can it be supposed that those who live in all sorts of debaucheries and impieties, are either zealous for the Church on the one hand, or for the Protestant Religion, as they pretend, on the other? If these things will scarce pass with wise men, much less will they pass with that God, who sees the heart. It is certain, Zeal must never exclude Charity; for the love of God, and our Neighbour is the foundation of it. Whatever has not this at bottom is but the dreg of Education, the sowness of a party, and a thin disguise for black designs.

The second pretence is Safety. I am not to meddle with the publick security of government, that is a subject above me:

me : I speak with relation to private persons and their deportment. All Zealots apprehend themselves in some danger from those against whom they are set ; if their numbers are small, they fear that they will become greater ; and if they are great, they fear they will master them : and so they endeavour to conquer them, first in point of reputation in the battels of the tongue and pen, by defaming them, either discovering real faults, or forging calumnies to disgrace them ; and then in point of interest insinuating themselves into such as they can have access to, and endeavouring to work the ruine of those who differ from them. If there were no other measures to be taken in matters of Religion, but the Maxims of humane Policy, this might pass for tolerably prudent : But St. James tells us, the Wisdom of that bitter zeal, *is not from above, it is earthly, sensual and devilish.*

The Bonds of a man, and the cords of love are those, by which God uses to draw us ;] and in imitation of that, the methods of reason, and the wayes of meekness are both more suitable to the Divine Nature, and more likely to work on the greater part of men : In following these which God has appointed, we may with confidence depend upon his protection and blessing ; and if the petulancies and follies of some make it at any time necessary to punish them, it should appear, that what they suffer is the correction of a Father or Brother, and not the wound of an enemy, or the lash of a Jaylor. Extream heats if not repressed will carry to extream severities. And perhaps no severities are very prudent, except they be extream, as are the Inquisitions of *Spain* ; but we may see what the Church of *Rome* has gained by their cruelties in the last Age. Violence alienates those further, whom we ought

ought to gain upon, and likewise increases their party by the compassions of all good-natured people, who are thereby first inclined to pity them, then to love them, and perhaps in conclusion to go over to them: and so the sharpness of rigour instead of being a security, often proves the ruin of those who depend on it: whereas the wayes of love and meekness will work more universally and effectually, at least to mollifie if not to turn those with whom we deal; and it draws all people who are less engaged in their affections, to adhere to those who are moderate: The very appearances of a calm temper have a charm in them, but the effects of them in concurrence with other prudent methods, are almost irresistible. In sum, it is better to be overrun and ruined in the wayes of meekness, than to conquer all the World by cruelty; in the one we bear the cross and suffer for righteousness sake; in the other we triumph in the Garments of Anti-christ dyed red with the blood of those who though in errors, yet may be good men in the main for ought we know.

The third pretence, is from the severities of the old Testament, and that spirit of zeal, which was so much commended and set up for a pattern in the Instances of *Phinehas*, *Elijah*, and others. But our Saviour answered this when he was desired to suffer his Apostles to imitate *Elijah*, and to call for fire from Heaven; that was because they could not kindle it upon earth, otherwise they had begun there; but our meek and lowly Saviour rebuked them, and told them, *They knew not what Spirit they were of: And that the son of Man came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them.* That people was fierce and untractable, and as they had the Land of *Canaan* by an immediate grant from Heaven; so the Civil Government was kept in the hand of

of God ; and sharp punishments were inflicted on those that broke those Laws by which they held all their possessions : But the dispensation of the Gospel is wholly Spiritual upon another bottom, and to be managed in another method.

Fourthly, The last excuse for these heats is from the practice of our Saviour, who severely laid open the hypocrisies of the Pharisees ; and the Apostles who writ warmly against false Teachers, by which a sharpness in speaking and writing seems well warranted. But if we consider that our Saviour certainly knew the Pharisees were Hypocrites, and did by the shew of strictness mislead the people, so that they were in danger to perish by their false Doctrines, and that no meekness, no reason, no nor the most wonderful miracles which he wrought, could work upon them ; it was necessary for the good of others to expose them. So if we manifestly see an Hypocritical sort of people misleading the World in points that indanger their salvation ; and are well assured that what we say is true, and that fairer means cannot prevail ; we not only may but ought to discover this : But this will not excuse those who believe every story, and propagate it meerly out of hatred to others, and know in their own Consciences that their chief concern is to disgrace those they hate, and not to preserve others, out of a principle of charity to them. There must be a great evidence to make us conclude a man an Hypocrite, even some one ill act will not amount to it : nothing but some very heinous crime, or an ill course in some sin, which the common illumination of all Christians discovers to be evil, and which they disguise with a colour of Religion, ought to justify the fastning this black imputati-

on on any : For God knows in how ill colours many would appear, if some of their secret actions were made publick, which may seem, and indeed are, heinous ; and yet they having truly repented of them, ought not to be so branded. We ought to judge charitably, and to be ready alwayes to put the best reasonable construction on other mens actions, that upon a fair representation they will bear ; and make such allowances for the errors and failings of others, as we know in our own consciences we would desire to be made for our own, if all the secrets of our lives were known. They are known to God, and ought to be remembred by our selves ; and in those cases, he that shews no mercy in his censures, is to expect judgement without mercy. But the force of this whole Objection will be better taken off by the fourth particular that I proposed,

4. Which is to consider the methods that Christ and his Apostles have prescribed for bringing us to Love and Unity.

Matth. 11. 29

John 13. 35.

Matth. 5. 44.

The whole life of our blessed Saviour was a continued course of meekness, and lowliness of mind ; and in these he proposes himself chiefly as a pattern for our imitation ; and it is scarce possible for men to quarrel much, that are under the influences of that happy temper : he hath made this the cognisance, *by which all the World shall know his Disciples, if they love one another* : And has not only charged us to love our Friends, but our Enemies, Persecutors and Slanderers ; to bless them, to pray for them, and to do them all the good that is in our power. So that no excuse of ill usage can give us a priviledge to hate, to rail at, or revenge our selves of others. And we may see the sense he had
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of Unity and Peace among his followers, by his intercession with his Father for it; since in that prayer of his a little before he suffered for us, he in five several places prays, *That they might be one, as the Father and he were: That they might be one in them, and be made perfect in one.* And as our Saviour delivered this to his Apostles, so they in every Epistle did repeat the same exhortations with most vehement and mighty obtestations, as considering, That this was essential to the very Being and preservation of the Christian Religion.

John 17. 11,
21, 22, 23.

A Controversy arose then which raised great heats concerning the obligation which the converted Gentiles lay under to observe the Law of *Moses*: and there were some zealous Jews, who though they believed in Christ, as the true Messiah, yet they adhered so fiercely to the Law, that they not only separated from the Apostles, but persecuted them, because they were for freeing the Gentiles from that yoke. This was a question of far greater consequence than those are about which we contend so earnestly: but in this we shall observe the gentleness of the Apostles, even towards those that did obstinately dissent from the determination which they made, though it proceeded from an infallible Authority. St. *Paul* writing to the *Romans*, as he expresses his love to the Jews in so high a strain, that he was willing to be accursed, that is, cast out of the Communion of Christians, if that would have induced them to come into it, (a very high pitch of Charity, which needs not be raised higher, as some fanciful people have done:) he likewise gives his sense of their contests in those matters concerning the observation of their customs in two

Rom. 9. 3.

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Rom. 14. 6.

17. v.

5, 21, 22.

3, 4, 10. v.

19. v.

1 Cor. 1. 10, 11, 12.

13. v.

speculative Maximes ; and in two practical rules, which are of general use, and on which he enlarges copiously. He first tells the n, That on both sides sincere men might so follow their perswasions as to be accepted of God. *He that regardeth a day, regardeth it to the Lord : And he that regardeth not a day, to the Lord he doth not regard it :* He further sayes, That Religion lay not in such trivial things ; *The Kingdom of God, that is the dispensation of the Gospel, consisted not in meats or drinks, (that is, in questions about clean or unclean meats) but in righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost :* and that *he who in these things served Christ, was acceptable to God and approved of men,* whatever he might think of other matters. Upon these two conclusions he grafts two rules ; the one is, That every one should follow the clearest light he could have, *and be fully perswaded in his own mind,* and to do what he did upon an inward assurance, and *without doubting :* the other is, That men ought not to judge, or set at nought their Brethren ; *that the weaker ought not to judge the stronger, nor the stronger to despise the weaker ;* and that *all should follow after the things which made for peace, by which they might edifie one another.* All this is plain and decisive.

When he writ to the Corinthians, he expresse great grief for what he had heard of their divisions : Some were for Paul, that is those of the uncircumcision : Some for Cephas or Peter, that is, those of the Circumcision : Some were for Apollo, that is, those of St. John's baptism : And some were for Christ, who perhaps received Christ as the Messias and yet rejected the Apostles : Upon which he argues, That by this it appeared they were carnal and walkt as men. And that they might not think he was partial to those that set up for himself, he particularly sets himself against

gainst them. He also by an excellent Simile taken from the several uses of the members of the natural body, ex-
 horts them all, not to despise one another, but that every
 one in his station should be useful to the whole body, and
 to every member in it: and runs out into one of the great-
 est raptures that is in the whole Scripture in commendation
 of charity, which he calls not only, a more excellent
 thing than all the extraordinary gifts that were then in
 the Church; without which, doing miracles, suffering
 Martyrdom, or the giving all one had to the poor
 was nothing; but prefers it both to faith and
 hope.

12. Ch.

13. Ch.

Writing to the *Galatians*, though he encourages them
 with more than ordinary earnestness not to yield to the
 Judaizers, yet he gives them this necessary caution, That
 they should *by love serve one another, for all the Law was*
comprehended in this one word, Thou shalt love thy neighbour
as thy self: And he adds these weighty words, on which we
 should all reflect much, *If ye bite and devour one another,*
take heed ye be not consumed one of another. And giving an
 enumeration of the fruits of the spirit, he begins with
 these, *love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness and good-*
ness. He also exhorts the *Ephesians* to this, as that by
 which they should approve themselves as worthy of their
 holy calling, that *They should walk with all lowliness, meek-*
ness, long-suffering, forbearing one another in love, in endeavouring
to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace: And the
 reasons he gives for it are eternally strong and binding:
There is one Lord, one faith, one Baptism, and one God,
and Father of all. In his Epistle to the *Philippians* it
 appears, how exactly he himself followed those rules,
 which he gave to others; for he being then a prisoner,
 some that envied his labours in the Gospel, and intended

Gal. 5. 13, 14.

15. [v.]

22. v.

Ephes. 4. 2, 3,
4, 5.

Phil. 1. 15, 16,
17, 18.

to add affliction to his bonds, preached Christ not sincerely, but in pretence; yet he rejoyced that good was done by any person whatsoever, and upon what motives soever. And though men that suffer, are apt to be more touched with insultings and ill usage from their own friends, than they can be for any thing that their Enemies do to them; yet this did no way disorder him, nor did he thunder against those Hypocritical and insolent teachers. Upon this he goes on to recommend that temper to others which appeared so eminently in himself, and in the most tender strains of a true but moving Rhetorick he obtests them, *If there was any Consolation in Christ, if any comforts of Love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies, that they would fulfill his joy, and be like minded, having the same love, being of one accord, and of one mind: and that nothing should be done through strife and vain glory, but that in lowliness of mind, every one should esteem others better than themselves.* And in order to this he proposes to them the wonderful pattern of the humility and love of Christ.

Phil. 2. 1, 2, 3.

Col. 3. 8, 12,
13, 14, 15.

How effectually does he exhort the *Colossians* to put off all anger, wrath, malice and Blasphemy, that is, reviling and reproachful words, and to put on as the elect of God holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness and long-suffering, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another: *If any man have a quarrel against any, even as Christ forgave you, so also do you; and above all things put on Charity, which is the bond of perfection; and let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to the which ye are called in one body.* He heard the *Thesalonians* were eminent for their mutual love, so that it was needless to exhort them to it, yet he beseeches them to encrease in it more and more; and since much meddling
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1 Thes. 4. v. 9,
10, 11.

the Election of the Lord Mayor.

23

or the running about, are the chief occasions by which contentions arise, or spread; he charges them to study to be quiet, and to do their own business: to be at peace among themselves, to warn them that were unruly, to be patient to all men, and not to render evil for evil, but ever to follow that which was good. And in his Epistles to Timothy he gives us the Characters both of false and true teachers in relation to these things. Of the former he saies, *They were proud knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, of which came envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, and perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds; but the reverse of this is, the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient in meekness, instructing those that oppose themselves, if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth.* Insinuating, that instruction given in the spirit of meekness, was the likeliest way to bring this about. He also exhorts Titus to put the Cretians in mind, to be subject to Principalities and Powers, to obey Magistrates, to be ready to every good work, to speak evil of no man, not to be brawlers but gentle, shewing all meekness to all men. The chief scope of his Epistle to Philemon, is to perswade him to be reconciled to Onesimus, who being his servant had robbed him, and run away from him. He exhorts the Hebrews to provoke one another to love and to good works; and in order to that, not to forsake the assembling themselves together as the manner of some was, and to follow peace with all men: And to take care that no root of bitterness might spring up and trouble them, by which many might be defiled. For Dissensions are the buddings of bitterness in the mind, and do both disturb and corrupt those in whom they grow up.

Nor was this a stile peculiar to St. Paul; though it may

5. 13, 14.

1 Tim. 6. 3,
4, 5.

2 Tim. 2. 24,
25, 26.

Titus 2. 1, 2.

Heb. 10. 24,
25.
Heb. 12. 14,
15.

may be supposed that one reason, which made him insist so vehemently on it, & repeat this exhortation so frequently, was, That he reflecting on his own temper, when he was a Jewish Zealot, knew that it was a venom which might by degrees creep even into a sincere mind, and leaven and corrupt it under the colour of the being active in the cause of Religion, and so transform a man, and an honest man too, into an enraged fury, as himself was when under the power of those ill principles; though what he did, was the effect not of designed wickedness, but of Ignorance. St. James writes in the same strain against all furious Zealots, who were apt to boast of their zeal, and to face down the truth with their impudence, and pretended to great wisdom for the justifying what they did. He tells them, *that wisdom was not from above, but was earthly, sensual and Devilish: and that where bitter zeal and strife was, there was confusion and every evil work; but the wisdom that was from above, was first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easie to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without Hypocrisie; and that the fruits of righteousness were sown in peace, of them that made peace.* St. Peter keeps in the same path. He had formerly been under the sudden transports of ill tempered zeal, when he smote with the Sword those that came to seize on our Saviour, which he ought not to have done, since they were sent out by those who had a lawful authority; but it then appeared in him, that the rages of indiscreet heat do not agree with that disposition of mind so indispensably necessary to a Christian, which is a readiness to confess the truth, though the danger in doing it were ever so apparent: He therefore exhorts those, to whom he wrote, to *lay aside all malice and guile, and Hypocrisies, envies and evil speakings; that they would be all of one mind, having compassion*

James 3. 13,
14, &c.

1 Pet. 2. 1.

the Election of the Lord Mayer.

25

compassion one of another ; that they would love as brethren, C 3. v. 8, 9. be pitiful and courteous, not rendring evil for evil, nor railing for railing, but contrariwise a blessing ; and that above all things they would have fervent charity among themselves, which would cover a multitude of sins ; and he exhorts all to add to 2 S. Pet. 1. 7. their godliness, brotherly kindness and charity, as if godliness could not be compleat without these. St. John in all his Epistles seems to have had nothing more in his thoughts, than to perswade those to whom he wrote to love one another, which he does with the highest and most earnest Exhortations to it possible: God is love, and he that dwelleth 1 S. Joh. 4. 16. in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him ; he that loves his brother, abideth in the light, and there is no occasion of stumbling ; he has a serene and calm mind, and is not hurried unto violent Transports: Whereas he that hates his brother, is in darkness, and walks in it, for it hath blinded his eyes ; it runs him on blindly to many Precipices, it carries him to excessive Heats, and makes him act like a mad man: And no wonder if it end in bloud and confusion ; for he that hates 1 S. Joh. 3. 15. his brother is a murderer ; he murders him in his wishes, and will not fail to put these in execution upon the first opportunity ; and to sum up all, By this we know, says he, Ch 3. v. 14. that we have pass'd from death to life, from the death of sin to the life of God, if we love the brethren. St. Jude gives Jude v. 19, 15. a Character of the Incendiaries that were then in the Church, who did separate themselves, pretending to greater sanctity and strictness, and yet were sensual, and had not the Spirit, which appeared in these Instances, They were murderers, complainers, who spoke great swelling words, and had mens persons in admiration for advantage ; that is, were given to Canting, and did blindly follow their Leaders. But as he exhorts the Christians to contend earnestly for the faith, V. 3. v. 22, 23. so in relation even to those grossly deluded and unruly dividers, he charges them to have compassion of some, and to

endeavour to gain upon them in the mildest manner; others whose tempers were rougher, were to be rescued by sharper methods, like the *pulling one out of the fire*; and these different methods were to be applied discreetly, as the condition of the person might require it.

And thus we see the Apostles in all their Epistles repeat these Exhortations with so much earnestness, that upon the whole matter it must be concluded, either this is not the Gospel, or those that differ so much from these Rules are not true Gospellers. I have enlarged on these things the more fully, because I must conclude, that if the Authority of such words does not prevail, it is a vain thing to go about to persuade any to these duties by other Topicks. Nor were these only Lessons given to Christians as political Precepts, in that Infancy and weakness of this Religion, which as their numbers increased, and their power grew, they might supersede: But we clearly see the ancient Christians thought they were as much bound by them, after the Emperors became Christian, as they were before.

When the last Persecution ceased, and the Calm and Protection of *Constantine's* Reign succeeded, the *Christians*, tho' many of them carried still the marks of the Cruelty of their Persecutions, in the loss of their Eyes or Limbs, yet endeavoured no Revenge on their Persecutors, no not in *Egypt*, where so many thousands of them had suffered; and the *Heathens*, for above an Age after that, continued to be in the chief Employments, both Civil and Military. And tho' this had made it easier for the Empire again to turn to *Heathenism* under *Julian*, yet upon his death no Cruelties nor Violences were employed; nor did they think the Disturbance given by *Arius*, and the small Party he then had, was to be prosecuted with a higher severity than Banishment. And tho' the *Arians* became cruel Persecutors, when the Court was governed by their Councils, act-
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ing more politically under *Constantius*, but violently under *Valens*, yet the Orthodox, who had complained of those Severities, did not retaliate, when the Empire fell into the hands of one that was so zealous for them as *Theodosius* was: and when *Nazianzen* saw some too much inclined to it, in the beginnings of his Reign, how earnestly did he study to moderate their Heats and Resentments? And tho' the *Donatists* were after many renewed Hearings condemned in *Constantine's* time, in every one of them, yet the Orthodox Party studied still to gain upon them, by the ways of love and meekness, till at last they grew insupportable, and fell upon the others, and robbed and wounded them, committing such Outrages, that the Bishops in *Africk* were forced to implore the Emperor's protection for their own safety; and yet the severity went no higher than Banishment, or fining of the most outrageous. And as St. *Austin* was not easily brought to consent even to so much, so afterwards when the Governors were punishing the *Donatists* for their Insolences, he was always interposing to mitigate the sharpness of the Law, and the rigor of their Proceedings. It is true, there were too great Heats in the Church, even then in the management of their Debates, yet till *Damasus* begun that mad prosecution of the *Luciferians* at *Rome*, these were not carried to violent degrees.

But as the purity of the Christian Religion grew corrupted, and iniquity did abound, then did love wax cold, and rage grew hot, till at last it flamed out in most terrible Persecutions, set on in the 12th. Century against the *Albigenses* at first. And that these might be managed with all the advantages possible, for the destruction of poor Innocents, new Courts were set up, and unheard of Methods were found out, for facilitating Processes, making a slight proof serve, and forcing the Party to accuse himself by

an Oath *ex Officio* ; these Courts did also proceed upon secret Information, without Indictments or Accusers. In a word : Forms of Procedure were invented, such as even Tyrants had not used for the Crimes of Treason ; and all this to destroy such as could not submit to every unreasonable Doctrine, or ridiculous piece of Worship then set up. And they were not only satisfied with the Cruelties then practised, but they made Laws and Canons, (then esteemed more binding than Laws) by which all Princes were for ever bound to extirpate Hereticks. And because some might be better natured than easily to become the Inquisitors Hangmen, they were declared to have forfeited their Dominions, if they should be guilty of any lenity, which upon that fell to the disposal of the *Pope*. And lest some good natured Bishops might be backward and slow in it, they were likewise bound by the Oath which they took at their Consecration, to prosecute Hereticks to the utmost of their power. So the Bishops being thus sworn to condemn them, and Princes threatned with Deposition if their Sentences were not executed, it was scarce possible for these poor men to escape.

But we have not so learned Christ : We see clearly what Rules the Gospel gives in this Matter ; we ought to love one another as Brethren, and not to suffer our Zeal to degenerate into Rage or Barbarity, but must study to gain upon those who differ from us in the spirit of meekness, by which we may in time conquer their Mistakes, and at least bring them to a greater temper, through the gentleness of our deportment towards them, and incline them to have better thoughts of us, and that may prove an effectual mean to make them think the better of the Truth for our sakes. For the greatest part mens Affections do insensibly govern their Opinions, since few examine speculative Points as they lye before them, in the Arguments used about them,
but

But consider them in the lump, and generally judge of them by some prejudices which incline them to like or dislike such a sort of men.

One thing is to be said for Moderation, that it is the constant Plea of the unfortunate: all People when depressed, take Sanctuary in it, as a common place, upon which it is easie to say many popular things. But alas, how commonly is it forgotten by the very same Persons when the Wind and Tide turns? We hear even the *Papists*, for all their Inquisitions and Burnings, Plead for gentleness and favor, though in them it is scarce reconcileable to common Modesty. If there were nothing but opinion in the case, if they had not such a mixture of cruel Principles, with a blind dependence on a Forrain Power, that is bound by their own Rules, never to relent till Heresie is extirpated, and all Hereticks destroyed, I should be as earnest to stir up Compassion for them as for others: and as it is, I am sure we ought to carry so towards them, that it may appear we do not hate their Persons, and do nothing against them but as we are compelled to it for self-preservation, and even in the hardest things that a prudent care of our own quiet and safety may force us to do, all personal softness and gentleness towards them, is indispensably necessary to such as would shew themselves to be truly Reformed Christians.

Others Plead now for Moderation, though they have forgot it shamefully where they have Power, as the Congregations do now in *New-England*, and the *Presbytery* did in *Scotland*. The one impose under the pains of Banishment and Death in case of return; not only the Religion of their State, but many speculative points of Opinion, and other things that are certainly indifferent. The *Presbytery* in *Scotland* imposed the Covenant under the pains of Excommunication, upon which followed a Forfeiture

4. Article.

feiture of the personal Estate, and a Sequestration of the real Estate, and this all persons Men and Women were forced to Swear, though few could understand it; and one particular was not far from an Inquisition, that every one should discover all Malignants and Enemies to their Cause, in order to the bringing them to condign punishment, by which every man was Sworn to be a Spy and an Informer. These are ill Patterns, and as we ought not to imitate them, so we must govern ourselves by very different methods, if we come under the Discipline of the Gospel.

4. And now I come to the last Particular, to make some Application of all this to this time, and the occasion you are now met about. We are now brought under one of the unhappiest Circumstances that a Nation or a City can be in. There have arisen amongst us such heats, so much bitterness, so violent an Aversion to one another, that it must needs beget great grief and sad apprehensions in all that look on, and judge Impartially. Those Animosities, which no wonder if, at the end of a long War, when our Wounds were bleeding, and our Sores were tender, did transport, especially the unhappy but worthy Sufferers a little, and were by a happy revolution, and a Gracious Oblivion, wisely buried and seemed quite extinguished, are now breaking out again with a violence almost as great as was during the War it self: and though we are still in Peace, yet such a temper appearing among us, we have no reason to expect it shall continue long. Tinder will catch fire from a spark. These heats are kept up by Libels and defamations, and all the methods that can blow upon them to kindle the fire the faster, and to make it flame out the more vehemently: and what must the end of these things be? All that we now feel is but the beginning of sorrows, if we are not so wise,

as

as in time to know the things which belong to our Peace.

This were an unhappiness much to be lamented at any time: but what shall be said, when we are as it were called upon from Heaven, by such awak'ning Providences, to lay down our Contests, and to unite, for the preservation of our Holy Religion? Sure none believe themselves, when they say, we are not in danger of Popery: and none can think it but they who desire it, and so apprehend no danger in it; and if we come under the power of that Religion, none but Fools can hope that they shall escape the Severities they must fall under, if they do not intend to change with the Tide, and even such must resolve still to be suspected. Old Stories will be often remembered. What can reasonably preserve us from this, or that storm, which a mighty Potentate is ready to discharge on some of his neighbors, but our joyning together in mutual Unity and Brotherly love? *England* is a Body so vast and strong, that if it is united both in Church and State, it cannot only defend it self, but so steadily hold the ballance, as to preserve as well its other Allies, as the Forraign Churches, some of which are now exposed to the rage of their Persecutors, if we do not continue dis-joynted at home till, all falls into one Scale.

Upon this occasion I cannot forbear to set before you the deplorable State of our Persecuted Brethren in *France*, whom neither the security of Irrevocable Edicts, nor the great Services done the Crown, and that not only in the last Age, but during the present King's Reign in the Wars of *Paris*, nor their peaceable submission and patience amidst all the oppressions they have groaned under for several years, which has not provoked them to the least undutiful behaviour, nor their great numbers and industry,

A SERMON Preached at

can preserve from those Cruelties they now suffer meerly for their Religion; for their carriage has been such, that their Enemies have not a colour for their Proceedings but that only. And now the last priviledge of the miserable, liberty to complain, is denied them. Thus we see what all Promises, yea and Laws, backed with great merit, do signifie, where that Religion once takes place.

I must acknowledge, that among the many sad Symptoms we are under, this is one good Sign, I am sorry to say it is almost the only good one, that God has raised up in us such a Spirit of Compassion for the poor Exiles, that come and seek shelter here: that the King does so graciously receive and encourage them, and the People do so bountifully relieve them: And among the other Glories of this Great City, the largeness of your Charities, and the tenderneſs of your Care on this Occasion, will be added to your Honour here on Earth, and to your Rewards hereafter in Heaven; and I hope what you have already given, is but the Earnest of what you will do, if the numbers of those that fly hither, continue to increase.

But tho' your Charity on this Occasion is a thing that well becomes such a Reformed Church, yet it is not all the Use that we are to make of so sad a Calamity. We know not how soon we may be reduced to the like Straits, and be brought under a Famine of the Word of the Lord, and be exposed to the fury of that bloody Religion. Let us therefore look up to God, that he may be merciful to us, and may pour out on us a Spirit of Repentance, to turn to him, and to forsake all our abominations, by which we have so highly provoked him, and dishonoured our holy Profession; and also a Spirit of Love and Charity, to unite us one to another. I shall not adventure to offer at any thing towards this, which belongs to the Government, or is to be the Subject of publick Consultations, but shall only say
this

this to private Persons ; If every one will endeavour to dispossess himself of Heat and Rancor, and will resolve to do all he can towards an Agreement ; and if we all pray earnestly for it, there will be no such difficulty in it as may be imagined. Hatred stirreth up strife, but Love covers a multitude of sins. If a better temper did possess us, we would either find out Expedients to accommodate our Differences ; or if we could not agree them, yet we might enjoy our Opinions, and still love one another ; and then there would be no great danger in the continuance of some different Speculations or Practices.

But if we will still look backwards, and be always reflecting on every thing that may exasperate more and more, and will not look forwards to that Precipice of ruine that is so near us, and to the only Mean that can save us from it; I mean, a Reformation of our Manners, and a Composing of our Heats: If Libelling, and the defaming one another ; if the spreading of Lyes and Scandals, with design to make the breach wider, is still continued and encouraged among us, what is to be said? This is of the Lord, and is a punishment for our other sins, and the forerunner of most terrible Judgments, which will come on us like an Armed man ; and then when it is too late for the Publick, we will be all of us ready to accuse our selves, and to condemn one another. God avert this and make us wise in time.

To conclude, I shall now propose a few things wherein we ought above all things to study to be united among our selves.

In the first place, Let us joyn in calling upon God earnestly, and directing our aims chiefly to his Glory, for the preservation of that Holy Religion, which by his Grace is settled amongst us. Let us not, by our ill Lives, provoke him to deprive us of so great a Blessing, and let us all resolve to spend some portion of our time, at least an

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hour

hour every Week, in earnest Prayers to him for the Peace of his *Jerusalem* amongst us, and for continuing our Religion still with us. It is his Cause, and we ought chiefly to offer it up to him for his protection and defence: and if our sins do not defeat the design of our Prayers, we may hope that a considerable number of such Intercessors will procure great Blessings to us, especially we having the assistance of the prayers of those who have taken sanctuary among us; towards whom your bowels have been so opened, that we know we have many prayers put up by them which are set to our account.

In the next place let us joyn together in all dutiful expressions of sincere loyalty to our King; in an obedience to the Laws, and a reverent submission to his Government: that our Enemies may not have the least pretence to say, that the zeal we express for him, and our detestation of their Conspiracies, is only a disguise to as bad designs: let us go on in the wayes of submission and loyalty, and by these put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. Let all Insolent Libels and reproachful Discourses be held in detestation, and let us earnestly pray to God, the God of peace and love, to turn the hearts of the Fathers to the Children, and of the Children to the Fathers, and the Disobedient to the wisdom of the Just; and that the happy day of an entire Settlement, and the burying of all Fears and Jealousies may come quickly, that so one spirit may animate both the King and his Subjects, and the Court and the Country. Let this be a part of our daily prayers, and let every one do all in his power towards it, and then we may hope to see again serene and quiet times.

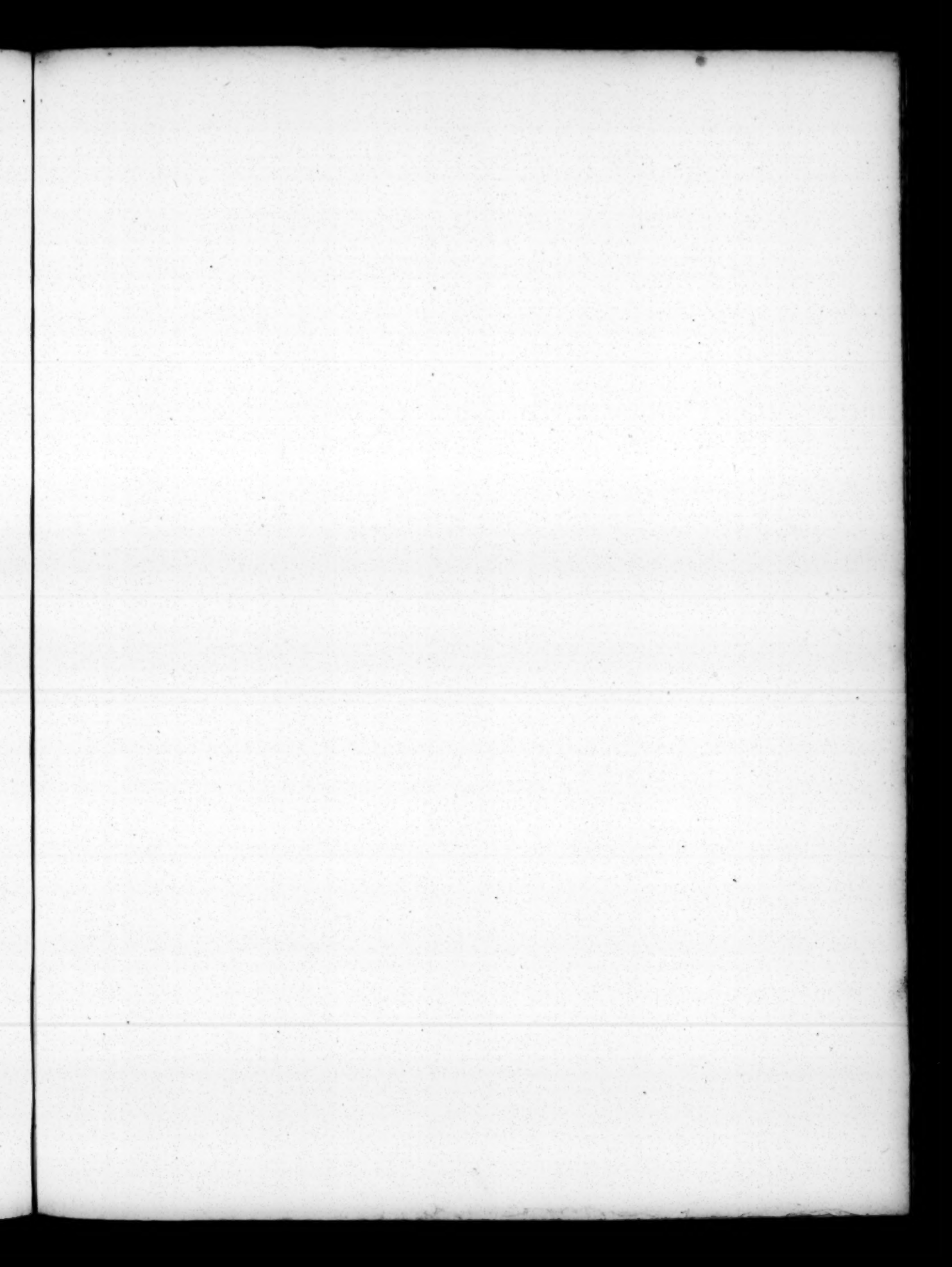
Let us also consider one another as brethren: Let us bear with one anothers Infirmities: Let us give some allowances to the weakness of those that are misled, to the
force

force of Education, and the bias of vulgar prejudices. Let us study to gain upon one another by gentleness and meekness. Let us have the danger of Inquisitions, Fires, and foreign Conquest more in our thoughts, and not contend still about some less essential or important points. Let not every trifling excuse be sought out to make or keep up divisions. Let not those that differ from us think, that because of some hard things which they may meet with, they are excused from all Reverence to their Superiours, or a disposition to be reconciled to those who may have used them ill in their Opinion. Let us not aggravate matters beyond measure, but judge of all things with candour and charity. In a word, let us endeavour if we can to be of one mind, and at least to have one heart, to love one another, and to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.

And in the last place, and in relation to our present Assembling, I humbly exhort you to proceed to the Election you are now to make, with a spirit of love and brotherly kindness, without faction or animosity, clamour and confusion, that so in the Choice of this great Magistrate, the Head of so great Body under the King, you may agree in a man that fears God, that honours the King, that may be an Example of a good Life, an Assertor of the true established Religion, a Maintainer of Justice, and a Promoter of Peace and Order amongst you. In which let us all pray to God to bless and direct you, and to make you still carry in your minds these words of our Saviour. *Every Kingdom divided against it self is brought into desolation, and every City or House divided against it self shall not stand.*

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A
S E R M O N

Preached at the
F U N E R A L

OF

Mr. James Houblon,

Who was buried at St. *Mary Wolnoth*
Church in *Lombard-street*, June 28. 1682.

By GILBERT BURNET, D. D.

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in St. *Paul's Church-Yard*. MDC LXXXII.

March 1904



To the Most Honoured

Master	{	Peter	}
	{	James	}
	{	John	}
	{	Jacob	}
	{	Isaac	}
	{	Abraham	}
	{	Jeremiah	}

Houblon,

Sons of the Deceased Mr. JAMES HOUBLON.

Most Honoured,



A S I was invited by you to Preach this Sermon, so I am now determined by your Desires to Print it: and do esteem it a great honour, that I was made choice of by you, to do at once both a great Justice to the Dead, and I hope some good to the Living, at least, by that part of it which relates to your Worthy Father.

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Excellent

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Excellent Patterns afford great Instruction : and it is the more necessary to propose them to the Imitation of others, in an Age in which, while we are disputing so hotly about Opinions and Forms, the Power and Life of Religion is like to wear out of the World; and so few instances of it appear, that no wonder Atheists take great advantages from thence, to perswade their weak and lewd followers, that none believe inwardly what they outwardly profess : and upon this account, we have great reason to make the most we can of all those living arguments that have been among us of the efficacy and amiableness of true Religion.

When I received from you some informations concerning your dead Father, I perceived your chief design was, to have only so much told of him, as might preserve a just character of him to posterity; and particularly, for those descended from him: so as it might either engage them to follow his steps and imitate his Vertues; or remain as a ~~mirror~~ ^{mirror} against them, if they should decline from that good way which he both living and dying, has so earnestly recommended to you and them. But I found you had no mind to have his praises raised to any indecent pitch, or to have any thing said, that savoured of vanity; but that his Funeral Sermon should be as free from these, as his Life was; and that it
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The Epistle Dedicatory.

should so far resemble him, as that it should be all to edification, and therefore that nothing should be put in it for pomp or shew. In this, your inclinations agreeing so much with my own, it was easie for me, to observe this part of your desires very exactly: and I was very glad to find most of the Hearers agreed with me in that which in the beginning of his Character I say I expected from them; that they would think I had rather said too little, than too much.

I hope he shall still live in you all, and that you shall happily reverse the Fable of the multiplication of the Hydra's head, seven shooting out, for one that was cut off; so I am confident that we shall have now in you, seven Heirs to your Fathers Vertues and true Piety, and that every one of you will with a generous, yet kind emulation, study who shall come nearest that shining example which he set you: for which you shall never want the Prayers of,

Honoured Sirs,

Your most humble and most
obliged Servant,

G. BURNET.

1871

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PSALM xxxvii. Vers. 37.

Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace.

THINGS that are very unusual and strike upon our minds by reason of their novelty, do commonly attract our eyes, and fix our attention : New sights work somewhat on most people, and a great deal on the weaker sort. Men of remote Nations or Monstrous Productions are run after and gazed upon :

A Sermon Preached at the

upon: but the proper subject on which every wise man fixes his thoughts, is that which can afford him such Instructions, that he becomes wiser and better by his observations: and indeed I am sorry to add, that there are so few of those objects, that if a desire to learn from them, does not work much on us, yet meer curiosity might produce more than ordinary care to observe them: for we do not see such sights every day.

Jer. 5. 1. We meet with crouds of fools and madmen, of corrupt and crooked men every where, but for the *perfect and upright man* we may be justly called upon, as *Jeremy* did on the People of *Jerusalem*, to *run to and fro through the streets, and to see and know and seek in the broad places thereof* (somewhat like Exchanges or Market-places) *if we can find such a man, if there be any that executeth judgement and seeketh the truth.* If I tell you, that he who is to be the subject of a great part of this Discourse, was such a man, I hope it may be of some use, to let you see in what things this Character agreed to him; though it comes with this melancholy diminution, that *he was and is no more among us.* The Prophet

Prophet promises in the Name of God, that upon their finding such a one, *he would pardon Jerusalem.* But though upon this occasion we cannot make that comfortable inference from the discovery we are now about, yet if the observing what he was, does in any measure dispose us to imitate him, then we may hope for a National Pardon, upon yet more certain grounds, unless our sins are grown to that pitch, that *God will not pardon them,* and that good men among us shall only be able to *deliver their own souls,* when the Day of our Visitation shall come upon us; which indeed does not seem to be very far from us.

But I shall prepare you for what I am to say concerning this *perfect and upright man,* by considering first the importance of the words which I have read to you. There is a great variety among the several Translations of them, which make them have very different senses. The *Hebrew* as it is pointed in our Bibles, is rendred exactly in our Translation; but the Seventy Interpreters have read it otherwise, which in *English* is exactly this, *keep innocence and behold uprightness, for there is*

a remnant to the peaceable man. They are followed by the Vulgar. The Chaldee Paraphrase renders them thus, *Keep integrity and behold uprightness, for the end of man is peace.* The Syriack has it thus, *Observe sincerity, and chuse uprightness, for there is a good end to the man of peace.* The Arabick is thus rendred, *Keep meekness, and thou shalt see uprightness; for there will be an end to the peaceable man.* We see all these Translators have read the words rendred in our Bibles *upright* and *perfect*, so, that they did not understand them of an *upright* and *perfect* man, but of *uprightness* and *perfection* in the abstract; which the same words a little varied in the pointing do indeed signifie. The word rendred by us *mark*, they have rendred *keep*, which it does strictly signifie; and because what we *mark* we keep in our memory, therefore it is often used in that sense. The word rendred *latter end* does also sometimes signifie a *reward*, because it is given at the latter end of the performance of that for which it was promised; and so the sense will be much the same, whether it be rendred thus, *There will be a reward at last for the men of peace*, or the *latter end of that man is peace.* Thus I have shewed

shewed the different wayes of reading and rendring these words; and in discoursing of them, I shall consider them in all these several senses which we see have been put on them, and shall speak to these particulars.

1. I shall shew you, what is meant by *perfection* and *uprightness*, or by the *perfect* and *upright man*.
2. I shall shew, how we are to *keep* and observe those Vertues, and what regard we ought to have for such as are eminent for them.
3. I shall shew, what is the happy end and conclusion of them, and of those that possess them.

And then I shall come to the Application to the occasion of our present assembly.

To return :

First, By *perfection*, we are not to understand, either such essential perfection as belongs only to that eternal being in strict-

ness of speech ; nor such a perfection as we hope for in another state ; but only such a perfection as makes any thing compleat in its kind ; that is , such a soundness in the faculties and powers of a mans soul, as makes him an entire man, that is, one that is truly a reasonable creature , acted and guided by reason. All that belongs to a thinking nature , is a clearness of understanding and judging , an obsequiousness in the will to the dictates of an enlightned mind , and a disposition to consider things carefully, which is the chief and best exercise of the freedom of the will ; together with the regulation of a mans inward affections and passions , and the conduct of his actions. He that has a considerable soundness in every one of these , is *perfect* in those parts that may be said to compose a rational nature : But in all these there are different degrees : some men have a greater extent of knowledge than others, though many of the pretenders to it, are too often employed about things that are either impertinent or hurtful to them : but every one may be called perfect in his knowledge , who rightly apprehends and judges well those things which relate to himself,

himself, who has his mind raised towards the best objects, and possessed with deep impressions of God and true goodness, and the rewards of another state: and the more deeply he considers these things, and the more frequently he reflects on them, he is so much the more *perfect*, how little soever he may know or relish those vain and empty Notions, which many magnifie as the highest flights of knowledge. Again, he who employes the powers of his will, and his faculty of choice, or liberty to turn his understanding to the best objects, and breaks himself either of an obstinate and ungoverned stiffness, or of a sluggish faintness and feeble easiness, and attains to a due firmness in his resolutions, and a stability in his purposes, avoiding the extreams of being too peremptory, or too yielding, is also *perfect* in this part of a rational nature; and if this temper prevails in the main current of a mans life, he may be well accounted a *perfect man*, though in some particulars and upon some occasions he leaves it behind him.

As for a mans passions and affections, he that resists their fury, and brings himself

self to an habitual calmness and gentleness, that is not sudden and violent, but deliberate and composed, that observes the weak sides of his constitution, and keeps himself at as great a distance as he can from that which may inflame him too much, that endeavours to raise his affections to the best objects, which make him strong against inferior objects and weak assaults, he that has learn't to make a right estimate and value of things, and studies to poise himself, so that none of the various accidents of life may very much alter him, that keeps a watchful eye upon himself, and is jealous of every thing that is apt to heat him too much, this is a *perfect man*.

I do not think a man unless he be extremely stupid, can really be perfectly the same in all the turns of his life; and therefore I am very apt to conclude, that the pretensions of the *Stoicks* in this matter, were either only extravagant boastings and vain affectations, or that they first brought their minds by a long constraint to a heaviness and dulness, by which the active powers of their souls were in a great measure enervated

enervated and stupified. That quickness of thought or acrimony in the mind which is called *affection* or *passion*, is often necessary to animate us to great undertakings, and to support us in difficult performances: and if a man could so far prevail on himself, as to root it out of his mind, it might perhaps enable him to suffer uneasie things with less pain, but it would mightily emasculate the vigour of his active powers. So I conclude, a *perfect man* is he that cools his passions, and governs his affections, and not he that roots them out entirely.

The last and most visible branch of this perfection, is a good and wise conduct of a mans actions: he that considers well the station that God has set him in, and the relation in which he stands, to the rest of mankind, together with the duties incumbent on him, and acts prudently and discreetly, that governs his tongue, so as not to give advantages against himself, nor to make enemies needlessly, that guides his affairs with discretion, that orders his family with prudent care and foresight, that lives to the good of mankind, that con-

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ders himself born not only for himself, but for the publick good, and therefore layes himself out to do all the good that he can, first by his own example and the influence *that* may have on the world, and then by instructing, admonishing and directing those that are under his authority or influence, and is ready to assist, advise and relieve those that are in any difficulty, or stand in need of any thing that he can spare, this is the *perfect man*; and that temper is the *perfection* which we are to observe or keep.

I would not raise the notion of perfection too high, lest any should be discouraged from endeavouring to attain to it; nor let it fall too low, lest some may come too easily to imagine they are already perfect. It's good to have such high and great notions of Vertue as are on the one hand apt to excite a generous temper of mind in us; and yet on the other hand, are not impracticable Idea's, which subsist only in the imaginations of high-flown men. A man that has all these in a good and solid measure, is a *perfect man*, and a *perfectly religious man*,

man, though he has not yet attained to such degrees in every one of them , as he may hope to grow up to , after some years proficiency. Single instances and errors now and then may fall out , and yet he remain still a *perfect man* : for we are to remember a distinction between a perfection of parts, and a perfection in degrees : as a man in relation to his body is a perfect man, if he has all the Vitals within , and all the Organs and Members without , that belong to the structure of his Body, though there is not in all that exact symmetry of parts, nor that agreeableness in every one of them.

As for *uprightness* or the *upright man*, the true Notion of this will be easier formed, and the sooner dispatched. *Uprightness* is an exact correspondency between a mans thoughts and his words and actions, when a man is possessed with such a candour and probity of mind, that he lyes under no temptations to disguise or dissemble his thoughts, so that integrity and truth is that to which he trusts , as knowing it *will preserve him* ; and Psal. 25. 22. therefore concludes, that he *who walks uprightly*, Prov. 10. 9.

walks surely : when a man is so far raised above the World, that neither a desire to recommend himself to any, by abject flattery, nor to make unreasonable gains in his dealings, can work on him, so as to say any thing otherwise than as he thinks, he is an upright man, and such as *always speaks the truth as it is in his heart*. This straightness of soul, supposes many things necessary to prepare a man to it : he must be both innocent and humble, moderate in his designs, and free from covetousness : for any of all these things will make a man warp insensibly, and bend into some crooked postures, which after a long bending, will grow to be so strangely rooted, that that which *is crooked cannot be made straight* : and when a man lets his integrity once go, the fears of a discovery, together with the other ill consequences of it, and that fatal train that is in ill actions, by which one draws on another, will make it much harder to recover it, than it is at first to maintain it. And if a man can once so far prevail over those honest and candid dispositions that are in him, as to let himself cool and sleep and go on, in any thing
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that is indirect or disingenious , he will come to be so fortified against those tenderesses and awakenings of Conscience , that he is in a probable way of growing up to any pitch of wickedness to which he may be tempted.

And thus I have considered the importance of this Character , the *perfect and upright man*, or *perfection and uprightness*.

I come next to the Second Particular, which is the observation and regard we ought to have to such persons or such a temper. We ought to *mark* them well; to consider what they offer for our imitation, and to keep well in our memory that instruction which their example affords: and as we observe them, so as to learn from them, so we ought to carry in our minds such a sense of their Vertues, as to make us esteem them highly while they live, and pay all due honour to their memories when they are dead.

First, We are so to *mark* them as to learn from them, and are to lay up in our me-

mories what we have observed in them; and thus we may both mark the *perfect man*, and preserve or keep up that same temper in our selves: There is no way more effectual to the study of Vertue, than the observing the excellent patterns that good men set us. In them Vertue appears cloathed with all those circumstances, that may both represent it more amiable, and make it be more easily imitated by us. The abstracted and Philosophical Idea's of Vertue are indeed very beautiful and convincing to them that can frame them right, and pursue and apply them well; but every man has not that strength of apprehension, and clearness of judgement that is necessary for this: and general rules are so diversified by various circumstances, that every one has not a faculty of applying them to the several actions and in the various turns of life: and therefore when God was to instruct mankind in the excellentest way of Religion that was ever proposed, which was delivered in the greatest simplicity of expression that was possible, he set at the same time before us the perfectest pattern that ever was. *The Word was made flesh and dwelt among men: and the greatest part of*

John 1. 14.

of the Gospels consists rather of a Narrative of his holy and exemplary Life, than of an exact system of his Precepts : for the one is contained and delivered in the other. In him we see those shining Vertues of Patience, Contempt of the World, Humility, Meekness, Submission to the Will of God, Zeal for his Glory, and an unwearied readiness to do good, which could not be overcome by the most ungrateful and injurious returns that were possible.

There is this difference between that and all other patterns, that we cannot exceed in our exactness of imitating it : whereas we may grow affectate and apish in imitating any other pattern. The best men have their defects and failings, which made St. Paul restrain and limit our being *followers* of the Apostles themselves, by this Caution, *as they* 1 Cor. 11. 1. *were followers of Christ.* There are also particular humours in very good men, which do well enough in them, being natural to them, and being set off with many other excellencies that are in them; but these being more visible and coming under more common observation, some vain and foolish persons

persons hoping to be thought like those excellent persons, by an affectation of some Gestures and Customs that were peculiar to them, make themselves thereby the objects of the scorn of the Wise and Judicious. We are to observe what is truly excellent and useful in those whom we have known, and as to small matters, we are still to do that which is most natural, and has least of constraint in it.

It is a great blessing for one, especially in his young and tender years, in which he is scarce capable of any thing but imitation, to have this easie and profitable way of instruction offered to him: and every one is to consider, that this will be put to their account, and that they have a great deal to answer for on this very reason. If Divine Providence was thus before-hand with them, and laid such a happiness in their way so early, that good impressions did prevent all bad ones, then what a heavy charge will it be, if they have endeavoured to blot all these out, and to superinduce bad ones?

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But as we owe our selves the good Improvement of this way of Instruction, so we owe those Persons, to whom the Characters in my Text agree, great esteem and reverence as long as they live, and all due respect when they are dead. We ought to look on them *as burning and shining Lights, and are to rejoice in their Light*: we ought to consider them as the *Salt, the Light, and the Pillars of the Earth*: we do not know how much we owe them for the lengthning out of our Tranquillity, their very being in the World may be a mean to suspend such Judgments in which they might be involved, and their Prayers and Intercessions have certainly great Efficacy; so that every time we see such a Person, it should rejoyce our Heart, and we should conclude there goes one of the Preservers and Supporters of the Nation, if not of the World; for when the number of the Elect is accomplished, then the rest are not to expect those common Favours of Day and Night, of Times and Seasons, of Sun-shine and Rain, in which the wicked share more for their Neighbour-hood to good Men, than upon their own account. We are to do nothing to grieve them, nor to make those Lives that are so usefull to

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us, uncomfortable to themselves. Every Man is to consider a truly Good Man as his Benefactor, and as a sort of a Father to him : but those who receive a more immediate Blessing from them, owe greater returns of tender Affection and reverent Duty.

When they die, we are not to afflict ourselves with an unmanly Sorrow, especially if they have lived out their course, and die in a good old Age, full of Dayes, and full of Children : but the true Decencies and Solemnities of a Religious Mourning require better and more useful Exercises. Those more immediately concerned in them, ought to reflect on their Lives, and gather, as the remains of a Shipwrack, all that was memorable in them ; that so that which Humility and Modesty required should be kept secret while they lived, may be then published to the honour of Religion, and for the instruction of others ; and in particular to be a Remembrance to those relating to them, or descended from them. And, above all things, when such are withdrawn, who, as may be reasonably supposed, were a publick Blessing to the Nation, those who survive, especially such as do more immediately fill up their room in other

ther respects, ought to set themselves with all possible care to make up that Loss to the Publick, and so endeavour to imitate, and as much as they can to outdo them (for in such a Case, Emulation even with ones Father is a Vertue) in all those excellent things in which they were a Pattern to them, and a Blessing to the Nation, or place where they lived. Thus, if we so mark *Perfect and Upright Men*, as to keep the like temper in our selves, then we fully comply with the Duty in my Text.

The third Particular is the happy End and Conclusion of those Vertues, and of them that possess them. What ever the exact rendring of these Words may be, of which I made mention in the beginning of this Discourse, it comes all to one purpose, that either those *Men of Peace* shall have a *good End*, or that their *End shall be Peace*. By this *Peace* in their End, we are not to understand an easie or peaceable Death, tho' perhaps in the old Dispensation, that consisted much in Temporal Promises, this might have been a part of their Reward. But under the Religion of a Crucified Saviour, and the Dispensation of the Cross, we are not to promise

our selves an Exemption from uneasy and painful things, neither in our lives, nor at our death. The greatest Glory of the Christian Church hath been in their Deaths, literally *burning and shining Lights*, and in those fiery Chariots have triumphed over the World; and what the Psalmist observed under the Old Testament, is much oftner verified under the New, that *the wicked have no Bands in their Death*, and both living and dying, seem to have great Advantages over good and vertuous Men; of *whom, as the World is not worthy*, so it does not know the Value it ought to set on them, nor the Use it ought to make of them: But verily, *there is a Reward for the Righteous*, because *there is a God that judgeth in the Earth*: and since he doth not always give them their Reward in this Life, it is certain he has provided one for them after it; and in order to their having a full Reward and an higher degree of Happiness in the next State, he does exercise them often very severely as to all outward Appearance in this Life.

But if they have not a great measure of Peace neither living nor dying; yet upon the Separation of their Souls and Bodies they do then *enter*

ter into Peace, and into the Joy of their Lord, into those blessed and peaceful Habitations, where none of those Jars and Contentions with which this World is exercised, disturb their Rest. No Disputes about Religion, no Factions of State, mar that everlasting Quiet, which they always enjoy, when they adore the God of Peace, and follow the Lamb, the Prince of Peace. The Contests and Heats now among us must needs make all the Sons of Peace grow weary; and wish with the Psalmist, that they had Wings like a Dove, so that they might fly away and be at rest, and hasten their escape from the windy Storm and Tempest; for certainly we are fallen heavily under the Curse in the following Words: Destroy, O Lord, and divide their Tongues; for I have seen Violence and Strife in the City: and when it is come to that, that to be a Man of Peace, is look'd on as an ill Character, of one that is either luke-warm and indifferent, or is a false, and temporizing Man, who would not long for those cool and silent Shades of the Grave, and for that Peace that is in the Regions beyond it? And since this is not in a Man's Power to bring it sooner on him, than as it is ordered by Divine Appointment, it would at least make a
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Man seek a retreat in some solitary Place, where he might neither hear nor see any more of the disorders and madness of a wicked World, than were necessary to direct him in his Prayers and Intercessions: or, if this is likewise denied one, and that his Station and Circumstances oblige him still to live in the World, it will at least have this effect on him, to make him have as little meddling, and to live as much within himself as he can; and to maintain within himself that Peace which he has ineffectually endeavoured to advance in the World: and certainly when ever Death comes on a good Man, it will be so much the more welcome to him, because he can find very little Pleasure in living among People that seem to have lost both their Temper and their Wits. Let us raise our Thoughts and Hopes above this present World, and encourage our selves, that tho' we live uneasy here, and tho' we may be perhaps called to end our Days in a most terrible manner, which may prove our Punishment for those many Sins, for which tho' God will be merciful to us with relation to another State, yet he may think fit to correct us severely for them in this Life; yet if we continue so to *mark the perfect*
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Man, and so behold the Upright, as to follow their Steps, then as their End is Peace, so shall ours likewise be.

I have now gone through those Particulars which I proposed ; the Application is still behind ; and this relates to this sad Occasion that now calls us together. I am next to tell you what you are to *mark* in this *perfect* and *upright Man*, who has now *entered into Peace*. But how should I adventure to speak of one that lived so long, and in so eminent a Condition amongst you, of whose Praises you who knew him are now so full ! He that had not that Happiness, must be forgiven, if he doth not describe him with those Advantages that another might have, who had observed him long, and had known him intimately. I will be strictly cautious in what I shall say, because I know that excessive Commendations, which are too ordinary on these Occasions, have this ill Effect among many others ; that because, perhaps there is a little too much said, the whole is disbelieved ; and generally those Discourses are considered, rather as a flattery of the Living, than a peice of Justice to the Dead. I shall therefore rather
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lessen things than enlarge them; and shall tell you nothing but that of which I have good Assurance, and that upon such Information that I have no reason to doubt of it. It is, I confess, some comfort that I am to speak of a Man that was well known in this very place, so that I am perswaded many that hear me, shall say, I have rather said too little than too much.

Mr. *James Houblon* was descended from that worthy Confessor, Mr. *Houblon*, a Gentleman of *Flanders*, who above an hundred Years ago fled over to *England*, from the Persecution that was raised there; against all that embraced the Purity of the Christian Religion, and rejected the Idolatry and Superstition of the Church of *Rome*, by the Duke of *Alva*, who proceeded in it with all the Rigor and Cruelty with which that bloody Religion could inspire a Man of so fierce a Temper, acting under a King no less bloody than his Religion; that, as a second *Herod*, defiled his own House with the Blood both of a Son and a Wife, and having resolved to root out of the World the Purity of the Christian Religion, and to that end having set up the bloody Tribunals of the Inquisition, he
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put those Provinces under that implacable Governour. Then all that received the Reformation, were reduced to those hard Straits, which how far they are from us, the only wise God only knows, either to act against their Consciences, and worship as a God that which they believed was but a piece of Bread, the most brutal and unaccountable of all the sorts of Idolatry, or to seal their Faith with their Blood, and that with all the Preparatives of Torments before it that merciless Inquisitors could invent, and in Conclusion, to be burnt at a Stake, and destroyed in such numbers, that no fewer than 18000 were reckoned to have suffered by the hand of the Executioner in seven Years time, or as the least dreadful, to sit down with the loss of all they had, and fly for their Lives to other Countries. This last being the most eligible, where it can be done, our Saviour having allowed us, *when we are persecuted in one City, to flee to another*, was the choice of that noble Person, who did by this Action both ennoble himself, and all that descended from him. It is true, in such Persecutions every one cannot possibly fly; tho' this is but a melancholy Comfort, that one by leaving their Country and Friends, and all

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they have, may hope to get safe, tho' almost naked, to another Kingdom; yet even this small Mercy is denied under the Influences of that cruel Religion. Here in *England* in *Q. Mary's* Time, the Strangers were suffered to go away, yet care was taken to secure the Ports, and not to suffer Natives to fly beyond Sea, when they were resolved to burn them at home; and now in *France*, when Methods are taken to make those of the Reformed Religion, either die of Famine and in Misery, or to force them to commit Idolatry, it is made capital to fly, and those that endeavour it are to be condemned to the Gallies. But I cannot leave this matter without encouraging you to go on in your Charities, and Readiness to relieve those that are forced to come and take Sanctuary among you. You see what the Nation and this City has gained by the Reception of the Strangers that fled hither for refuge in the last Age: You see how great a Citizen you had in him that is now dead, and into how many he is now divided, who by their Interest could almost make a City alone: and you do not know how many such may be in the Loins of those that now come among you, who may produce many to be

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as great Blessings to the next Age, as this Family is to the present. But to return to this *Upright Man*.

He was born in this City, the 2d of July, 1592; so that he wanted but a few days of being 90 Years of Age when he died. He was baptized in the *French* Congregation, and continued a Member of it his whole Life; he married one of his own Country-Women, the Daughter of Mr. *Ducane*, who fled over hither upon the same account; so that this Family is descended from Confessors on both sides. He was one of the chief Pillars of that Congregation, in which he often served as *Antient*, and to the support of which, and of all the poor Exiles that came over, he contributed always so liberally, that if he did not still live in so many Children, to whom God has given Hearts as well as Fortunes like his, this loss would be very sensibly felt. He did communicate once a month constantly, and was never absent from their Assemblies either on the Lord's-day or on the Week-day, and this was become so customary to him, that it was not without difficulty, that he was kept from going thither even during his

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Sickness. He was known to be a very devout Man and frequent in Prayers, both in publick and private; he was always breathing out that deep Sense he had of Religion to those about him, more particularly to his Children, on whom, as he took care to have them all religiously educated, so as they grew up, he continued still to exhort them to go on in that good way in which he had early initiated them, and he often recommended to them secret Prayer, as the great means of keeping up the Life of Religion, which he thought could not be kept up without it; and not being satisfied with what he said to them by word of Mouth while he lived, he took care that after his Death he should still speak to them, in a great many excellent Letters and Papers which he left behind him, both for all his Children in general, and for every one of them in particular, of which I have seen some, and must say this of them, that they express a most genuine and lively sense of Religion, without any laboured Periods, or Affectations of Words or Phrases, but with a Simplicity which shews he writ as his Heart dictated; of which I will give you an Essay, taken out of the Letter he writ for them all in general.

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‘ The Lord bless you all, and give you
‘ his Grace, that you may love and fear him all
‘ your days. O! labour with all your Might
‘ to be holy in all manner of Conversation,
‘ eschewing all Evil, and the Appearance there-
‘ of. Be charitable to the Poor, live in Unity and
‘ Love among your selves ; which if you do in
‘ Sincerity, you may expect God’s Blessings up-
‘ on your Endeavours, so far as they be law-
‘ ful. Forget not daily Prayers in your Fami-
‘ lies, and walk humbly before him all your
‘ days ; if you do that which you ought as Chri-
‘ stians, you will find Mercy with the Lord,
‘ and Respect with good Men. The Lord in
‘ Mercy bless you all (my sweet Ones) prin-
‘ cipally in Spiritual Blessings, *Amen.*

‘ It is, I assure you, my daily Prayer, that
‘ you may so do, *Amen.*

‘ All my drift in all my Papers has been, that
‘ you may live holily and righteously before
‘ the Lord in this your Pilgrimage, that so you
‘ may be happy to Eternity, when time shall
‘ be no more, and that through his free Grace
‘ and

‘ and Mercy in our Blessed Saviour and Pre-
‘ cious Redeemer ; for without Holiness and
‘ Sanctification none shall see him with Com-
‘ fort. O love the Lord, and all Men, and live in
‘ Love one with another, if you expect God’s
‘ Blessing.

And in relation to the Government, he left
this Charge on them. ‘ Fear the Lord and ho-
‘ nour the King, praying daily for all whom
‘ God hath set over you in Church and State,
‘ that so you may under them live a godly and
‘ peaceable Life.

You see how fervently and seriously he re-
commends the Fear of God, and mutual Love, to
his Children. As he saw them to his great
Joy, live in this blessed Harmony, during his
own Life, so he took all possible care to have
it kept up after his Death ; for he charged them
to enter into solemn Promises upon his removal
to continue still to love one another ; which
they are resolved religiously to perform ; and
of which no doubt very happy Effects will
appear.

As

As he was very sensible of the Blessing of Brethren dwelling together in Unity, so his Love and Charity were more diffused than to be restrained only to his own Family. He had an universal Charity for all good and worthy Men, against which let hot and angry Men say what they will, it is, and still will be the Badg. of a true Disciple of Christ. He never engaged in our unhappy Differences; but, without meddling in matters that did not belong to him, he loved all that was good in all Men, and extended his Charity to the Relief of proper Objects of all Perswasions, both in City and Country: Of which I need say the less, because it was so eminent, and so many did partake of it. And he took particular care to manage this so secretly, that often the Persons themselves knew not from whence their Relief came: He did also industriously seek out such proper Objects for it, without putting modest but necessitous Persons to the uneasiness of asking it. He himself, while in the City, did always joyn with the *French* Congregation, but when he was in the Country, he joyned in the Worship of the Church of *England*.

He

He looked on the Reformed Churches, by reason of the unreformed Lives of the Members of them, with great regret, and did apprehend there was a severe Cup to go round them, and was afraid *England* might drink the Dregs of it, and might be again brought under the Tyranny of the Church of *Rome*, and the inundation of a Forreign Power, in which we have all reason to pray God that his Fears prove not too prophetical: of this I have seen a full account in one of his Letters to one of his Children, which was sealed up with his Will.

I need not enlarge upon other Particulars, of his Justice and fairness in his Dealings, of his gentle and affable Deportment to all Persons, and of his readiness to do all the Good that was in his Power: you all know so much of those things, that I may well say the less, for I find his Memory lives, and is like to maintain it self long in this place: the Witnesses of his Vertues being so many and the Instances of them having been so frequent and so signal. ;

Thus

Thus we see what a *perfect* and *upright* Man he was ; now let us a little consider what his *latter end* hath been. This good Man had a great deal of that hundred-fold which our Saviour promised even in this Life, to those who forsook their *Houses, Lands and Families for his sake*. This entail descended on him from his Father, and he having taken care to secure and maintain his Title to so great a Blessing, has had as visible and long a share of the good things of this Life, as, all things being put together, any Man in this Age has had.

Mat. 19.
29.

He lived 90 Years, all to a few days ; and the last 35 years of his Life, till a little before his Death, he enjoyed a vigorous and perfect Health, together with the greatest of all earthly Blessings, the perfect use of his Senses, his Memory, and Judgment : so that he continued to write many Letters weekly till his last Disease fell upon him.

About 47 years ago, an unhappy Accident had almost cut him off, when he was yet in the Strength of his Age ; he being at a Training.

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near

near *Morefields*, some Powder took fire, by which he, with several others, were blown up; but tho' some of the rest were struck dead outright, yet God had a great deal of more Service for him in the World, and so after an Illness of six or seven Weeks continuance, of which it was long doubted, whether he could ever recover, he was again restored to his Family, and lived to see his *Childrens Children*, and some of their *Children*, to so great an Increase, that in his time a full hundred came into the World descended from him, all born in full time, and all baptized save one: of these, 67 are yet alive, to which, if eleven, that are come into his Family by Marriages, be joyned, there wanted but two of fourscore, that had right to his daily Blessing. And so entirely did the first Blessing of *Encrease and Multiply* rest on him and his Children, that there was never an Abortive nor a Child dead-born in all his numerous Family: A rare and singular Happiness, to which very few have ever been known to have attained. I shall not add any thing of the Comfort he had in them, tho' that is a necessary Ingredient to make such things Blessings indeed, but that belongs too much to the Living, to be insisted on by me.

Having

Having thus lengthened out his Days with a great Increase both of Family and Fortune, he at last for several Years withdrew himself from all worldly Affairs, and so lived only to fear God, and do Good. He having so entire a Health, so plentiful a Fortune, and the Freedom of that Leisure which he gave himself, added to his Crown of Gray-hairs, and the Crown of his Children, that of *Good Works*, and at last exchanged them all for a Crown of Glory.

A few days before *Christmasts* last, he was taken ill, and tho' it might have been imagined that in so ancient a Man, Nature was so far spent, that it could not have held out long; yet the length of his Distemper, the great Pains and Agonies he endured for about six Months, and the Fever in which his Life ended, shewed that there was still a great stock of Vigor and Strength in him: but tho' his Memory and Judgment were sometimes clouded during his Sickneſs, yet it appeared that Goodneſs and true Piety were become, by long Use and Practice, so natural to him, that when the Clearneſs of his Mind was much darkened, yet

F 2

the

the excellent Temper of his Soul remained with him to the last.

During his long Sickness, and under all the returns of Pain, which were sometimes very violent, he was never heard speak one impatient word; but was almost always either praying to God, or praising him; he caused the Scriptures to be read, and Psalms to be sung often about him, and heartily prayed for all that came to see him, and amidst those his Agonies, he did not forget the Churches of God both at home and abroad. The last sensible Words he spake to his Children were the Night before he died, upon his Sons coming to see him; he prayed God *to bless them, and their Children, with all Temporal Blessings, and above all, with Spiritual Blessings*; after this he spoke nothing perfect to any of them, but was heard say in a Devotion to God; *My Soul doth magnify the Lord, and my Spirit hath rejoyced in God my Saviour*, which he repeated several times; and as these words were a very proper Conclusion to such a Life, so they were, the last he spake distinctly. And tho' it was likely that so long a Sickness in so aged a Person had so shaken the whole
Fabrick,

Fabrick, that the Separation of that Soul and Body that had dwelt so long together would have been easy and perhaps insensible, yet it proved otherwise, for he lay many Hours in his last Agonies ; but in Conclusion, God took pity on, and released him, so that he entred into his Rest on the 20th of this Month.

Thus was this *Righteous and Merciful Man* taken away ; he has now *entred into Peace*, and we are to lay his Body in this his Bed, the Grave. I wish we may all *lay it to heart*, and consider well *whether this righteous Man is not taken away from the Evil to come*, which certainly must come on the sooner, for the loss of those that stand in the breach while the measure of our Iniquities seems to be very near filled up : for as it is in the words after my Text ; *The Transgressors shall be destroyed together, and the end of the wicked shall be cut off : But the Salvation of the Righteous is of the Lord, he is their Strength in the time of Trouble ; and the Lord shall keep them and deliver them ; he shall deliver them from the Wicked, because they trust in him.*

God

God of his infinite Mercy give us Grace so to mark and follow this and all other *perfect* and *upright* Men that have gone before us, and entered into *Peace*, that we may dy the Death of the Righteous, and that our latter end may be like his; that is, that our *end may be Peace*. To which, let us earnestly pray to God that we may attain, through Jesus Christ our Lord, that came to make Peace, who is over all, blessed for evermore; *Amen*.

F I N I S.

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DIFFERENCE
Between the
French King
AND
The Court of Rome.

To which is added,
The Popes Brief to the Assembly of the Clergy, and
the Protestation made by them in *Latin*, together with an
English Translation of them.

L O N D O N,
Printed for Richard Chiswel, at the Rose and Crown in
St. Paul's Church-yard. MDC LXXXII.

Revised from the 1st Edition

IN A

L. E. T. T. E. R.

General Principles of the

DIFFERENCE

French King

The Count of Provence

and the Duke of Burgundy

in the Year 1791

By the Author of the "Revised from the 1st Edition"

London: Printed by J. G. & Co. 1791



News from France :

In a LETTER giving a Relation of the present state of the difference between the *French* King and the Court of *Rome*.

S I R,



N obedience to your Commands, I send you herewith a Copy both of the Pope's last Brief to the Clergy, and of the Protestation made by them. But I know these will not fully answer your expectation, nor satisfy your Curiosity, unless accompanied with a more particular account of the state of that affair, such as a stranger who is not yet so happy, as to be let in to

much of the Conversation of this place, could pick up in so short a time. It is true, the *French* are apt to talk, and upon this occasion, it is no hard thing to engage them into much discourse, especially when their fears do not check the freedom of Speech that is so natural to the Nation: for being now safe under the protection of the Kings Authority, and secured under the covert of Edicts and an Assembly of the Clergy, they are ready enough to speak out what they formerly disguised, or trusted only to a few confiding persons.

As for the Generality of the Inferiour people here, and the Women, they appear to be more addicted to the See of *Rome* than could have been imagined. The Popes Infallibility passes among them for an Article of Faith; so they are much scandalized at the reports which are secretly set about by the Monks and Fryars, as if the King were like to be abused by the Arch-Bishop of *Paris*, and engaged in a Schism from the Chair of *St. Peter*; and it is said, that that Prelate hopes by these means, to be made Patriarch of *France*, and so to become very little Inferiour to the Pope himself; and in time, if the design of the Universal Monarchy goes on, which is the common discourse of this Court, then as the Patriarch of the *French* Empire, he may pretend at least, to be made in all things equal to the Bishops of *Rome*, as well as the Bishops of *Constantinople* were anciently when that City was made the Seat of the Empire. It is true, the Precedence was then granted to the Bishops of *Rome*, because it was the chief City, and the Empire carrying its name from *Rome*, no wonder if the Bishop of the Capital City had the Right-hand still reserved to him. But if *Paris* becomes the Metropolis of this Fifth Monarchy, then I do not see, but it may so fall out, that the Bishop of *Paris* may even dispute Precedence

cedence with his Holiness at *Rome*; that City having now retained little more of its ancient Greatness, than the Name: and it is not like to be ever esteemed the Metropolis of the New Empire, which is now so much talked of here.

In a word, the people here that are most zealous against Heresie, have been so managed by the Jesuites and the begging Fryars in Confessions, that they almost universally look on the Pope as Infallible: and every one remembers, that about twenty year ago there was scarce any other Doctrine to be heard, but that which extolled the Popes Infallibility, not only in Points of Faith, but also in Matters of Fact: and the falling from the submission due to St. *Peter's* Chair, was called *the root and source of all heresie*, which was aggravated with all that could be invented to make the *Jansenists* the more odious, who were then looked on as ill affected to that See.

This is so fresh in all peoples remembrance, and is now so often repeated by those who bear no good will to that *Order*, that if they were not a sort of men very incapable of the Impressions which modesty and shame make on most people, they would scarce know how to lift up their heads. It is not unpleasant to hear how those that rally them, make Apologies for them from their own principles: Some tell us, that the Intention according to their Casuistical Divinity, justifies the means used to accomplish a good end; and since the promoting the honour of the *Society*, is the end they aim at, it is said, that when the complementing the See of *Rome* may promote, that it is lawful to do it: but if the depressing that, and extolling the Regal Power becomes more necessary for the Interests of the *Society*, the good Intention will secure all still: and there is no rea-

son to doubt, but they seriously intend the good of their Order, and as little to question, that this is a good thing. So here the Doctrine of Intention serves them to very good purpose.

Their other celebrated Maxim of Probability, is no less useful to them, that in a probable Opinion a man may with a good Conscience follow either side, and that any approved Doctor's being of any side, makes that Opinion probable. From which, those that divert themselves with them, say in their defence, that approved Doctors having been of both sides in the Point of the Pope's Infallibility, a man may with a safe Conscience chuse either side, as he finds it is most convenient for him. Thus the two Doctrines of Intention and Probability joyned together, make a very substantial Apology for them; and indeed it is all I hear said to vindicate them in this particular: for to tell you truth, It is very hard to get any of them to talk of this matter: those that are meer Scholars, are still for the Pope; but they are so restrained by the Political Fathers, that they will not enter upon this discourse: and for those that play their Game at Court, you may as soon make those of *Whetstones-park* among you blush, as put them out of countenance. They do now value themselves upon their Zeal for the King, and upon his Zeal for the Catholick Religion against Heresie: and one can draw nothing from them on this subject, but high Elogies of their King, as, *That he who has given peace to all Europe, will never raise a War in the Church; and who can think, that a Prince who employs all his authority for the Extirpation of Heresie, will ever turn it against the Church?* Upon this occasion I could tell you a great deal of Mr. *Maimbourg's* Eloquence, who is so full of Raptures when he engages in this discourse, that if he thinks what he sayes will

will be reported either in the Kings hearing, or before any of his Ministers, he grows almost Ecstatical on that head.

These things are not said only by the *Canaille*, but by those of the highest condition; and even the *Queen* and *Dauphiness*, as we hear, grow apprehensive that a Rupture may happen between those two great Luminaries the Pope and the King: but I assure you, whatever the Popes presumption might be in former Ages, in comparing himself to the *Sun*, and the Temporal Princes to the *Moon*, that would now pass here for a piece of high presumption: for this Glorious Monarch would think it a strange degradation, if he, to whom so many of the Glories of the *Sun* have been ascribed by hungry Flatterers, were now to be compared to the *Moon*. It is reported, that these two Illustrious Princesses have expressed their Zeal on this occasion, and have told the Arch-Bishop of *Paris*, That they were informed, he and some others of the Clergy intended to break with the Pope: they might do what they pleased, but for their parts, they were resolved to continue to be good Roman Catholicks. Others say, the King is a Good Catholick, the Most Christian King, and the Eldest Son of the Church, full of Zeal for it, but he sees by other mens eyes: and as the common style in *England* of those who are displeased with the Government, is only an arraignment of the Ministers, the King himself being treated with the respect of Civil words, even by those who study most to expose his Government; so here the Zealots take the freedom to speak very liberally of the Clergy. Indeed the Arch-Bishop of *Paris* carries the heaviest load; the former parts of his life have been such, that he is not proof against censure: and upon all such occasions, if there has been just grounds given for some ill reports, malice and envy improves these with great

great industry, even to a pitch that is scarce credible : But I love not to dwell much on so unfavoury a subject. I shall therefore say no more of him, but that as he is certainly a man of great and polite thoughts, and a very dexterous Courtier ; so there is nothing to be imagined neither for impiety nor lewdness with which he is not openly charged here, not only in discourses, but in Prints, of which the Authors are known, and some that are in the *Bastile* for them, offer to justify all that they have aspersed him with.

For the rest of the Clergy, I understand they may be reduced to three Ranks or Classes. The first and greatest, is of those who have neither Learning nor Piety, nor common Morality : Some of the greatest of them where they think they may use freedom, speak of Religion with all the Insolence of blasphemous scorn possible : they are men of quality who have taken Orders meerly for the Dignity and Wealth that they aspired to ; and do scarce observe the common decencies of their profession. In short, the King is all the God they serve, and so they are ready to advance any thing that will recommend them to his favour, or contribute to their promotion.

The second Class is of the *Cartesian* Philosophers, who approve of the Morals of the Christian Religion, but for Miracles or Mysteries, they believe very little ; and consider the several Institutions of Religion, only as they do Laws and received Customs, which are not to be rashly changed for fear of the Convulsions that may follow ; but as to their own persuasions of things, all opinions and practices in the Ritual part of Religion seem indifferent to them. So that when some gross things are objected to them, they are ingenuous enough to confess, there is a great deal of reason in the Objection ;

jection ; but after all, they will comply with their Interests, and this not so much out of an Atheistical temper, as because they consider all the Institutions of Religion, only as matters of Policy and Law.

A third Class, which as it is much the best, so it is much the least, is of those who are both Learned and Good Men, and are fully convinced of many Errors in their Church, which they think need Reformation : but what by a weakness of temper, what by some principles which they have carried too far against every thing that seems to lead to Schism, they have not Spirit enough to own the freedom of their thoughts, and say they hope that God will forgive their temporizing, since they know not how to emancipate themselves : Nor do they see a party to which they can turn. They have great prejudice against the *Hugonots*, both as to the first Constitution of their Churches, and several other things that are among them : but I am confident if they were in *England*, they would be more inclined to come over to the Church there : and indeed I hear only two exceptions to the Church of *England* among them ; the one is the positive definition against the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament, which they wish were left in general terms without positive definitions either one way or another ; the other is, that there is not such a Spirit of Devotion and Mortification and exemplary Piety among the Church-men, as ought to be. They speak of Pluralities and Non-Residence and of the Aspiring and Pomp of Church men with horror : And it is certain that this Church could not have subsisted so long, if the gross scandals that are given by the Bishops and Abbots of the Court were not counterballanced by the shining examples of some of their Prelates, which I must confess, is far beyond any thing I ever saw.

You may wonder, that in this Enumeration I do not reckon up the Bigots ; but really there are so few of those among the Superiour Clergy , that they scarce make a Classis. I have not heard of one of them that believes the Pope Infallible, or is perswaded of Transubstantiation. I heard one pleasantly declaim against the folly of the *Messieurs of Charenton*, for writing such Learned Volumes in confutation of these things, *which*, said he, *none of the Catholicks believed any more than They did, so they might well spare the pains.* But he reckoned the Revenues of the Ecclesiasticks in their communion were fifty Millions a year ; *In that*, said he, *is the strength of our cause : Let Mr. Claude answer that, and then Mr. Arnauld will be a feeble party to him.*

Among the Monks and Fryars there is something very like Bigotry, though there is so little sincerity among them, that it is very hard to know when they may be believed. I confess, one thing I heard put to one of them that seemed unanswerable , and it pressed them hard in this point of the Popes Infallibility. The great Topick they use, and that is in every bodies mouth against the Hereticks, is, that men must not trust to their own opinions, but submit all to the Church : and that truth could not be preserved, if there were not a living Infallible Judge on earth ; and by this great numbers of well meaning *Hugonots* are drawn over. It has an appearance that is apt to work on an humble and well disposed mind. Now the people alwayes thought that this was to be understood of the Pope, to whom all the Bishops were to make their application for the resolution of such controversies as might arise ; and so the argument had still some effect : but now that the Councils of *Constance* are declared for, that lodged this Infallibility in a General Council, the Church has lost her great

great advantage against Hereticks : for there is no such Council in being, there has been none that pretended to that Title now almost one hundred and twenty years ; and it is not probable there shall ever be another, so there is no living Infallible Judge. The Fryar said so little in answer to this, that I clearly perceived, he looked on the belief of the Popes Infallibility as the Basis or the Center of the Church. But they are so much afraid of the Arch-Bishop of *Paris* his Spies, and of the rigour of the Court of Parliament, that they speak of this matter only in dark Figures or Riddles.

One of them would say no more, but *that it was safest to stick to the root of the tree* : another said, *all things will return to their center*. The truth is, the Regulars are much concerned in the maintaining of the Popes authority, for all their exemptions depend upon it. And there is no Heresie of which they are so apprehensive, as that of losing their priviledges, and being brought under the Jurisdiction of their Bishops : and this the Bishops do all so openly pretend to, that it would be the first step that would be made after a rupture with *Rome*, to bring them in all points, within the care, and under the authority of their Diocesans. This present Assembly of the Clergy had this matter under their consideration, and by this time it is probable they would have made some progress in it, if the King had not ordered them to adjourn for some time. So you need not doubt, but that they are very careful to possess all people in such secret methods as they dare venture on, with very tragical apprehensions of the Issue of the present contest with *Rome*. And if the severity against the Protestants were not interposed, as a signal evidence of the Kings Zeal for the faith, it is probable this meeting with the other things that raise so much dis-

content in this Kingdom, might have produced more considerable effects than have yet appeared. That this may be alwayes in the peoples eye, new Edicts come out every day, which shew, that the King is resolved to make his *Hugonot* Subjects grow weary either of their lives, or of their Religion.

Two came out the other day: the one was, that no Protestant may have the Relief of an *Evocation* (or appeal) from any Court of Justice where he finds himself aggrieved. The other is, that no Sea-man nor Tradesman shall offer to go out of the Kingdom without leave, under the pain of being sent to the Gallies. So that it is resolved, that all who profess that Religion, shall be miserable, if they stay in the Kingdom; and much more so, if they offer to fly out of it. These things give the people some comfort, who cannot be easily made to doubt of their Kings firmness to their Religion, as long as he continues true to one main branch of it, which is persecuting those of other persuasions.

But upon the whole matter, it is not probable, that all this business, on which the World has now lookt so attentively for some time, will produce any great effect. The King does not meddle in matters of Speculation himself, and there is little reason to expect much from a man of the Arch-Bishop of *Paris* his temper. So that we begin generally to think, that some Expedient will be found. The King has declared, that he is resolved, not to break with the Pope, and he has lately received a Brief from him, writ in a more obliging strain, than those formerly sent. I have not yet seen a Copy of it, so I cannot send it; only the first words are much talkt of, for it begins thus, *My Son give me thy heart*. It seems it has made some impression on the King, and that he is in hopes of bringing the whole matter to an
amicable

amicable conclusion; and therefore he takes care that there be no new provocation given the Pope, and so he has ordered the Assembly of the Clergy to adjourn for some time, which they did on the 30th of May last, and many think they will hardly meet again except it be for forms sake.

Some begin also to talk of a Legate to be sent into *France*, for concluding this affair; and *Azolini* is the man most talked of, who is a very fit person for such an Employment, for he has the reputation of a very prudent and devout man. Last Winter he retired from all business, and gave himself wholly to devotion and meditation: So whether he will leave his retirement to do so great a service to his Church or not, we do not yet know. It is true I found at *Rome*, last Winter his character much lessened among the *Italians*, who look upon such retirements, as either the effects of melancholy or affectation: For indeed few there understand either the Philosophy, or the piety that should work such a change in a man dignified with the Purple. But the Pope has a much better sense of such things, as appeared in this last promotion of Cardinals, which I found all at *Rome*, confess was the best that ever was made.

This is the state of the affair of the *Regale*, which has set both *France* and *Rome* in such a fermentation: But for the last Edict, touching the Popes authority over Princes, his Infallibility and the Superiority of General Councils over him, it is a harder Chapter: for as at *Rome* it is not to be imagined they can ever comply with it or endure it; so it is not likely this Court will ever suffer it to be altered or recalled. The temper that will be perhaps found, will be this the Edict will be still left upon Record; but there will be secret directions given not

to execute it. The Pope has by his Brief annulled all that the Assembly has done, and so he will look upon it as condemned by his authority; and perhaps will be satisfied with this, without proceeding to a more express condemnation. On the other hand a secret intimation from the Court not to proceed any further in the execution of it, will be perhaps easily obtained; and so this which is the greatest difficulty may be so made up, that at present this difference will be carried no further. The Court of Parliament will think it enough that the Edict is past, and will advise the keeping it as a perpetual terrour for the Court of *Rome*. So that hereafter, upon every disgust offered to this Crown by that Court, this Edict will be made use of; and by the shaking this Rod it may be thought the Popes will be kept to their good behaviour. Somewhat of this will appear within a few days, for many of the Doctors of the *Sorbon* have complained highly of the proceedings of the Parliament, and in particular of the making a Declaration on such points, and the requiring them to Register it, without ever asking their opinion about them: They have not yet obeyed the Edict nor registred it; yesterday they were cited to appear before the Court of Parliament, and were required for the second time to call an extraordinary Assembly within ten days, and without further delay to put the Edict in their Registers. So whether they will give obedience, or whether the thing will be let fall, or at least delay'd, is not yet certain and therefore you must have a little patience till the progress of this affair give you a better view of it, than can be done by such conjectures as are made here.

In the mean while it seems the *Jansenists* expect a storm both because the Arch-Bishop of *Paris* is their declared and enraged enemy, and looks on them as the authors of
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all those Libels that fly about *Paris* against him ; and also because in this matter they do openly espouse the Popes interests. And this is represented to the King as an effect of their Factious and restless tempers, and of the hatred they bear to his government. In this there is too much reason to justify that imputation ; for it seems as odd a thing to see them turn Champions for the Popes authority, as it is to see the *Jesuites* declare against it : And it shews but too evidently that interests and resentments govern both parties in their opinions as well as in their practices. The *Jansenists* are now mightily run down here, and beside the old Imputations of their being too favourable to the Hereticks, this is now added to it, That they are too great friends to the liberty of the people ; That they do not love the Kings Arbitrary Government, and, That they will be of any side that is against the King. It seems they expect nothing but severity ; and therefore they animate their party to prepare for it, and to bear it patiently : For the famous Mr. *Arnauld*, though he has retired out of the world, so that it is not known where he lives, has of late published a continuation of his defence of the Translation of the *New Testament*, Printed at *Mons* ; which he concludes with a bold and pathetick Discourse concerning the sufferings of that party, in which he rejoices, and calls them the tryals of their Faith and patience, and a portion which the Church Militant must of necessity look for. And on this he enlarges with all the strains and figures of that Masculine Eloquence that is so natural to him. But that for which he is much blamed, is that he makes so bold with the King ; he laments that he sees with other mens eyes, and that his *Reign* must be reckoned among the *Reigns of persecution*. In short, it is such a discourse, as would make a very pertinent conclusion to the Sermon of

of a *Hugonot* Minister, on a Fast-day, if he intended to spend the rest of his days in the *Bastile*. *Jansenism* is a thing now disowned almost by every body, and yet it spreads so universally among the Learned and Good men in this Church, that upon the first favourable conjuncture, it will appear how considerable it is: Though those that now receive it, use almost as much precaution in owning it, as they would do in speaking of Treason. But though they dare not speak out in the condemned points concerning *Grace*; yet by many other things as so many *Shibboleths*, it is not hard to know them, as by their excessive commendations of St. *Austin* among the Ancients; and Cardinal *Borromeo* among the Moderns: by their lamenting over the present corruptions in the Church, chiefly in the conduct of Penitents, and by their sharpness against the *Jesuites*: By these things they are generally known, and a mark is set on them, so that none of them are at any time raised to any eminent promotion. The King considers them as men that love liberty, and so thinks them bad Subjects: And the Lewd Court-Bishops look upon them as their worst enemies, and do hate them much more than the Hereticks; and consider all that is said of a Reformation, as intended on purpose to expose them; for guilt makes men very tender and jealous.

I shall end this long Letter, with a passage that has fallen out here of late, that will perhaps give you some diversion, and make you more easie to forgive the tedious length to which this Letter has run out.

A woman that lives in *Tours*, and was melancholy and full of Vapours, desired to receive the Sacrament every day, in which she said she found most wonderful consolation. The Priest has the reputation of a very worthy man, and being a judicious person, he clearly saw

saw through the poor Womans weakness and superstition, and was willing enough to do what he thought an innocent fraud, that might both give the distempered person some ease, and yet not tend to a profanation of Holy things ; so instead of the Sacrament, he gave her unconsecrated wafers which she received with her ordinary devotion, and they had their ordinary effects on her : But as Frenchmen are too apt to tell their own secrets ; the Curate made himself merry with some of his friends upon this occasion , and told how he had deceived the Hypochondriacal Woman : So the thing got wind, and was lookt on as a great impiety in the Priest to suffer one to commit such Idolatry to a piece of bread , to which no doubt she offered the same adoration, that was due, if it had been Consecrated ; so the Curate was cited before the Arch-Bishop of *Tours*, where he had met with a severe censure, if the esteem he is justly in, had not preserved him : He excused himself that he had not failed out of Malice, but out of ignorance, and that he thought it best to comply with the weakness of a Woman, abused by melancholy, and since it would have encreased her distemper to have denied her the Sacrament, and yet her condition was not such that it was fit for her to receive every day : He thought he took that course in which there was the least danger ; but he was condemned to six months Imprisonment, yet it is thought the sentence will be mitigated, and upon his submitting to some severe penances, he will be set at liberty ere long.

I leave it to you, and your most Learned Friend when you meet, to consider, if this is acknowledged to be Idolatry in the melancholy Woman, to worship a piece of bread, which she verily believed was the body of Christ ; then whether it will not certainly follow

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that

that the whole Church of *Rome* is guilty of Idolatry, if Christ is not Corporally present in the Host, and that their adoring him as present, will not excuse them from Idolatry, if he is not really present. But I must not enter upon points of Controversie with you, much less will I encrease the trouble I have given you, by offering you a great many Apologies for what I have written; I know your Curiosity in this affair of the *Regale* makes you more than ordinary concerned to know the true State of it; and I was willing to enlarge much more copiously, than was perhaps necessary, for one that knows so much of the Transactions of this Kingdom: But as I demonstrate to you my readiness to obey your commands, so I am not unwilling so far to expose my self to you, as to let you see the use I make of my Travels, which will at least give you occasion to correct what you find amiss; and I shall be a great gainer by the exchange, if instead of a long scribble of News I have a return from you, that shall contain such reflections of yours, as may be able to direct me to observe matters more exactly, and to judge more maturely of them. I shall afflict you no more, but shall only add that I am, with great sincerity,

SIR,

Paris the 6th
June S. N.

Your most humble and
most obliged Servant.

THE

The Popes Brief to the Assembly of the Clergy of *France*, annulling all that they have done.

Venerabilibus Fratribus, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, &c.

P*Aterna Charitati quâ Carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Ludovicum Regem Christianissimum, Ecclesias vestras, vosipsos & universum istud regnum amplectimur, permolestum accidit ac planè acerbum cognoscere ex vestris literis tertio Februarii ad nos datis, Episcopos plerumque Gallia olim & gaudium erant amplissima sedis, ità se erga illam in præsens gerere ut cogamur multis cum lachrymis usurpare propheticum illud, Filii matris meæ pugnaverunt adversus me; quanquam adversus vosipsos potius pugnat, cum nobis in ea causâ resistitis, in qua vestrarum Ecclesiarum salus ac felicitas agitur, & in qua pro juribus ac dignitate Episcopali in isto regno tuendis, ab aliquibus ordinis vestri piis ac fidelibus viris appellati absque morâ insurreximus, & jampridem in gradum stamus nullas privatas nostras rationes secuti, ut debita omnibus solitudini, ac intimo amorì erga vos nostro satisfaciamus.*

Nihil sanè latum ac vestris nominibus dignum eas literas continere, in ipso earum limine intelleximus; nam præter ea quæ de normâ in Conciliis convocandis, peragendisque servata ferebantur, animadvertimus eas ordiri à metu vestro, quo suasore nunquam Sacerdotes Dei esse solent

in ardua & excelsa pro Religione & Ecclesia sua libertate vel aggrediundo fortes, vel perficiendo constantes.

Quem quidem metum falsò judicavistis posse vos in sinum nostrum effundere, in sinu enim nostro hospitari perpetuò debet Caritas Christi, quæ foras mittit & longè arcet timorem, quæ caritate erga vos regnùmque Gallia paternum cor nostrum flagrare multis jam ac magnis experimentis cognosci potuit, quæ hîc referre non est necesse; si quid est autem in quo benè merita de vobis Caritas nostra sit, esse imprimis putamus illud ipsum Regalia negotium, ex quo, si seriò res perpendatur, omnis vestri ordinis dignitas atque auctoritas pendet. Timuistis igitur ubi non erat timor, id unum timendum vobis erat nè apud Deum hominèsque jure redargui possitis, loco atque honori vestro & pastoralis officii debito defuisse. Memoria vobis repetenda erant, quæ antiqui illi Sanctissimi Prasules, quos plurimi postea qualibet atate sunt imitati, Episcopalis constantia & fortitudinis exempla in hujusmodi casibus in vestram eruditionem ediderunt. Intuenda imagines praedecessorum vestrorum, non solum quæ Patrum, sed quæ nostra quoque memoria floruerunt. Ivonis Carnotensis dicta notatis, facta etiam cùm res posceret, imitari debuistis. Nostis qui is fuerit, quaque passus sit in turbulenta illa & periculosa contentione inter Urbanum Pontificem & Philipum Regem, muneris sui arbitratus, contra regiam indignationem stare, bonis spoliari, carceres & exilia perferre. Deserentibus aliis meliorem causam, officii vestri erat Sedis Apostolica auctoritati studia vestra adjungere, & pastoralis pectore ac humilitate Sacerdotali causam Ecclesiarum vestrarum apud Regem agere, ejusque conscientiam de tota re instruere, etiam cum periculo regium in vos animum irritandi, ut possetis in posterum sine rubore ex quotidiana Psalmodia Deum alloquentes, Davidica verba proferre, Loquebar de testimoniis tuis in conspectu Regum & non confundebar; quanto magis id vobis faciendum

dum fuit jam perspecta atque explorata optimi principis iustitiâ & pietate, quem singulari benignitate Episcopos audire & Episcopalem potestatem intemeratam velle vos ipsi scribitis, & nos magna cum voluptate legimus in literis vestris.

Non dubitamus pro causa tam justa defensione, neque defutura vobis quæ loqueremini, neque Regi cor docile, quo vestris annueret postulatis; nunc cum muneris vestri & regie aequitatis quodammodo obliti in tanti momenti negotio silentium tenueritis, non videmus quo probabili fundamento significetis vos ad ita agendum adductos. Quod in controversiâ victi sitis, quod causâ cecideritis, quomodo cecidit qui non stetit? Quomodo victus est qui non pugnavit? Quis vestrum tam gravem, tam justam, tam sacrosantam causam apud Regem oravit, cum tamen prædecessores vestri in simili periculo constitutam, non semel apud superiores Gallie Reges, immo apud hunc ipsum liberâ voce defenderint, victorésque à regio conspectu decesserint, relatis etiam ab aequissimo Rege præmiis Pastoralis officii strenuè impleti. Quis vestrum in arenam descendit ut opponeret murum pro domo Israel? Quis ausus est invidia se offerre? Quis vel vocem unam emisit memor pristinae libertatis; Clamarunt interim, sicuti scribitis, & quidem in mala causa pro regio jure clamârunt regii administri cum vos in optima pro Christi & Ecclesie honore sileretis, neque illa solidiora quod reddituri nobis rationem, seu verius excusationem allaturi rerum in ejusmodi comitiis per vos actarum exaggeretis periculum nè Sacerdotium & imperium collidantur, & mala quæ exinde in Ecclesiam & rempublicam consequi possent, proinde existimasse vos ad officium vestrum pertinere inire rationem tollendi è medio gliscientis dissidii, nullam verò commodiorem apparuisse quam remedia à patribus Ecclesie indicata, utili condescensione canonis temperandi pro temporum necessitate, ubi neque fidei veritas neque

neque morum honestas periclitentur; Deberi ab ordine vestro, Deberi à Gallicana, imo ab universa Ecclesia, plurimum Regi tam præclarè de Catholica Religione merito, & indies magis mereri cupienti; propterea vos juri vestro cedentes illud in Regem contulisse. Omittimus hîc commemorare quæ significatis de appellato à vobis Seculari Magistratu à quo victi discesseritis, cupimus enim ejus facti memoriam aboleri, & volumus ea vos verba ex literis vestris expungere, nè in actis Cleri Gallicani resideant ad dedecus nominis vestri sempiternum. Quæ de Innocentio 3. Benedicto 12. & Bonifacio 8. in vestram defensionem adducitis, Non defuerunt qui doctis lucubrationibus ostenderint quàm frivola & extranea sint huic causæ, & magis notum est quàm ut opus sit commemorari quo Zelo, quâ constantiâ eximii illi Pontifices Ecclesiæ libertatem defenderunt adversus seculares potestates, tantum abest ut eorum exempla possint errori vestro suffragari: Caterum ultro admittimus & laudamus consilium relaxandi Canonum Disciplinam pro temporum necessitate, ubi fieri id possit sine fidei & morum dispendio. Immo addimus cum Augustino, Toleranda aliquando pro bono unitatis quæ odio habenda sint pro ratione equitatis, neque eradicanda Zizania ubi periculum sit nè simul etiam triticum eradicetur: sed ita tantum accipi oportet ut in aliquo tantum peculiari casu, & ad tempus, & ubi necessitas urget, licitum sit. Factum est ab Ecclesiâ cum Arianos & Donatistas ejurato errore, Ecclesiis suis restituit, ut populos qui secuti eos fuerunt in officio contineret. Aliud est ubi Disciplina Ecclesiæ per universum amplissimi regni ambitum sine temporis termino & cum manifesto periculo nè exemplum latius manet, labefactatur, immo evertitur ipsius disciplinæ & Hierarchiæ Ecclesiastica fundamentum, sicuti evenire necesse est, si quæ à Rege Christianissimo in negotio Regaliæ nuper acta sint, una etiam consentientibus vobis contra Sacro-
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rum Canonum, & præsertim Generalis Concilii Lugdunensis authoritatem, contra notam jam pridem vobis in ea re mentem nostram, & contra ipsam jurisjurandi Religionem, qua vos Deo, Romana, vestrisque Ecclesiis obligastis, cum Episcopali charactere imbuti eramini, hæc executioni mandari & malum invalescere diutius differendo permittamus, ac non nos pro datâ divinitus humilitati nostra suprema in universam Ecclesiam potestate prædecessorum nostrorum vestigiis inhaerentes improbaremus : Cum præsertim per abusum Regaliæ non solum everti disciplinam Gallie res ipsa doceat, sed etiam fidei ipsius integritatem in discrimen vocari facile intelligatis ex ipsis regionum decretorum verbis quæ jus conferendi beneficia Regi vendicant, non tanquam profluens ex aliqua Ecclesiæ concessione, sed tanquam ingentum & coævum regiæ corona. Illam vero partem literarum vestrarum non sine animi horrore legere potuimus, in quâ dicitis vos juri vestro decedentes illud in Regem contulisse quasi Ecclesiarum quæ cura vestra creditæ fuere, essetis arbitri, non custodes, & quasi Ecclesiæ ipsæ & spiritualia ipsarum jura possent sub potestatis secularis jugum mitti ab Episcopis qui se pro illarum libertate in servitutem dare deberent. Vos sanè ipsi hanc veritatem agnovistis & confessi estis, dum alibi pronuntiastis jus Regaliæ servitutem quandam esse quæ in eo præsertim quod spectat Beneficiorum Collationem imponi non potest, nisi Ecclesiâ cedente, vel saltem consentiente. Quo jure ergo vos illud in Regem contulistis? Cùmque sacri Canones distrahi vetant jura Ecclesiarum, quomodo ea vos distrabere in animum induxistis quasi eorundem Canonum authoritati licet vobis derogare? Revocate in memoriam quæ Inclytus ille Clarevallensis Abbas non Gallicanæ modo sed etiam Ecclesiæ universalis lumen à vobis merito nuncupatus Eugenium Pontificem officii sui admonens præclarè scripta reliquit, meminisse

minisse se, esse cui claves tradita, cui oves tradita sunt, esse quidem & alios cæli Janitores & gregum pastores; sed cum habeant illi assignatos greges singuli singulos, ipsi universos creditos, uni unum, nec modo ovium sed & pastorum Eugenium esse pastorem. Ideoque juxta Canonum Statuta alios Episcopos vocatos fuisse in partem sollicitudinis, ipsum in plenitudinem potestatis. Quantum vos admoneri par est, de obedientiâ & obsequio quod debetis huic sanctæ sedi, cui nos, Deo authore, quanquam immeriti, præsidemus; tantum pastoralis nostra sollicitudo excitat nos ad inchoandam tandem aliquando in hoc negotio, quàm nimia fortasse longanimitate nostrâ dum pænitentia locum damus, hætenus distulit Apostolici Muneris executionem. Quamobrem per præsentis literas, tradita nobis ab omnipotente Deo auctoritate, Improbamus, Rescindimus, & Cassamus quæ in istis vestris comitiis acta sunt in negotio Regaliæ, cum omnibus inde secutis, & quæ in posterum attentari continget, eaque perpetuò irrita & inania declaramus: Quamvis cum sint ipsa per se & manifestè nulla, cassatione aut declaratione hujusmodi non egerent. Speramus tamen vos quoque ipsos re melius considerata celeri retractatione consulturos conscientia vestra & Cleri Gallicani Existimationi, ex quo Clero sicuti huc usque non defuere, ita in futurum non defuturos confidimus, qui boni Pastoris exemplo libenter animam suam parati sint pro ovibus suis & pro testamento Patrum suorum dare. Nos quidem pro officii nostri debito parati sumus, Dei adjutrice gratiâ, sacrificare sacrificium justitiæ, Ecclesias Dei, jura, libertatem, & hujus sanctæ sedis auctoritatem dignitatēque defendere; nihil de nobis, sed omnia de Deo præsumenda sunt qui nos confortat, & operatur in nobis, & qui jussit Petrum super aquis ad se venire: Præterit enim figura hujus mundi, & dies domini appropinquat. Sic ergo agamus, venerabiles fratres

& dilecti filii, ut cum summus paterfamilias, & cum princeps pastorum rationem ponere voluerit cum servis suis; sanguinem pessundata & lacerata Ecclesia quam suo acquisivit, de suis ipsorum manibus non requirat. Vobis iterum omnibus Apostolicam benedictionem, cui cælestem accedere optamus, intimo amoris affectu impertimur.

Dat. Romæ 11. Aprilis 1682.

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The Translation of the former Brief, directed to his Venerable Brethren the Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, &c. assembled at *Paris*, bearing date the Eleventh of *April* 1681.

IT was very uneasie and bitter to us, by reason of the Fatherly affection which We bear to our dearest Son in Christ *Lewis the most Christian King*, and to your Churches and Persons, and that whole Kingdom, To perceive by your Letters, directed to us on the third of *February*, that a great many of the Bishops of *France* (who were anciently a Crown and rejoycing to this most Eminent See) should now behave themselves so toward it, that We are forced with many Tears to make use of these words of the Prophet, *My Mothers Children have fought against me*: Though in truth you rather fight against your selves, when you set your selves in opposition to us, in a Cause, in which the welfare and freedom of your Churches is so much concerned; and for which some pious and resolute men of your Order having appealed to us, We did without delay stand up for defence of the Episcopal Rights and Dignity in that Kingdom, which now for a great while We have maintained, having in that fought no private ends of our own; being set on to it meerly by that care that We owe to all the Churches, and the

the love that We bear to you, which is so deeply rooted in our hearts.

We perceived from the very beginning of your Letter, that there was nothing in it that could be either welcome to us, or worthy of that name you bear in the world: For not to insist on what you said of the Rule that was observed in the calling and managing of Councils, We observed that your Letter began from your fears, and that is a motive, by which Gods Priests are never animated to undertake any difficult or weighty cause, that concerns either Religion, or the Liberty of the Church, with that Courage that becomes them at first, or to persevere in it with that constancy, which they ought to hold to the last.

And you were much mistaken when you thought you might pour out your fears into Our breast; for the Love of Christ ought always to dwell in Our breast, *which casts out fear*, and keeps it at a great distance: We have already demonstrated in many and signal instances, that Fatherly Love that is kindled in Our hearts towards you and the Kingdom of *France*, which We need not here reckon up. And if there is any thing in which our affection has deserved well at your hands, We think it has chiefly appeared in this business of the *Regale*, upon which if the matter is well considered, it will appear that the whole Dignity and authority of your Order doth depend. You were therefore *in fear where no fear was*: Whereas this only was that of which you ought to have been afraid, lest you might have been justly accused before God and men, for having been wanting to your Station and Honour, and the duty of your Pastoral charge. And you ought to have remembered the examples of Episcopal Constancy and Courage: which in the like cases, the ancient and most holy Bishops

have set before you, for your instruction; and which have been imitated by many Bishops in every age, from their days. You ought also to have reflected on your own Predecessors, not only those who flourished in the times of our forefathers, but in Our own days. You cite the words of *Ivon of Chartres*, but you ought also to follow his actions, when there is occasion for it: You know what he both did and suffered in those troublesome & dangerous contests, that were between Pope *Urban* and King *Philip*. He thought it became his Function, to endure the Kings displeasure, to bear the spoiling of his goods, and to suffer both Imprisonment and Banishment.

It became your Function, even when others were forsaking the better cause, to have joyned your endeavours to the Authority of the Apostolick See, and to have pleaded the cause of your Churches before the King; joyning the resolution that became Pastors, with the humility of Priests; and to have informed his Conscience of the whole matter, even though you had apprehended the danger of drawing his Displeasure upon you: That so for the time to come, you might without blushing, use the words of *David*, when you address your selves to God in the daily Psalmody, *I did speak of thy Testimonies before Kings, and was not confounded*: But how much more ought you to have done this, when you had so well known, and so often tryed the justice and piety of your excellent Prince, of whom you your selves write, that he hears the Bishops with a singular gentleness, and that he is resolved to maintain the Episcopal Authority without suffering it to be entrenched upon; which We read in your Letter with great joy.

We do not doubt, that in the defence of so just a cause you could either want Arguments fit to be used; or the King a heart tractable, and inclined to grant your desires.

desires. But now since you seem to have forgot both your own duty, and the Kings justice, and that you have been silent in a matter of so great consequence, we do not see upon what probable ground you can found that which you represent to us, that you have been induced to do what you have done, because you have been overcome in this Dispute, and have lost your cause. But how could he lose it that never stood to it? And how could he be overcome that never struggled? Who of you all did plead this weighty, this just, and this most Sacred Cause, before the King? Whereas your Predecessors, even in the like danger, did defend it oftner than once with all freedom, both before the former Kings of France, and even before this King himself: And having carried their cause, they were dismissed by their most just King, with rewards for having so manfully performed the duty of the Pastoral charge. But who of you have engaged in this contest, that he might raise a *Wall for the house of Israel*? Who has had the boldness to expose himself to envy? Who has uttered so much as one word, that favoured of the freedom of former times? The Kings Officers have indeed cryed aloud as you write, they have cryed aloud in an ill cause, for the Rights of the Crown; whereas you in the best cause, that was both for the Honour of Christ and the Church, have been silent: Nor is there any more weight in what you say, when you render us an account, or indeed rather offer us an excuse, for the things that have been done by you in this Assembly. You aggravate the danger of a breach between the Priesthood and the Civil Power, and the ill effects that may follow from thence, both in Church and State: *And inferr that therefore you thought it became you to find out a mean for removing the difference that was encreasing, and that no mean appeared more convenient than those*

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remedies proposed by the Fathers of the Church for tempering the Canons by a prudent condescension according to the necessity of the times, in such things as might no way endanger either the truth of Religion, or the Rules of Morality: and that you thought your Order and the whole Gallicane, and indeed the Universal Church owed so much to a King that had merited so eminently of the Catholick Religion, and who was daily desiring to merit further of it, and that therefore you passed from your Rights, and resigned them to the King.

We forbear to mention what you represent to us of the Appeal you made to the Secular Magistrate, by whom this Cause was judged against you; for We with the remembrance of that might be buried in oblivion, and would gladly have you dash out those words out of your Letters, so that they might not remain upon the Records of the Gallicane Church to your eternal reproach.

As for what you bring for your own defence, concerning *Innocent* the Third, *Benedict* the Twelfth and *Boniface* the Eighth, there have not been wanting some who have by Learned Treatises demonstrated how frivolous and foreign they are to this matter: and it is so notoriously known, that it is needless to mention it, with what zeal and constancy those great Popes defended the liberty of the Church against the Secular Powers: So little reason have you to maintain your error by those precedents.

We do readily allow of and commend the Resolution of relaxing the Discipline of the Canons according to the necessity of the times, where that may be done without any prejudice either to Religion or a good life: and we add with *St. Austin*, *That things are to be sometimes endured for the good of unity, which ought to be abhorred,*

horred, if considered according to equity: Nor are the tares to be rooted out, if there is danger of plucking up the wheat likewise with them. But all this is so to be understood that it may be done only in some particular case, and for a time, and upon an urgent necessity as was done by the Church when she restored the *Arrians* and *Donatists* to their Churches, upon their abjuring their errors, that so the people that had followed them might be the more easily governed. But the case is very different from this, when the Discipline of the Church is weakened, and the foundation of the whole Ecclesiastical Discipline and Hierarchy is indeed overthrown through the whole extent of so great a Kingdom without any limitation of time, and with the manifest danger of establishing a precedent which may spread much further. These consequences must certainly follow, if We should suffer the things to be put in execution, which have been lately done by *The Most Christian King*, even with your consent, in the affair of the *Regale* (against the Authority of the holy Canons, and chiefly against the General Council of *Lions*, and against Our mind that has been long ago signified to you in that affair, and contrary to that Sacred Tye of your Oaths by which when you received the Episcopal character, you bound yourselves to God, to the *Roman Church*, and to your own particular Churches) and if we by delaying longer, should suffer this evil to become more inveterate; and should not, in imitation of the examples of our Predecessors; and according to that Supream Authority over the whole Church which is given by God to Our *Meanness*, condemn it: and that the rather, that by the abuse of the *Regale* the Discipline of the Church is not only overthrown, as is notoriously evident, but even the purity of the faith is brought in danger: which you may

may easily gather from the very words of the Kings Edicts, by which the Right of conferring Benefices is ascribed to the King, not as flowing from any Concession of the Church ; but as a Right innate and coæval to the Crown : Nor could we read that part of your Letter without *horror*, in which you say, you have departed from your Rights, and have transferred them on the King ; as if you were the Masters, and not the Guardians of these Churches that are trusted to your care ; and as if the Churches themselves and the Spiritual Rights belonging to them could be brought under the yoke of the Secular Power, by the Bishops, who indeed rather ought to become slaves themselves for setting them at liberty. You your selves did acknowledge and confess this truth, when upon another occasion you declared, that the Right of the *Regale*, especially in that branch of it that belongs to the Collation of Benefices, was a servitude that could not be brought upon the Church, but by her concession, at least by her consent. By what right then have you conferred that on the King ? and since the holy Canons forbid the alienating the Rights of the Church, how could it enter into your minds to alienate these Rights ? as if you could derogate from the authority of the Canons.

Call to mind what that renowned Abbot of *Clarevall* writ excellently to this purpose, whom you justly call the Light not only of the *Gallican*, but of the Universal Church, when he was putting Pope *Eugenius* in mind of his duty, *He bids him remember that the Keys of the Church were delivered to him, but not the Sheep themselves : There were others that kept the Gates of Heaven, and were the Pastors of the Flock ; but whereas every one of these have their several Flocks assigned them, to him were the whole trusted : one Flock under one Shepherd : and that*
Eugenius

Eugenius was not only the Shepherd of the Sheep; but of the Shepherds themselves: and therefore according to the appointment of the Canons the other Bishops were called to a portion of the care, but he to the fulness of the power.

But as it is expedient to give you warning of the obedience and submission that you owe this holy See, which We, though unworthy, do now by the Divine appointment govern; so our Pastoral care doth stir us up, now at last, to set about the discharge of our Apostolical Office, which we have hitherto delayed, perhaps by an excessive long suffering, being willing to give time to repentance.

Therefore We through the authority of Almighty God committed to us, do by these present Letters *Condemn, Rescind and Annul* what has been done in this your Assembly in the affair of the *Regale*; together with every thing that has followed thereupon, or that may happen to be attempted for the future; and We declare them to be for ever Null and Void: though these things being of themselves manifestly Null, it was not necessary to interpose any Declaration for annulling them: Yet We hope that you your selves having considered better of this matter, will by a speedy retraction consult the good of your own consciences, and the honour of the *Gallicane* Clergy: of which Clergy, as hitherto some have not been wanting, so we hope that for the time to come, others will not be wanting, who following the example of the good Shepherd, shall be ready to lay down their lives willingly for their Sheep, and for maintaining the Inheritance conveyed down to them from their Fathers.

As for our part, We are ready according to the duty of our Function, and by the assistance of Divine Grace, to offer up the Sacrifice of Righteousness, and to main-
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tain the Rights and Liberties of the Church of God, and the authority and Dignity of this holy See: not trusting in Our selves, but depending for all things on God, who comforts and strengthens Us, and who commanded *Peter* to come unto him, walking on the waters: *for the fashion of this world passeth away, and the day of the Lord approacheth.* Let Us therefore, Venerable Brethren and beloved Children, so behave Our Selves that when the great Master of the Family, and the Prince of Pastors shall make his accounts with his Servants, he may not require at their hands the blood of a broken and torn Church, which he redeemed with his own blood. We do again give you all Our Apostolical Blessing with much sincere and cordial affection, and pray that the Divine blessing may be added to it.

Given at Rome, April 11. 1682.

The

The Protestation made by the Assembly of the Clergy against the Popes proceedings before the former Brief was read by them.

Ecclēsia Gallicana suis se regit legibus, propriasque consuetudines inviolate custodit, quibus Gallicani Pontifices, Majoresque nostri, nulla definitione, nullaque authoritate derogatum esse voluerunt, & quas ipsi summi Pontifices agnoscere & laudare dignati sunt. Prope tamen est ut perfringantur leges justae quas prisca Galliarum religio reverendaeque vetustas, inconcussas fecerunt. Ecce etenim, quod sine acerbissimo animi sensu dici non potest, hisce annis superioribus, per Provincias Galliarum & Civitates literae Apostolica seminatae sunt, quibus antiqua Gallicanae Ecclesiae jura & patria Instituta aperte violantur. Ex his scilicet intelligimus de regni Ecclesiarumque nostrarum negotiis contra mores nostros usurpatam esse cognitionem. Inauditis partibus pronunciata judicia, jurisdictionem Episcoporum conculcatam, denique contra Canonem Ecclesiasticum & contra consuetudines Illustrissima Gallicanae Ecclesiae, Metropolitanae gladium excommunicationis intentatum esse. Dolet Clerus Gallicanus, queriturque ex his & aliis quae exinde facta sunt, oppressas libertates Ecclesiarum; perturbatam Ecclesiae formam, illatum dedecus Pontificali ordini, terminosque perruptos quos patres nostri constituerant: Et ne officium & causam suam deferere aut praevaricari sua dignitati, Ecclesiarumque suarum commodis videatur, publica contestatione obloqui, & inertis silentii à se movere culpam, decrevit: Ut exemplo patrum suorum in posterum provisum sit, ne quid nocere possit juribus & libertatibus Ecclesiae Gallicanae; eoque magis inclinatur in eam sententi-

am quod Summus Pontifex Innocentius XI. morum antiquorum & Canonica Disciplina severus assertor non patietur fieri injuriam decretis suorum prædecessorum, est Canonibus promulgatis qui rescindebant quicquid subreptum erat contra privata provinciarum jura. Nolebant siquidem Ecclesiarum privilegia, quæ semper conservanda sunt, confundi. Propterea Clerus idem Gallicanus professus antea omnem reverentiam, obedientiamque quam semper exhibuit, perpetuòque exhibiturus est, Cathedra Petri, in qua potentior agnoscit principatum, coram Clarissimo Domino Joanne Baptista Lauro, Protonotario Apostolico, & Nunciaturæ Apostolicæ Galliarum auditore, protestari constituit, sicut de facto protestatur per præsentis, nè literis Pontificiis datis ad Episcopum Apamienlem die secundo Octobris 1680. ad Ecclesiæ Apamienfis Capitulum eodem die Octobris, ad Episcopum Tholozanum die primo Januarii 1681. ad Moniales seu Canonissas Regulares Congregationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis Monasterii de Charonne die septimo Augusti. & 15. Octob. 1680. vel aliis exinde & illarum virtute actis & secutis quibuscunque; damnum aliquod seu præjudicium juribus Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ fieri possit, neve quis in aliis locis & temporibus hoc in exemplum & in auctoritatem trahat, ut antiquos Ecclesiæ Canones, Avitas regni consuetudines, receptosque mores Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ oppugnare audeat, aut propter ea quidquam sibi licere existimet; immò vero nemo nesciat hoc nihil obstare, quo minus Canones, Consuetudines, jura & libertates ejusdem Ecclesiæ pristinam vim & integram auctoritatem retineant & custodiant. Hoc, Clerus Gallicanus sibi suisque privilegiis cautum consultumque voluit, & omnibus notum esse, nè quis ignorantie causam prætexet.

Datum in Comitibus Generalibus Cleri Gallicani Lutetiæ habitis, May 6. 1682.

The

The Translation of the former Protestation.

THe *Gallicane* Church governs her self by her own Laws, and does inviolably observe her own Customs, from which the Bishops of *France* and our Ancestors have thought that no Decision, and no Authority could derogate; and the Popes themselves have thought fit both to acknowledge and to commend them: But now those just Laws, which the ancient piety of *France*, and Venerable Antiquity have esteemed such as that they were never to be shaken, are almost enervated. For we have seen (which cannot be mentioned without a most bitter and sensible affliction to us) that of late years, Letters from the Apostolick See, have been disseminated through the Provinces and Cities of *France*, in which the ancient Rights of the *Gallicane* Church and the appointments of our Forefathers are manifestly violated. By these We understand that an inspection into the affairs of this Kingdom and of our Churches, has been assumed against Our Customs; That judgements have been given without hearing the parties; That the Episcopal jurisdiction has been trodden under foot, and that the sentence of Excommunication has been threatned against a Metropolitan, contrary to the Ecclesiastical Canons, and the Customs of the most Illustrious *Gallicane* Church.

The *Gallicane* Clergy is grieved and complains, that by these things, and by what has been since done pursuant to them, the Liberties of their Churches have been oppressed, and the order of the Church has been disturbed; That the Episcopal Office has been disgraced, and the Land-Marks have been broke through, which Our Fathers had fixed: And therefore that they may avoid the imputation of having abandoned their Duty and Station, or betrayed their own Dignity and the interests of their Churches, they have resolved to oppose these things by a publick Protestation, and so to free themselves from the guilt of a neglectful silence; that so according to the examples set them by their Forefathers, they may take care, that these things may not for the future prejudice the Rights and Liberties of the *Gallicane* Church. To this they are the more inclined because the present

present Pope *Innocent* the Eleventh (so eminent for Excellent Vertues and a strict observance of the Discipline established by the Canons) will not suffer any thing to be done that shall be injurious to the Decrees of his Predecessors, and the Canons already promulgated; by which every thing is rescinded that hath been surreptitiously obtained, contrary to the proper Rights of Provinces; nor would they suffer the priviledges of Churches to be confounded, which ought to be constantly preserved.

* Or Dignity.

Therefore the said *Gallicane* Clergy having first made profession of all Reverence and obedience, which she ever has expressed and ever will express to the Chair of *St. Peter*, in which she acknowledges a more Powerful * *Principality*, has resolved to Protest before the most renowned *John Baptist Lauri*, Protonotary Apostolick, and Auditor of the Apostolick Nunciature in *France*, as in fact she does by these presents protest that the Popes Letters to the Bishop of *Pamiers*, bearing date the 2 of *October* 1680. and to the Chapter of *Pamiers* of the same date, and to the Bishop of *Tholouse*, bearing date the 1 of *January* 1681. and the Letters to the Nuns, or Regular Canonesses of the Blessed Virgin of the Nunnery of *Charron*, bearing date the 7 of *August* and the 15. of *October* 1680. or any other that have followed since that time, or any thing that has been acted or done by vertue of those, shall be no wayes hurtful or prejudicial to the Rights of the *Gallicane* Church, and shall turn to no Precedent or Warrant for doing the like in any other time or place; and that none may thereupon presume to oppose the ancient Canons of the Church, or the established Customs of this Kingdom, or the received practices of the *Gallicane* Church, or think that he may lawfully do any thing, pursuant thereunto; and let none be ignorant, that these things notwithstanding the Canons, Customs, Rights, and Liberties of the said Church, shall still remain and preserve their ancient Force and Authority entire: Hereby the *Gallicane* Clergy have thought fit to secure and preserve themselves and their priviledges, and this this they will have known to all persons, that so none may pretend ignorance.

Past in the Assembly General of the Clergy of France, the Sixth of May 1682.

A Letter from Paris of the 20th of June New-ſtile,
containing a further account of the Conteſts
between the Pope and the French King.

BY my laſt, which I ſent by one that went from hence a fortnight ago, I gave you a large account of our Affairs here, which I hope has come to your hands before this time; but the great change of the preſent proſpect we have of that matter, from that which appeared when I wrote laſt, needs not ſurprize you: For the ſecrets of State are not known here, ſo quick as with you, and they lie in ſo few hands, and thoſe are ſo true to the Kings ſervice, that the greateſt perſons here can penetrate no further into the Councils than as they are pleaſed to lay them open. You will not therefore wonder, if I now tell you that inſtead of the adjusting of that Affair, of which all people here ſeemed ſo aſſured that it was univerſally ſpoken of as a thing done, yet it appears now to be more deſperate than ever. We now know the true cauſe of the ſudden Adjourning the Aſſembly of the Clergy, and that it ſtoſed not from any diſpoſition to compoſe this difference, but that it was done to prevent a ſtroke, that might have put it paſt reconciling: The true reaſon was this, The Old reſolute Pope ſent a Courier to France to the Internuntio with a Bull of Excommunication, which he required him to carry into the Aſſembly, and there to fulminate in his Name againſt all the Aſſembly. This came to the knowledge of Cardinal d' Eſtree, who, to prevent the ill effects of ſo hardy a Step, ſent preſently a Courier with a ſtrict charge to uſe all poſſible haſt to get before the Popes Courier, that ſo the King might have timely notice of what the other was bringing; and this is now known to be the true reaſon of that ſudden Adjournment. So by this you ſee this matter is further from being compoſed than ever. As for the Affair of the Sorbonne, of which I gave you an account in my laſt, it has had another effect than was expected. On Monday laſt the Faculty met, where there was great oppoſition made to the Reſtring the Kings Ediſt, inſomuch that they could not bring the Affair to any Iſſue at that time; but Adjourned the debate till next day, yet it was viſible enough that thoſe for the Negative were the ſtronger party; ſo at night the
Arch-

Arch-Bishop of Paris, the Marquiss of Segnelay, the first President, and the Attorney General met, and it seems resolved on that which was put in execution next day; for when the Sorbonne was again assembled and engaged in the debate, about eleven a Clock an Officer was sent from the Court of Parliament, requiring them to suspend their debates, and to send them 12 of their Number, who were named in the Order, together with their Clerk and their Register; the persons were not left to their choice, lest they might have sent some that might have spoken too freely to the Parliament. When the persons thus called for, appeared, the first President made a most terrible harangue to them; he accused the Sorbonne of ingratitude and presumption, that they who were but a Faculty, that had no Authority, and had their meeting only by the Kings Connivence, should have arrogated an Authority to themselves, to have examined the matter of an Edict that was made by the Assembly of the whole Clergy of France, and was confirmed by the King, and verified by the Parliament. He therefore commanded their Clerk to insert it in their Register, and charged them not to Assemble any more, but as they should be required and authorised to it by orders from the Court: And told them that by the first of July, the Kings pleasure should be signified to them. Thus you see how firm the Sorbonne is in this matter, for the proceedings of the Court of Parliament are an open confession that the Majority of the Sorbonne would have refused to receive the Edict. I add no more but that I am intirely yours.

Paris, June 20. S. N. 1682.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

PAG. 8. l. 33. after *Constance*, r. and *Basl*: p. 18. l. 22. r. *Nostis quæ is fecerit*.
p. 25. l. 8. for *from* r. *with*.

There are lately Published

THe Abridgement of the History of the Reformation of the Church of England.

The History of the Rights of Princes in the disposing of Ecclesiastical Benefices and Church-Lands.

Both written by Gilbert Burnet D. D. And Printed for Richard Chiswell.

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A N
A N S W E R
T O T H E
Animadversions
O N T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
Rights of Princes, &c.

By GILBERT BURNET, D.D.

L O N D O N,

Printed for Richard Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown
in St. Paul's Church-yard. M DC LXXXII.

THE HISTORY OF

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A N I M A D V E R S I O N S
O N T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
Rights of Princes, &c.

When I first met with the Animadversions on my Book of the *Regale*, I was not a little surprized to find so many things laid to my charge, of which I never so much as suspected my self guilty: and thought it very strange if I had so unhappily expressed my self in that Book, that I had given any just occasion to such severe accusations. I knew well my intentions were innocent and sincere, and I thought my stile was not so dark or perplexed as to lead a Reader into such mistakes concerning my meaning. But what darkness soever might be in my expressions, I was very well assured I had none of those ill intentions, with which these sheets charged me. What faults soever I may be guilty of, I am sure want of Integrity or Ingenuity in my Writings is none of them, and for false Inferences, I may

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through weakness of Judgement perhaps draw them : But I am sure I neither affirm nor suggest any thing fallſly ; and do think a lie in a Book is ſo much a greater ſin than in diſcourſe, as it may laſt longer, and deceive more. And upon this point, as I venture my Soul in relation to another World, ſo I chearfully venture my reputation, which is the valuableſt thing I have in this, if it can be made appear that I have ſhewed either in that *Criminal-book*, or in any other I ever writ, the leaſt diſingenuity, want of integrity, or falſhood.

Finding my ſelf ſo ſeverely accuſed from the Preſs, in a way ſo publick, as that of two ſheets ſold about the ſtreets, and with care conveyed to ſuch perſons, whoſe ill opinion might have a particular ill effect on me, I could not be ſo over-charitable as not to think that the Writer or Publiſher of this, or both, were not acted by ſo charitable and candid a Spirit as became men of their profeſſion. I found theſe ſheets firſt in a Stationers ſhop, and ſome hours after, that I might not want the comfort of them, they were left at my houſe by the Penny Poſt : I wondred much to ſee a man that profeſſeth a zeal for the Chriſtian Religion, act ſo manifeſtly againſt ſome of the plaineſt precepts of it. For beſides the railing and ill language in it, and the uncharitable Inferences and Judgements that are made to my prejudice, the manner of doing it is ſo directly contrary to our Saviours rule of ſpeaking to our brother firſt in private, and then in the preſence of a few, before we proceed publickly againſt him ; that in Charity to the Animadverſer or the Publiſher, I am bound to think that he made no reflection on that precept while he wrote or publiſhed theſe ſheets. I ſpeak of the Writer and Publiſher as of two different perſons, becauſe he who is generally ſuppoſed to be the Author, did very ſeriously proteſt to one of the Right Reverend Fathers of the Church, that whoſoever was the Author of thoſe ſheets (which he did not directly acknowledge was himſelf) he did not intend to publiſh them till I had firſt ſeen them, but that he had put them in the hands of another to have them communicated to me, who without his knowledge publiſhed them ; and he expreſſed over and over again ſome trouble by reaſon of their being Printed in ſuch a manner. This I take as it was told, without making any reflections on it. It cannot be denied, but his friend ſhewed an officious keenneſs in this matter, and it is hard to tell whether in publiſhing them without his leave, he ſhewed himſelf leſs his friend than

than mine, and it was a strange piece of forwardness to Print such Animadversions without the Authors consent, especially he being here in Town.

I had indeed upon another great occasion, shewed how ready I was to receive corrections of such mistakes as I had made, and how willing I was not only to submit to so kind a censure, but publicly to own to the world both my own Errours, and the obligations I lay under, to that friendly and learned person who discovered to me some faults in the first Volume of my History of the Reformation of this Church. I confess the stile of these Animadversions had nothing of the gentleness and good breeding which was in the other Animadversions, and as much as the one exceeded the other in the matter, being really well founded, so much did it also in all respects shew the worthiness, the exactness, and the candour of the Writer, which, I confess, do not appear so very evidently in this: And I must say, if it was intended I should have seen it first, and so have been gained by it to have retracted what was amiss, the stile was not well considered: For he that reproves and corrects as a Brother, with design to gain ground on him to whom he offers such admonitions, ought to gild the pill, and do somewhat to temper the aversion that is too natural to all men for such discoveries.

As soon as I went home, and had got among my Books, I turned to the places for which I was accused, and quickly found there was no cause given for all those Tragical complaints; and that notwithstanding the discipline that was so liberally bestowed on me, there were only two places in which there was the least colour of advantage against me. The one was, that I cited a Capitular of *Charles the Great's* that was not full to the point, and forgot to refer to another that was much fuller. The other was, that I had taken *Zonaras's* words too large, and that what he had said was neglected by the greater number of the Bishops, I cited as if all the Bishops had neglected it. These being the only two passages for which I could censure my self, I did take heart a little, and presently writ a particular Answer to the Animadversions, in which there was mixed such a sharpness of stile, that how much soever I had been provoked to it, yet I could not think it any way becoming my profession to publish it with so much acrimony, which I thought might be more easily forgiven in that Paper, that was intended to be seen only by some few, and in particular by him that was
sup.

supposed to be the Author of them, for I was not unwilling that he might see what I could in Reason and Justice say in my own defence, and in answer to him, though upon other reasons I did not think it convenient to publish it to the world in that stile.

In the beginning of his Paper I am told that there are *so many things that seem amiss in my Book, that it would be extreamly tedious to set them all down, and that therefore some general hints, and a few instances are only pickt out.* This, I confess, I look on as an artifice too common to work much on any person, and therefore I do believe the Animadverter has done his worst: yet lest I should fall asleep upon this confidence, I am told in the end that if I do not speedily correct in a second Impression what is amiss in the first, I may look for some *rougher hand*; but what hand can be *rougher* that keeps the Kings Peace, and does not use a Cudgel or a Brick-bat, I do not imagine: For how I can be used more sharply in words, than when I am taxed with want of *Integrity and Ingenuity, of falshood and sedition, and being an Enemy to the Government both in Church and State,* I cannot readily apprehend. But, I thank God, I have learnt to bear ill language and unjust dealing without making the ordinary returns. I will not pretend with the Philosopher to say, *If an Ass kick, shall I kick again*; but, I hope, I may be allowed to learn of our Saviour, who *when he was reviled, reviled not again*: and since he has commanded his Disciples to pray for them that despitefully use them: I shall make no other return to all those reproaches, but to pray God to inspire both the Animadverter and the Publisher with a better temper, and to make them consider well when they bring their *gift to the Holy Altar*, whether before they *offer or consecrate* it, they ought not to do somewhat previous to it, for the satisfaction of one, whom, without any cause that I know of, they have treated not as a *Brother*, but as an *Enemy*.

I once intended to publish no answer at all, but to rest satisfied with the Vindication which I offered to a few of my Friends, and to the sight of such as desired it, having laid my answer in a Stationers shop, where any that were curious might find it. I was firmly resolved against saying any thing in Print at all, for I thought in a time of common danger we had something else to be busied about than the engaging in personal matters, by which the Enemies of the Church might have the diversion of seeing us employ the Press one against another, and I had some time ago freely, and of my self promised to some of my superiours, that if any thing in my
Book,

Book should draw forth an Answer from any of the friends of the Church, I should sit silent, and leave what I had written to stand or fall according to the strength that was in it. This I meant only of such a fair answer, as might have been expected from a Scholar, or a Divine, and therefore I did not conceive my self bound by it, when I was so openly, and violently traduced, yet I was so exact to what I had seemed to promise, that I would say nothing of this matter, till one of the Right Reverend Fathers of the Church told me it was necessary for me to free my self of those imputations; and he undertook that my superiors should not be ill satisfied with it, if I wrote without reflection or sharpness of stile. Upon this Encouragement, I now publish my answer, and shall observe that caution so carefully, that I will rather give the Reader cause to complain that I write flat, than sprinkle it with that Salt, which is thought necessary to give some relish to this dull sort of writing. And if those that read what I wrote first, thought it too sharp, I am confident they will rather think this is too much in the other extream. I do not affect Satyre, nor am I so much concerned in what censures may pass upon me, as to endeavour to redeem my self from them, by any methods which are not sutable to the gravity and gentleness that become my Profession. I now come to the Animadversions themselves.

The first thing objected to me is, that the greatest part of the instances in the former and latter parts of my book are borrowed from *De Marca*, and that I disguise them as if I had taken them from the Originals: I do not deny that I read *De Marca* very carefully, but he must needs know, if he has compared the Quotations, that I have searched the Originals themselves: And indeed I do not remember of any one Quotation in that whole book, taken from second hand, which I do not cite as from that hand. For this he first cites page 27, 28, 29, 30. compared to *De Marca*, page 383. In all which there are but ten Quotations, of which four are not mentiond by *De Marca*, so that here are but six Quotations that he can pretend are from him. He again cites Page 205. 210. and refers me to *De Marca* 439. and 442. Page 205. there are four Quotations, of which three are not cited by *De Marca*, and for the fourth, if he will come to my closet he may see my mark on the book from which I vouch it. Page 210. there are but two Quotations, one is from *Balufius* notes upon *De Marca*, and the other is from *Goldastus*, which though I have not by me

me, yet I compared it exactly, so this charge comes to nothing.

His next charge is, that *page* 16. I had asserted with *De Marca*, that there was no set quantity for the Christians oblations; but forgot to observe from him, that *Irenaeus* said they exceeded the tenth part of their Revenues. I assert no such thing from *De Marca*, but from *St. Paul*, that he set no rate on them: And it was not necessary that I should vouch *Irenaeus* from *De Marca*, when in that very page I cite his own words, *that the Christians did not give less than the Jews, who gave Tithes, but converted all they had to Religious uses*; and I do not see how necessary it was for me to say that *De Marca* had observed this.

The second head of my Accusation is of those passages, wherein I have mistaken the words or the sense: I shall not criticize about the mistaking of words, which may be *mis cited*, but not *mistaken*. He tells me he could at least produce 40 examples of this, but in great tenderness for me, he gives 7 for the specimen; so the other 33 are to be judged by these.

The first is *page* 13. He accuses me for saying that mention is made of Elections by the People in the Second and Sixth Canons of the Council of *Nice*; and affirms that mention is made of them in neither of those Canons. I see no way of conviction, but to consider the Canons themselves. In the Second, mention is made of some things that were done against the Ecclesiastical Canon *ἐπιτομήν τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, through the urgency of men; and they instance it in two particulars, the one is that they brought those who were newly converted from Heathenism to be baptized; the other is, that as soon as they were baptized they used *προάγειν εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ἢ πρεσβυτερεῖαν*, to promote or bring, or advance to a Bishoprick, or Presbyterate. Now though these words alone might perhaps be wrested to another sense, yet if we compare them with the History of that time, they can admit of no other sense; especially if we compare them with the citations from *Nazianzen*, *page* 32. And for the Sixth Canon that common suffrage of all *τῇ κοινῇ πάντων ψήφῳ ἐυλόγῳ*, which was to take place, notwithstanding the opposition of two or three, can only be understood of the Election by the People: For that suffrage which the Bishops gave, when they approved of it, and proceeded to ordain the elected person, was not determined by the Majority: For the Metropolitan had a Negative. So that the Election where the Majority prevailed, must be only understood of the decree, that was made by the people.

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I did never deny that the Bishops had a power to confirm or reject this Election, but do expressly assert that they were Judges of the fitness of the person chosen.

Page 18. He accuses me for citing *Cyprians* words, *Epist. 66.* wrong, and to make this pass the better he puts those words which I had set down as my own, in *Italica*, to make it appear that I had set them down as a part of *Cyprians* words, and had rendred *qua nunc ratio & forma tenetur, instead thereof.* If the scope of *Cyprians* Epistle is considered, it will appear to how little purpose these words are cited. St. *Cyprian* is arguing against Churchmens meddling in Secular affairs, and he brings the instance of the Priests and Levites among the *Jews*, who were well provided for by Tythes, that they might have no tentation lying on them, to entangle themselves with the cares of this World. *Which reason and form, says he, is observed in the Clergy:* The reason was that they being well provided for, might be freed from these distractions, and the form was their receiving their share out of the Basket, as a Tythe of the fruits of the Earth.

In the end of this Paragraph, he accuses me for saying that *Origen* affirmed that *First-fruits* were only to be payed under the Gospel: and says that he mentions Tythes as due under the Gospel. By this it appears that either these Animadversions were writ in haste, or that the writers thoughts went too quick, for all I said was that *Origen* concluded that *First-fruits* only were to be brought to the Priest. And it is certain that he does not speak one word of paying Tythes to the Priest; but all along repeats that of the first-fruits: So that it does not appear that he thought it necessary to bring Tythes to the Priest. But I never said that he affirmed that first-fruits were only due under the Gospel. There is a great difference between what was to be paid to the Priest, and what Christians ought to set off for Charitable and Pious uses.

Page 52. He accuses me for saying that *Charles* the Great subjected the Church Lands to the common services, such as building of Bridges, &c. And I do not deny that the Capitular there cited does not clearly prove it; but it proves this, that those that were obliged to those services were to be required by such as the Bishop and the Count should name, and who these were appears by an ancienter Capitular of *Pepins* the younger *An. 793. cap. 20.* by which all persons were required according to ancient custom to repair Churches, to make Bridges and mend High-

ways, and none were to pretend immunity: Which is clearly a carrying on of *Honorius* and *Theodosius* his Law cited from *Justinians* Codex. Here I confess at the first view he seems to have some advantage, but what it amounts to, I leave it to him self to judge.

Page 71. He quarrels with me for citing some formularies concerning the endowments of Churches: and tells me those are the endowments of Monasteries and not of *Parish Churches*; But I did not name *Parish Churches*; this was put in by him, otherwise he had lost his Objection. I hope he does not deny that Cathedrals are Churches, though possess'd by Monks. I cite but four of these, and of the first it does not appear what sort of Church it was; of the second it is clear it was the Cathedral, where *St. Martins* body lay; and it mentions Rectors as well as the Abbot. The third and fourth that I cite, are general forms of endowment for Churches that had either Abbots or Rectors in them, and were to be filled up according to the constitution of the Church, to which the endowment was made.

Page 116. What I had set down concerning *Abraham* with a *perhaps*, and an *it seems*, he cites, as if I had positively asserted it, with this kind Animadversion, *that I wrest the Scripture to undermine the Clergy's maintenance*. If to commend the Princes that provided so liberally for the Clergy, and to condemn as a great wickedness the taking away or detaining that which is so dedicated to holy uses, be an undermining of the maintenance of the Clergy, I acknowledge my self guilty of it; but if this imports the quite contrary, then he was too inconsiderate in his censure. Nor will it serve his turn to say that some *Eastern Kings* did take Tythes; *that being begun when the Kings and Priests were one person*: For *Samuel* that is the ancientest Author cited for it, lived some ages after those two Offices were divided: And *St. Paul Heb. 7. ver. 2.* after that he had said that *Abraham* gave a tenth part of all to *Melchizedeck*, adds, *He being first by interpretation King of Righteousness, and after that also King of Salem*; and ver. 4. he says *consider also how great this man was, unto whom even the Patriarch Abraham gave a tenth of the spoil*. I leave it to any impartial man to consider if this will not justify my exposition, guarded with a *perhaps* and an *it seems*. It is true *St. Paul* argues afterwards upon the supposition of Tythes being due to Priests, but this was to the *Jews* to whom he wrote: But if he had intended to bring the Christian Church under the like obligation, it is not very accountable why he did not say one word about it, this being so proper a place for it.

Page 143. He challenges me for saying that the 14. Canon of the Council of *Chalons* obliged the Bishops in their visitations to confirm, and not to prey upon their people, and tells me that the Canon did only oblige, that when they did visit to confirm, they should not oppress their people: But the Canon in general speaks *cum Episcopi Parochias suas peragrant, & si quando peragrande parochie necessitas incumbit*, and charges them that they should confirm, enquire what was to be amended, Preach the word of God, and that they should use their industry rather in the gaining of souls, than in the robbing and spoiling of their Subjects, and scandalizing of their brethren: Now I am not quick sighted enough to divine what can be made out of this.

Page 192. He challenges me for citing *Zonaras*, saying that there were no Stewards in the *East* in his time, and alledges that he says that many Bishops, and some Abbots did not regard the Canon that enjoyned the use of them. But he says that the greatest part did not observe it, *πλείοσι τῶν ἀρχιερέων*, in which it is true. I enlarged the expression too generally, and put *no* for *few*, yet he contracts it as if it only signified *many*: But the whole matter is of no consequence. And now if the rest of the forty places be to be judged of by these as the sample, I shall not much apprehend the censures of Learned and impartial men; but if a man has before hand resolved to find fault, it will be no hard task to write severe strictures, on much better books than I can pretend mine to be.

But now I come to the third head of this accusation, of my omissions of many passages which the Animadverter thinks were as obvious to me as those I have cited; and he judges that they were past over by me, lest they should look too favourably on the Clergies power or their right to the Tythes. But he does not know if these were as obvious to me, as it seems they were to himself; and he must know me better than he does yet, before he can judge what my intentions are.

Page 40. He quarrels with me for not citing a part of the 23. Canon of *Antioch*, and the 13. Canon of the *African* Code, which speak of the Election of Bishops. By the Metropolitan and the other Bishops of the Province. But this was not at all necessary to be mentioned, for I had laid it down as a thing undisputed, over and over again, that the Bishops had a power of judging, after the

people had pitcht on the person ; nor was it ever imagined by any that I know of, that the Bishops met meerly as tools for ordaining those that were nominated by the People ; though violence was sometimes used, for which see what I have said *page 7, 8, 9, 12, 13.* therefore having laid that down as an unquestionable truth, there was no need of accumulating more proofs : So there was no cause to charge this on me as a deligned omission.

Page 72. He charges me for leaving out the clearest and firmest proofs for Tythes, of the Fathers of that age ; and yet as there are none more eminent than *Chrysostom, Jerom and Austin* whom I cite ; so I do not remember to have fallen on any thing more exprefs for them in *Doctor Combers History of Tythes.* It is very strange that he does not observe a difference between the advising People to set off more than a tenth for Charities, and a rule obliging them to pay in a tenth, as a Rent due to the Priest. And that this was never set up in the Greek Church, nor authorized by the *Roman Law*, seems some inducement at least to a man of no extraordinary sagacity, to believe that the Divine right of Tythes payable to Priests, antecedently to humane Laws, was not the Doctrine of that age.

Page 119. He challenges me for not citing all the Laws made by *Charles the Great*, for the payment of Parochial Tythes, and is not satisfied that I cite two. But my purpose was to shew it was settled by him ; and I do not see the great need of telling how oft this was repeated by him : And after that I had said that *Alfred* had settled the payment of Tythes in *England*, I do not see why he should object to me the not mentioning the latter Laws that came afterwards : For either those were only confirmations of the former, and so they signifie nothing ; or all that could have been drawn from them was to represent the unwillingness of the People to submit to them, and who knows but he would have made this criminal in me.

Page 127. His next exception is that I say before *Caroloman and Pepin*, there had been no Synods in *France* for 80 years, that is from 662. till 742. and this still holds good, notwithstanding the four he mentions ; for by *Synods* it is plain, my meaning was Assemblies for regulating the affairs of the Church. Some meetings indeed there were in that interval, which seem rather to have been Assemblies of the Estates or Parliaments, than Ecclesiastical meetings : For in some of them the Priviledges of Monasteries were

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confirmed, and in other Bishops were condemned to be beheaded. But that which he cites from *Binnius* at *Chalons* is not in my Edition, nor will I enter into dispute with him whether *Utrecht* belongs to *France* or *Germany*. But for justifying what I said, *Boniface* his letter to Pope *Zachary* is a sufficient authority, for (cap. 2.) he writes to him that the *Francks*, as ancient men then said, had had no Synod for above eighty years. This serves to acquit me and hereafter he may deal with *Boniface* as he pleases.

Page 129. He accuses me for passing over some words in a Canon at *Akin* which shew that *Charles* the Great believed that Tythes were due by a Divine right. But he cannot think I intended to disguise this matter, for page 113. where I first enter upon it, I do largely set out the Churches pretending to a Divine right for them; and it was needless to repeat this at every time, though I do expressly speak of it again page 140. and 141.

Page 180. He accuses me for leaving out that provision made for the Emperours power of annulling Elections by the Clergy and People, in the Popes concession of the investiture to the Emperour. But if this is not plainly enough insinuated in these words, that when a Bishop was canonically elected by the Clergy and People, he should not be consecrated till the Ring and Staff were given him by the Emperour, I am to seek as to the true use and sense of words: For this clearly expresses that the Emperour had a Negative, and by consequence the power of annulling Elections: and they are the very words of the Popes concession.

The fourth Head is of the contradictions he finds me guilty of, of these he reckons up three, but with what success I now come to examine.

Page 52. and 169. I had affirmed that Church Lands in *England* before the Conquest were subjected to the service called *Trinoda Necessitas*, for Fortifying Castles, building Bridges, and a rate for an expedition, and yet from *Matthew Paris* I assert that they held their Lands in *Frank Almoin*, and so were free from all secular service. He acknowledges I have cited Right from *Matthew Paris*; so all his quarrel must be for what I say of the *Trinoda Necessitas*. I my self have seen it in some Original Charters in the *Saxon* time, which I am ready to shew him as soon as I certainly know his name. If there is a contradiction between these two things, I am not to be blamed for it, having good authority for all I affirm: And if there should fall to be a contradiction betwixt Original Charters, and *Matthew*

Paris, who was a Monk, and so ready to speak in favour of their privileges, one would think it were not very difficult to determine the controverſie. But if they can be both reconciled, then the contradiction and objection both are out of doors. They were exempted from all conſtant and perſonal ſervices, and ſo were free from the bondage of the feudal tenure, yet upon great emergencies they might be obliged to bear a ſhare in the publick burthens.

The two other contradictions are a little odd. He tells that whereas *page 117*. I had made this diſtinction betwixt the Levitical Priethood and Church-men under the Goſpel, that whereas the former had not the charge of Souls, the latter had it; and yet *page 323*. I ſay the diſtinction of *with cure* and *without cure* is ill grounded, and favours too much of the niceties of the Canonists. Now where to find out the contradiction here, is really above my ſkill; I had aſſerted that Church-men under the Goſpel have the care of Souls; and purſuant to this, I rejected the diſtinction of benefices *with* and *without cure*, (the word *benefice* was left out, for it would have ſpoyled this imaginary contradiction.) If the quarrel to me is, becauſe I am diſpleaſed with thoſe, that whatſoever be the nature of their Benefice, are ſure to make them *ſine cures*, I muſt ſubmit to his indignation, for I cannot eaſily change my mind in that particular.

The next contradiction is no leſs ſtrange, *page 126*. I blame Biſhops for turning Souldiers; and yet *page 131*. I relate how they were forced to go to the Wars. Now if it is impoſſible to force a man to do a thing unbecoming his profeſſion; here's a contradiction with a witneſs: But he may as well call it a contradiction to blame men for apoſtatizing from the Faith, and yet ſhewing how they were forced to it by Perſecution.

Having thus far examined the contradictions objected to me, I now come to conſider another part of my charge that falls under the fifth head, of my *odd and miſtaken aſſertions, false reasonings, weak ſuggeſtions*, which only ſhew *ill will to the power and rights of the Clergy*; and of this he gives ten inſtances.

Page 18. I tell that St. Cyprian gathered 100000 Sesterces for redeeming Captives, and yet *page 21*. I ſeem to think it Poetry in *Prudentius*, when he mentions the Chriſtians offering thouſands of Sesterces: whereas I made no reflections on the quantity of the ſum, but upon that aculaſation of the Heathens, that the Chriſtians ſold their
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Lands, and brought in the prizes of them, and of this all I say, is that it's hard to determine how much of Poetry may be in it.

Page 65. He accuses me, that in imitation of Mr. *Selden*, I cite Canons that were made to prevent abuses, and were frequently established upon one or two ill practices, to prove abuses crept into the Church, which he calls a *false and disingenuous way of arguing*. This I had said when I began to treat of the Canons of the Council of *Chalcedon*, and eight of these Canons do expressly mention abuses crept in: Now one would think that this might suffice to acquit me of falshood or disingenuity. The maxime is not more common than true, *Ex malis moribus oriuntur bona leges*, and few Law-givers have the foresight to prevent abuses, though all that are good have the zeal to condemn them when they appear.

Page 72. He accuses me for saying that in St. *Chrysostome's* time there was no rule set for the Charities of Christians, and says that my own instances prove they thought it a sin to give less than a tenth; yet St. *Chrysostome* expressly says he did not pretend to make a Law in that matter: and there is one distinction that he seems resolved never to observe, between the setting a rate on what the Christians were bound to pay into the Church, and the directions that were given them for their Charities.

Page 80. He condemns me for what I say against converting fines to Secular uses, and says that since the money raised out of Tythes may be applied to the maintenance of ones family, which is a Secular use, why may not fines raised by Leases be applied to the same purpose? But it's clear I was speaking of those Fines that were raised to the prejudice of ones successors or of the Church, so in this case I plead for the Rights of the Church. There is indeed no reason to blame the levying of fines, if the Leases do last but ones own life; but I cannot see why an Incumbent should have a consideration for those years in which his Successors may enjoy the Benefice.

Page 113. He says I applaud the distinctions found out to diminish the payment of a full tenth part, whereas I neither applaud them nor condemn them, but barely relate matter of fact: He also accuses me for calling it the heaviest tax that any Nation ever came under, *as if I forgot that this is all that men give for the provision of Ministers to look to their Souls*, which intimates that he thinks it still too little; And says, that I do not consider *that the Jewish Nation was put under a double Tythe by God himself*. This last
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he knows I have considered, and shewed the difference between Jews and Christians: The former having their soil given them immediately by God, who might therefore lay what charge on it he pleased, which is not the case of Christians. A tenth in a cold climate, upon a moderate computation, will rise to a fifth, if not to a fourth part of the revenue. Now the People of this Nation are estimated at six millions, and the Clergy are about ten thousand; the six hundredth part of the whole. It will be necessary therefore that the proofs be very clear, before it can be easily believed that the six hundredth part of a Nation have by Divine Right, a title to a fourth or fifth part of its Revenue. One would think that the Taxes for the preservation of the State ought in reason to be much higher, the necessary expence of Government being much greater; and yet no Nation in *Europe*, unless it be *France* of late, has paid a half of the full tenth of the growth to the publick treasure. He also goes on confidently in one mistake, though I have taken some pains to rectifie it in my Book, that the Tythes are the Priests portion alone, whereas I have fully proved that at first it was appointed that they should be divided between the Clergy and the Poor: I confess, I have great prejudices to any Doctrine, which if true, puts a whole Nation in a state of damnation, and brings them under so hainous a guilt as the sin of Sacrilege must draw after it. He asserts the Parochial Right of Tythes, and that he that blesses the People has a right to them; and if this is true, then the King, and all the Nobility and Gentry that are impropiators, all the Bishops, the Cathedrals, Hospitals and Colledges who have impropiated Tythes in their Revenues, and all Non-residents who farm out the blessing of their people to their Curates, and yet raise the Tythes, must be every one of them in a state of damnation. For the last of these I am not very solicitous, but for the former, I will not easily drink in such a damning Doctrine.

Page 117. He accuses me for gathering some odd pretences to give reason why Tythes were easier to the *Jews* than to us: He says, I urge the vast number of the Priests, and one would think that the thirtieth part of a Nation (which was the lowest proportion of the Tribe of *Levi*) had a right to a greater portion than the six hundredth part. He also says that I urge the fruitfulness of their Land and the barrenness of ours, which, he adds, I drew from the Quakers

Quakers Books, but I can assure him, if he will believe me, I never read one of them on this Argument. I think it is no such Mystery but that any Man might have hit on it, that a fruitful Land may pay a greater Rate than a barren: But I have given no advantage to the Quakers for their unjust Robbery of Church-men, or rather the robbing of God, in detaining that which the Law provides for them; which it might well do, tho there were no antecedent divine Right making it necessary: and the Law, which is the Measure of Property, having determined this, the denying to pay it is as much Injustice, as robbing on the High-way: the Sin of which is not one jot the less, tho no Man can make out his Title to his Goods from a divine Right. And the Sin of this is so much the greater, as the robbing God must be greater than the robbing a private Person.

Page 118, he accuses me for *affirming falsely concerning us and the Jews, that the same Rule was applied to all: tho I grant that the Jews Tithe was but a fifth Part, and knew that the Christians was but a tenth.* So here I lie against my Conscience. I will not say this is a willful Mistake in him, but I am sure it is a gross one; for the *all*, to whom I say the *same Rule was applied*, does not belong to Jews and Christians, but to the Northern and barren Climates, where the Returns are not above ten, five, and in some not above three. And for the kindness of his Censure, I leave it to his own Conscience to consider, how far he is bound to ask God Pardon for it.

Page 172. He condemns me for my Criticism about the Term *Bishoprick Anno 1077*, and says, that I bring Proof that it was earlier used: and yet all that Proof is the Title of a Chapter, where it is once used; and every Body knows that Titles were set before Books or Chapters some Ages after they were written.

Page 199. He accuses me for saying that Kings might begin the Seizure of the Goods of deceased Bishops, as representing the People, who before might make those Seizures: and whereas the Poor at first made them, he argues that the Kings could not be supposed to represent the Poor. But since I pretend only in this Matter to proceed up in Conjecture, any Enour I may be guilty of, ought to be easily forgiven me: and I tell what might have fallen out in Fact, and not what is to be defended in Right. It is probable, as long as the Bishops were poor, the poor only spoiled their Goods; but when they grew rich, it is like enough others might have mixed with the poor in these Spoils, and that might have invited the Officers of Princes first to seize on them.

Page 320, He accuses me for saying that there was nothing so dedicated under the New Testament as was under the Old, and cites that of *Ananias* and *Saphira*. But certainly great Difference is to be made between a voluntary Dedication, and a divine Appointment, and between the Laws of God, that cannot be repealed but by the same Authority that first enacted them, and human Laws, that are still subject to the supreme legislative Power.

But his last Instance makes Amends for all the Defects in the former. This Nation has been under great Apprehensions of Popery: many Expedients have been proposed, and the Dangers have been much considered, and nothing has been more seriously examined by both King and Parliament for some Years, but none of them were so wise as to foresee one Danger, with which he frights me: Because I determined, that a *Popish Prince* may extend the *Regale* to all Churches in his Dominions, and this he thinks an unreasonable Assertion to publish here in England, as our Case stands with respect to the next in Succession. But if this be all the Danger he apprehends, he may go to bed and sleep very securely, for the *Regale* is already in the Crown here, and has been for some Ages extended to all the Churches in England. So the next Prince can add nothing to what the Crown is already vested with.

The sixth Head, for which I come under his Discipline, is the many gross Reflections on the Clergy, both ancient and modern, which he thinks *prodigiously strange*, and especially in this Age, and that the rather, that the Ground of many of the Accusations is false, and to bring this to Instances he complains, that

Page 26, I inveigh against the Corruptions of the Church in the Beginning of the fourth Century, and yet acknowledg that the better and sounder Part did still prevail in publick Synods: from which he infers, that if the major Part was good, there was no Ground for that *Invektive*: Yet any that reads that Passage will hardly find much of *Invektive* in it, and it's far short of what might have been cited from *Nazianzen* and *Chrysostom*, whose Credit he would be sure to magnify, if it made for him. The running backward and forward as they did, in the fundamental Points of Faith, will justify a far severer Character than I give of them: and may not a Church be corrupted, tho the Majority continues sound? Nor can we judge of the Majority of a Church, by the Majority of a Synod, for all Bishops did not come to every Synod. And I may likewise add, that many will be guilty of ill Practices, that have not the Face to defend them, when they come to be examined.

Page 33, He accuses me for calling *Constantius* a superstitious weak Man, upon the Credit of *Marcellin* a Pagan Writer. How judicious a Writer he is, all learned Men know : and that Passage, I refer to, has been cited by many of the greatest Men of this and the former Age. Nor was it quoted by me as a Proof, but as an excellent Saying. The Law *Constantius* made for Churchmen, by which the driving of Trade and Merchandize among Clergy-men was set on, and encouraged, was severely censur'd by St. *Jerome*, one of the best Men of that Age, who saw the ill Effects it had. But he says, I represent *Martel* as a brave Man, who robbed the Church. Do I say any Thing in Commendation of him for his Vertues ? I only speak of his good Conduct and great Success in his Wars ; and if this raises his Spleen, I must conclude that he is very much subject to Vapours.

He, in the next Place, accuses me for representing *Pulcheria* as superstitious ; and cites two Authors that say, she was a prudent and pious Woman, but in this he shews no great Judgment of Church-Historians. The first is *Zonaras*, that lived almost seven Ages after her Time, so that he might have cited *Baronius*, or the VVriters of this Age, as well as one that lived so long after her. And for *Socrates*, he does not bring his History down to her Reign nor can I find a VVord of her in him ; tho in this I cannot be positive, having only cursorily run over his last Book. If he had quoted Book and Chapter, I could have sought it out, but the naming the Page, without he had also named the Edition, helps me little : yet I do not deny that she was a very pious and prudent VVoman, nor do I call her *superstitious* ; but say that she was, even to *Superstition*, set on-raising the Authority and Greatness of the Church : which is a far milder Expression than that he fastens on me.

Page 54 He accuses me for thinking that the Strength of our Separatists lies in the ill Lives of the Clergy : But in what does he think their Strength lies ? Is it in their Cause, or their Arguments ? I am sure if I had said this, he would have charged it home upon me, and with Reason. But after all I only say the chief Advantages that the *Donatists* then took, were from the Corruptions of the Clergy : and this he must either know to be true, or he is a great Stranger to all St. *Austin's* VVritings against them : and that Discourse I conclude with this general Expression : *That in those Prejudices, with which the Vulgar are possess'd, from the Disorders which they observe in the Persons and Conduct of Church-men, lies the Strength of all Dividers from the publick Constitutions : which I set down as a gene-*

ral Maxime, without applying it to our Separatists.

Page 59, To shew his great exactness in Chronology, he says, that before the fourth Council at *Carthage* the African Churches had been lately oppressed by the *Vandals*; but *Baronius* and the Collectors of the Councils, place this Anno 398, and the first mention of the *Vandals* invading *Gaul* is Anno 406. Nor did they invade *Africk* till the Year 427, 28 Years after this Council. The other Parts of this Remark are not worth the answering.

Page 120 He says I boast of an odd Discovery of the VWeakness or Disingenuity of the Bishops, in making two contrary Decrees in one Day: but adds, that if we compare *de Marca* with *Baluzius*, both these make good Sense in one Law, and have no Contradiction in them. *Baluzius* speaks not a VVerd of the Canon, and only sets down the Edict: nor does *de Marca* offer to reconcile them, but only says that the Bishops made the Canon according to the Ecclesiastical Rules; and that in the Assembly of the States they would not struggle against the King's Inclinations. But if the *Annulling of Ordinations made by Authority, without the regular Way of Election*, which is in the Canon, be not plainly contradicted by the *Proviso* that is in the Edict, *for excepting from this Rule those that were chosen out of the Palace*, I must learn again the Use of the Parts of Speech.

Page 141 He accuses me of speaking, without any just Ground, contemptibly of the divine Right of Tithes, and for calling Arguments for it *irksom Stuff*: and all this is, because I speak slightly of those who run it up to *Adam*, and say that *Abel* was a true Tither, and *Cain* a false one; of this I shall say nothing, but refer it to every good Judge. He also complains that I with Satisfaction relate (Page 196, and 200) that all was thought well gotten by Princes, that could be got from the Clergy; tho I express no Satisfaction at that, but on the contrary great Regret at the Scandals of Church-men, which made Princes and others lose that esteem that former Ages had for them.

Page 166 He accuses me, that here and in many other Places I industriously search for those Canons, that may reflect most on the present Bishops and Clergy, and omit many that were more pertinent to the *Regale*: when he discovers these Omissions I shall be beholden to him, but till then, I must look on these as so many angry VWords; nor are any of the Bishops that I know concerned in those he refers to.

But his Displeasure against me rises higher in the seventh Head,
in

in which he represents me as a Criminal against the State; and the Care that was taken to convey these Animadversions by the Penny-Post to a great Minister, who is known to have much Goodness for me, shews well on what design this was writ.

Page 97 He says I enlarge the Words of *Gregorius*, but wisely adds, if his Edition is right; so he is safe till I know his Edition: but let the Reader take them in Greek, and then see what can be objected to my Transilation: διὰ τὸ τῶν τοιούτων οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐς τὰς ἐκ- λέγονται τὰς ἀρχαίς ἢ αὖ τῶν τῶν ἀρχαῖς ὑπὸ πᾶσι περιστάσεσιν καὶ περὶ ἀνδρῶν ποδὶ καὶ μὴ δὲ ἀπάντων ἐναντία φερόμενα.

Page 199 He accuses me for saying, that Princes do commonly assert a Right for any Thing which their Ancestors have once practised; and to this, he answers that of late Parliaments in *England* have done this oftner than Kings. But what am I concerned in this? I did not blame Princes for Building upon Prescription, but was only historically shewing, that the Practice of the Regale was confest to be an *Abuse* at first, but after a while's Continuance, it was claimed as a Right.

Page 244 He shews first great Unacquaintedness with French Constitutions, in calling the *Court of Parliament at Paris the Parliament of France*: And when *Francis the first* had delivered up the best part of the Liberties of the French Church to the Pope; he insinuates as if it were Sedition in me to rail & on the Arbitrariness of that King, and the ill Effects of that Temper: nor do I know what relation this has to late Proceedings, except he will presume to fasten the Imputations of Arbitrariness upon his Majesty. But as it was observed to be a Mirk of good Times under the Romans, when Men might safely speak against the Tyranny of former Princes; so his Majesty's mild and gracious Inclinations are so well known, and his Resolution to govern according to Law hath been so often and so lately declared, that I am not at all afraid of incurring his Displeasure by speaking against *Arbitrariness*.

Page 250, 251 He mentions a large Encomium I give of stiff Parliaments, which he says he needs not transcribe, nor tell what it aims at: nor need I tell what he aims at in this. But it seems he cannot tell what I aim at; for he Mistakes the Thing, and does not rightly distinguish between their Courts of Parliament in *France*, which answer to our Judges; and their Assembly of States, which answers to our Parliaments. The Ground of that Contest was, Whether they should deliver up their Liberties to the See of *Rome*? and if he condemns me for commending the Firmness of Judges

Judges in this Point, it's plain enough what he aims at.

And for a parting Blow he concludes, that the whole Discourse is so very partial for Popular Elections, and strains all Places to make it seem they had more Right than indeed they ever had, that it seems writ to court the Favour of the People. But if he would temper his Acrimony a little, he would see that I have overthrown the Argument for popular Elections much more effectually, than if I had entered into a long VVrangling about Matter of Fact. I shew that they began not upon any divine Right, but upon the Circumstances in which the Church was during the first three Centuries: And that as soon as the Government became Christian, the Town-Councils and Possessors of Lands took it out of the Hands of the Rabble; which had not been observed by any that writ before me, that I could fall on: so that I think I have effectually overthrown any Argument that can be drawn from the Practices of that Time. One thing I must observe that on which Side soever I may seem to write, I must fall under his Displeasure; for when I assert a Prince's Prerogative of extending the Regale to all the Churches of his Dominions, he tells me of the Danger of a Popish Successour: and if I acknowledg Matter of Fact as to popular Elections, he says I write for the People. I see I am irrecoverably lost with him; but a Man must bear his Misfortunes with a patient and constant Mind.

The eighth Head is of divers Errours in Chronology, which he is pleased to suppress: tho it appears by his Inquiries into the History of the *Vandals* that he has a peculiar Talent in that. Some Men always love to be tossing great Names, and therefore he is ever frightening me with the Authority of Dr. *Beveridg*, whom, for his great Learning and rare Worth, I esteem as much as any Man I know: and he, to his other excellent Qualities, adds so generous and worthy a Disposition of Mind, that he is not at all offended with those, who cannot in every Point agree with him. Therefore as long as I use that Liberty to which all that converse in Books have a Right, of following what I think best grounded, notwithstanding the learned Performances of worthy and great Men, I am not at all afraid of incurring his Displeasure.

His last Exception falls on the Compositors and Correctors, and therefore I am little concerned in it.

When he had thus performed this Piece of Discipline upon me, in which if I have escaped without any harm done me, I have somewhat else than him to thank for it; he dresses up a new Scene that he may fall on me again; and as if all that had been said, were nothing,

thing, he begins anew. He leaves it to his Friend to communicate it to me or not, when between them it was resolved to send it to the Pr. Is. Then he makes his Conjectures about my Temper, and says, *Perhaps I will despise it, and study Revenge for this modest Admonition.* I confess I cannot admire it, but I heartily pity him for writing it, and do earnestly pray to God to inspire him and all Church men with a better Temper: and this is all the Revenge I shall return on him. But sure he has a peculiar Dictionary of English Words for himself, when he calls this a *modest Admonition*. Yet, whatever he thinks of me, it's very evident from what follows, that he thinks well of himself. But to drop some Crumbs of Comfort, as a little Oil after a severe Whipping, he saies, he is loth to believe that I shou'd directly design Mischief to the Church, and is willing enough to believe that this Piece was writ in haste; and then he tells me on what Terms he may be confirmed in this favourable Opinion: yet, lest this Tenderess should make me too wanton, he adds, that if this *modest Admonition* does not work on me, I must expect a rougher Hand. But to this I gave my Answer in the Beginning of this Paper.

As for the Books that he enjoyns me to read, if this is all the Penance he will lay on me, I hope I may recover his Favour. I have read and do much admire Dr. *Beveridge's* Vindication of the Apostolical Canons, and am fully convinced by him, that there was an Ecclesiastical *Rule* or *Canon* received in the Church before these Councils that met in the Beginning of the fourth Century. But if I am not yet perswaded that that was put in Writing, and in the same Form in which we now have it, and instead thereof think it consisted rather in a Tradition, and constant Practice, I hope that excellent Person will be more favourable to me, than to think the worse of me for it.

He next directs me to some Authors that have writ of the Right of Tithes: but I wonder he did not name Dr. *Comber's* late celebrated Book on that Argument, for whose Person and Writings I believe he has a singular Affection and Esteem; yet I can assure him that tho that Book came into the World too late for instructing me before I writ concerning the Regale, yet I have read it perhaps with as much Care, and more impartiality than he used in reading mine; and do look on it as a very learned Work: and hope that worthy Doctor will not make War with me, if I cannot be in all Things of his mind. I think I have now said enough to satisfy all disinterested Persons, and even the Animadvertiser or the Publisher themselves.

selves, that there was no just Cause given by any Thing in my Book, for such severe Censures as he fastens on me; and I hope he is freed from the Apprehensions he seemed to be under, lest Papists and others should take Advantage from any Faults in this Book to weaken the Credit of my other *Pieces*: which honourable Compellation is bestowed on some Volumes in Folio, that have had the Luck not to be ill-received in the World. But I hope the Credit not only of those *Pieces*, but even of my *Piece* of the Regale, shall not suffer much by the Performance of this *Piece* of his Animadversions.

So much I have thought fit to say in my own Vindication. I hope all along I have not forgot the Caution that was given me, of tempering my stile so, that nothing of resentment should appear in it: If any Thing has escaped me, that favours of it, it has fallen from me unawares; and I humbly beg Pardon for it of the Person concerned.

F I N I S.

A
SERMON

Preached at the
CHAPPEL
OF THE
ROLLS,

On the Fifth of *November*, 1684.

BEING
GUN-POWDER-TREASON-DAY.

By *Gilbert Burnet*, D. D.

L O N D O N:

Printed for the Author, and are to be Sold by *R. Baldwin*,
in the *Old-Baily* Corner, upon *Ludgate Hill*, 1684.

2010

CHAND

PROJ

On the Effect of Pressure on

GUN-POWDER-FIRE-ARMS

4449

11

THis Sermon as it was the shortest I ever preached, so was not at all intended for the Press; but some Discourses that have been raised upon it, made me conclude, it was in some sort necessary to publish it for my own vindication.

I have writ it out with all possible exactness and fidelity; tho since I do not read my notes, nor repeat them word for word, I cannot answer that either in this or the other Sermons that I have printed, my pen has so governed, or followed my tongue, that there was no variation between them; I am sure it is here printed as near the words I used, as I can remember them; and in this I have not depended only on my own memory, but on several of my hearers, who hearkned to that Sermon.

mon with more than ordinary attention,
and do think that it is very punctually set
down here as I spake it.

I am sure the last part of it, that presses
Loyalty and Obedience, is not at all enlarged
beyond what I not only preached in
that Sermon, but on many other occasions,
in which I appeal to all my Hearers. But
I leave the Sermon to speak for it self,
and me both; and will refer it to every mans
conscience that reads it, to judg whether or
not I can be concluded from it to be a per-
son disaffected to his Majesties Go-
vernment.

and all the nations of the earth
shall be brought to the knowledge of the
glory of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.

P S A L. XXII. 21.

*Save me from the Lyons mouth, for
thou hast heard me from the horns of
the Unicorns.*



WE have no greater encouragement in our Addresses to God, than the remembrance of past deliverances; and we never Worship him more decently, than when we mix our acknowledgments for what is past, with our Prayers for what is to come. So *David* here implores the Divine Protection in an extreme danger, which is poetically exprest, by the *Lions mouth*, the figure of a *Lion* importing the strength as well as the rage of his enemies; and its
mouth,

mouth importing the nearness of the danger, which perhaps relates to the hazards he run of falling into the hands of *Saul*. And with this he gives the reason of his confidence in God, even in that Extremity ; because in some former dangers, which are expressed by the figure of being *on the horns of the unicorn, or Rhinoceros*, and so being ready to be tossed up, or torn by it, God had *heard him*. This perhaps relates to his deliverance from the *Lion*, and the *Bear*, or from *Goliath*. It is needless to enlarge more upon the words: Three things occur very naturally to our thoughts from them, with relation to this present occasion.

The first is, the apprehension of danger from a formidable and cruel Enemy.

The second is, a hope of preservation founded on former deliverances.

And the third is, the mean that is here laid before us for our preservation ; it is prayer to God, that he may *save us from the lions mouth, who has before heard us* (that is, in the Scripture-phrase *delivered us*) *from the horns of the unicorns*.

For

at the Rolls-Chappel, Nov. 5. 9

For the first Particular, I will use no Preambles, but plainly tell you, That it is the Church of *Rome* which I mean, that is both so strong and so cruel an Enemy; and is as a Lion going about seeking how to devour all that differ from it. As for the Strength of this Enemy, it may be measured by the Empire which that Church has assumed, not onely over Mens Persons, but over their Consciences: This being indeed the Fundamental Doctrine of of that Church, of believing as the Church believes; of delivering up Mens Reasons and Consciences to be led blind-fold into whatsoever Doctrines or Practices their Guides impose upon them; and making them think, that to doubt of any of these is a Sin, and that therefore it must be opened to the Priest, and cannot be taken away, but by his leave, and Pardon given by him. The Mystery of Popery lies not so much in other Speculative Opinions, as in this main Point, That we ought not

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to

10 *A Sermon Preached* Nov. 5.

to trust neither our Reason nor our Senses in the examining such Articles as that Church proposes to us, but must take them all, and her Authority to boot, which determines all the rest, upon her own Word: So that the main thing in controversie between the Church of *Rome* and us, is, Whether we ought to inquire into the Will of God our selves, or must take it upon trust from our Guides?

A Church that has established such a Tyranny upon the tenderest Part of our Natures, our Reason, which is the most jealous of its Liberty, as well as the most desirous of it, no wonder if she takes it ill to see so sacred a Secret look'd into; for, as it will not bear an Inquiry, so every Inquiry into it, is a Step towards the shaking it off. And therefore, as her Power is absolute over her own Votaries; so she must bear an extreme Hatred to any that will be so impudent as to pretend, that
their

At the Rolls-Chappel. 211

their Understandings are exempted from her Yoke.

Other things concur in that Church to confirm this Empire. The Belief of the Priests Power, both of Transubstantiating the Bread and the Wine, and of granting Absolution, makes it seem very reasonable to trust a Body of Men, that are so wonderfully qualified, with the Keeping and Conduct of other Mens Consciences. And after the most essential, as well as the most uneasily subdued Power of a Man was conquered, no wonder if the lesser Matters, such as Wealth and Dominion, should follow the other, as a sort of Perquisites. He that can forgive the Sins of the Living, and redeem the Souls of the Dead, will drive a sure Trade for himself; for though it cannot be sure that what he does is ratified in Heaven; yet the Belief of it, whether it gives Heaven to the Purchaser or not, is sure to bring the best

part of this Earth to the Seller. Men do not return to tell that they were cheated in the Bargain, and to demand an Equity. On the contrary, in dark Ages nothing was more common than pretended Apparitions and Voices to confirm the Imposture; which have vanished in an Age that is more apt to suspect and examine such things, as the Illusions of our Dreams fly from us whenever we are awake.

But the Night was so long and so dark, that no wonder if so gainful a Trade was carried on with great success: And who would stand much upon the Case, after they had parted with the Jewel? So Mens Reasons being once given up, no wonder if Wealth, and all other Secular Advantages, were thrown into the Bargain. A Church established upon such a Bottom, and supported with so much Wealth and Power, and defended by such Multitudes, who as they have all their
Pro-

at the Rolls-Chappel, Nov. 5. 13

Proportion of the Spoil, so are tied to it by Vows, as well as engaged in it by Interest; and that has subdued so great a part of the World, and claims a more than ordinary Title to us, as having been once a very valuable Part of her Empire, is justly to be looked on as a great and formidable Enemy.

But it is not the Greatness of an Enemy, that makes him so Formidable; it is his Rage and Cruelty that gives the most mortal Apprehensions. The old *Romans* made the Nations that they subdued, Gainers by the Conquest they made of them: But the Modern *Romans* are more unrelenting Enemies. They first make all their Votaries look on such as are not of their Party, as Hereticks, that is, Men hated of God, and devoted to Damnation. Now it will be no hard thing to inspire Men with Cruelty, when they are once possessed with such inveterate Hatred and Aversion.

14 *A Sermon Preached* NOV. 5.

sion to a sort of Men who they believe are to burn in Hell for ever; and so they think they but co-operate with the Justice of God, if they help this forward, and bring it on a little the sooner; especially when such Fires purifie the Air, which would be otherwise corrupted with their Heresie.

A Church that has substituted this Wild-fire of Rage and Cruelty, to these gentle Flames of Love and Charity; and that, instead of making us love one another, makes us destroy and burn one another, is the most opposite thing possible to a Society founded on the Gospel; as if, instead of the Union that ought to be among Christians, we ought onely to be bundling up Numbers of them in Faggots, to be burnt or blown up. All means possible are taken to impose this Cruelty on the World, which without
some

some Practice and extraordinary Endeavours could not be wrought up] to such a Pitch, as to lay down the Bowels of a Man, and take up the Rage of a Wolf or Lion:

Bishops among them are made to swear at their Consecration, That they shall *persecute Hereticks to the utmost of their Power.* Decrees of General Councils have been made for the Extirpating Hereticks; and Indulgence, with the Pardon of Sins, have been promised to such as should assist at it. And because there is somewhat Great and Generous in the Nature of most Princes, therefore they have decreed, That if they are remiss in this Affair, of Extirpating such as the Church condemns of Heresie, which is onely a soft Word for being the Churchmens Executioners, they shall be first Excommunicated; and if they persist in their merciful Inclinations,,

ons, they are next to be Deposed, their Subjects to be acquitted of their Oaths of Allegiance, and their Dominions to be disposed of to other more Zealous, that is, less Merciful Catholicks.

Thus all possible Ways are taken to engage all sorts of People, both Clergy and Laity, both Princes and Subjects, into these Cruel Practices; and therefore the Bloody things that have been done among them, are not so much the Excesses of Particular Persons, as the Natural Effects of the Established Doctrines and Rules of their Church, which seems to have forced them upon all within it, with so affected a Care, as if those who had managed it had been jealous that Good Nature and Common Humanity would have been too hard for them; if this Machin had not been set on by so many strong Springs, that nothing should withstand it.

So

So in short, here is an Enemy that if it prevails it must either swallow up our Souls, or will be sure if that project fails, to succeed in that which it has in reserve, it will devour our Bodies.

If any say, that these were effects of heat long ago, which are now disowned by that Church.

To such this must be answered, That as *Bel-larmine* says, the Church does not always put in practise her power of deposing Princes, because she is not always able to execute her Censures; so this Doctrine of extirpation is either really hid from some good-natured Protestants, whose hearts might perhaps turn against a Church that should authorize such barbarities, or is cautiously and prudently enough disowned by those who know it, till they see a fair conjuncture and a fit opportunity: and those who do not now see it, may perhaps then feel it.

But we are not to seek long for instances of this cruelty, when we have such a crying one in our eyes in the business of this day, which is the second thing I proposed to speak to. Where we have a Crime before us that far past all the

invention of former Ages : for never was there any one single action, that would have produced such mischievous effects, as one spark of fire would have done here, if God had not heard and delivered us from the *horns of the Unicorns*. None could suspect the nature of man of so black a design: and it was less to be apprehended from men of the same Countrey, if the becoming a Profelyte to Rome did not make a man both forget that he was a man, and an Englishman. Nor was there any violent oppression in the case; which often makes even a wise man mad, for they were under so little pressure, that the Government was a little censured for its remissness: so that a Merciful Prince and a gentle Reign do not allay their fury. It had been long in consultation among them, as may appear by this one instance among many more that might be given, *Delrio* a Jesuite in a book Printed at Louvain, but five years before this, puts a Case, *Whether if a Confederate discover in Confession that he or some else have placed Gunpowder, or such like matter under such or such a house, and unless it be removed, the House will be blown up, the Prince destroyed, and as many as are in or going out of the City, will sustain great mischief, or run an extream hazard, the Priest ought to reveal it*

Delrio
Dis. Mag.
lib. 6. c. 1.

it? It is determined in the Negative, that he ought not to do it; and for this he cites a Bull of Pope Clement the Eighth, against the taking any notice of things discovered in Confession, which though it related only to Superiours, and required them to take no notice in their Government of such things as they know in Confession, yet the Jesuite argues from thence, that the Pope approved the opinion, that Confessors ought to behave themselves in all respects, as if they had heard nothing at all in Confession. This being published so near *England*, and so near the time when this Train was laying, shews that it was then in their thoughts: for it is a case that had never before fallen out, and so was not likely to have fallen into a mans thoughts, if the thing had not been in consultation among them. In conclusion, when a sufficient number were cemented by so many Oaths and Sacraments in such a black design, then it was laid with so much artifice, that it was not probable it could have miscarried. Thus were our Fathers upon the *horns of the Unicorns*, when by an unlookt for accident it appeared, that that eye to which those dark places lay naked, took pitie on us, and laid this open to the preservation of King, and Queen, and Prince, the Cler-

gy and Nobility, the Commons and all others whom that great solemnity of the meeting of a Parliament commonly brings together; besides the crouds round about the place, who would very probably have had a large share of so devouring an Earthquake, as so much Gunpowder must have produced. It is true, some humanity was left, but it was only to their own Party; warning was given to so many, that there were not above *Three worth Saving*, in their account, in all that vast Assembly, who were not advertised to absent themselves, as Sir *Euward Digby* writ out of Prison to a Friend.

One of these Advertisements being conveyed very odly to a Lord of that Religion, gave him the happy opportunity of being the instrument that brought out all this secret provision for so many deaths that was laid up in store. The bold Incendiary that undertook the thing, was taken, and all broke out: but then, though a great many of those who had not learnt the *depths of Satan*, were so far overcome by the Discovery, as to confess all, yet as one of these was prevailed with to retract that afterwards, but a few minutes before his death in prison, which prevented his suffering by the hand of Justice, so

so the Jesuites shewed on this occasion how they can steel their Consciences, both in undertaking the blackest Crimes, and in throwing off that guilt with the most impudent denials. Garnet their *Provincial* did this to a degree of assurance, that astonished those who took his Examinations. Sir *Everard Digby*, one of the Conspirators in his Letters, of which I have seen the Originals, calls that Conspiracy, *A Cause dearer to him than his Life*; and so powerfully had the poyson of that Religion corrupted his thoughts, that in all his Letters writ during his imprisonment, even in his last Advices to his Children, there is not the least hint of Repentance for his engagement in so vile a design; though in all other respects he appeared to be a man that was both Vertuously and Religiously inclined, such an influence has that Religion even on the best natures.

If after all this, these had been only the execrable practices of some Assassins, though it would have left some Imputation on a Church, for having such Members in her bosome, yet it might be well enough put by with this, that there will be still cockle among the Wheat, and that there was a Traitor among the Twelve Apostles.

postles. But if these things were done pursuant to the Doctrines of that Church, that makes it lawful to Kill Hereticks, to Depose Princes, to dissolve the Bonds of Allegiance, and to give their Dominions to others; then we may more justly charge the guilt of this day upon the Church itself.

It gives very just grounds of suspicion that the Pope never made any Declaration of his detestation of that Crime, though, as I have been credibly informed, it was much desired: on the contrary, two Priests that had engaged in it, getting beyond-sea, were well received and provided for by the Pope even in *Rome* it self. And the Jesuites have made Prints and Pictures for *Garnet* as a Saint, and fables of straws that wrought miracles by virtue of some drops of Blood that fell on them, which afterwards were converted into little pictures, have been proposed to the World as evidences of his Saintship. In a word, it is plain that these who engaged in this Conspiracy, were carried into it by the Principles of their Religion, and that they were so far from being condemned for it, that they were supported and justified both living and dead for what they did in it.

And

And that Learned King, though by the goodness of God he never felt the effects of the bloody rage of that cruel Religion, yet he knew it well, and therefore upon a solemn occasion he protested to his Councillours, *That he would never so much as grant a Toleration of that Religion, but would spend the last drop of blood in his body before he would do it ; and pray'd that before any of his Issue should maintain any other Religion than what he truly professed and maintained, that God would take them out of the world.*

Crooks
Reports
Term.
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Since then, notwithstanding the close management as well as the secret contrivance of this cursed Plot, which was so near its execution, that the whole State both of this Church and Nation was in a danger, not unfitly expressed by their being on the *horns of the Unicorns* ; God yet heard our Fathers and delivered them, who have handed down to us the remembrance of that great Salvation that he wrought for them on this blessed day ; then all the Royal Family descended from that King, all the Nobility and Gentry, whose Ancestours were markt for destruction, all the Clergy to whose burning that fire was the forerunner, unless they resolved to save themselves by Apostacy, and the whole English Nation that was then like to have seen so *black a day*, and have

have fallen under so *dark a night*, ought all to joyn together and say, *O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is gracious, for his mercy endureth for ever, Amen and Amen.*

And because *his mercy endureth for ever*, therefore we ought still to pray to him to preserve us, and to say to him, *Save me from the Lions mouth*, which is the third thing in my Text. We believe there is a secret providence that governs the World, and that discriminates between the good and the bad, and therefore we ought to address our selves to that Providence, as well as to depend on it and submit to it; and since the Religion that we profess is the Cause of God, and the dearest of all other things to him who delivered it to the world, who sealed it with his own Blood, and in whose hands the government of all things in Heaven and in Earth was put by his Father, we may well quiet our minds, amidst all the fears and apprehensions which melancholy thoughts may suggest to us. God will not abandon his own work, nor will Christ forget that which was the purchase of his own Blood. We may indeed make our selves unworthy of it, and the cry of our sins may go up so loud to Heaven, as to drown these softer whispers of our Prayers and Thanksgivings.

It

It is our contempt of God and Religion; our unreformed Lives amidst all the noise we make of the Reformation, our forgetting past Mercies, and our insensibility to all the Methods of Divine Providence, that ought to make us fear the *Lion's Month*, and every thing else that is dismal and frightful: and therefore if we would have our Prayers to be effectual, we must take care that our Lives may not defeat our cold and slender Devotions.

But as we desire to have our Prayers to be heard, so we must take a particular care to join no Endeavours with them that may argue a distrust of God, or of our Religion: and while we have a zeal against Popery, as a bloody, a rebellious, and a cruel Religion; we must do nothing to shew that we are acted by the Spirit of Popery, even

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while

while we seem to oppose it. All Malice to Mens Persons, all desire of Revenge, the thirst of Blood, fierce Zeal, and indecent Rage, are the Characters of the Persecuting Spirit that reigns there: We must not think ill of every particular Man among them, because of their Corruptions, which perhaps he does not know; and if he did know them, would disown them. We must think as charitably of men as we can; for tho' there is very little Charity due to the complicated Body, and the governing Part of that Church; yet we owe a great deal to many particular men in it, who are still in it, because they have not known the Depths of Satan; and would very probably forsake it, if they saw so well as to discern them.

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But above all these, we must never forget the Station in which God has put us, as we are Subjects under a lawful Prince, to whom we are tied both by Divine and Humane Laws: and even the *Lion's Mouth* it self opening to devour us, can never excuse us from our Obligation to submit and suffer, if God had so ordered it by his Providence, that we had not the blessing of being born under a Prince that is the *Defender of the Faith*, but were born under one that would deliver us up to the LION. Much less ought Jealousies to be so blown into our minds by ill-disposed men, as to make us forget our Duty to God and the King.

Suffer me here to speak this freely, that the late Rebellion, as it was managed with a Popish, that is, a Bloody Spirit, so many of the Arguments that were

used to defend it, were taken from Popish Authors;

When we go out of the way of Patience and Submission, of Obedience, and of bearing the Cross; when we give scope to Passion and Rage, to Jealousy and Mistrust, and upon this Fermentation in our Minds we break out into Wars and Rebellion; we forget that the God whom we serve is Almighty, and can save us either from a devouring Fire, or a Lion's Mouth; and either will save us from these, or reward us infinitely for them: We forget that the Saviour whom we follow, was made perfect by Sufferings; and that we become then truly his Disciples, when we bear his Cross, even tho' we should be crushed under it: We forget that our Religion ought to inspire us with a contempt of Life and the World, and with meekness

meekness and lowliness of Mind: We forget that we are the Followers of that glorious Cloud of Witnesses, who have by Faith and Patience inherited the Promises, and have gone to take possession of the Kingdom that was prepared for them, through Fire, and through Blood, but it was their own Blood. And to sum up all, we forget that our Reformation was the shaking off of Popery, that is, a bloody Conspiracy against the Souls and Bodies of men: against the Souls of the Weak, and against the Bodies of the Firm, but Innocent Professors of this Holy Religion. We are not to share with them in their Cruelty, nor imitate them in their Rebellion.

But on the other hand; If we will live so suitably to our Religion, that we may be thereby entitled to the blessing of enjoying it, and of being secure
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in it; and if our melancholy apprehensions make us pray more earnestly to the Great Author of it, then we may lie down in quiet; for God will either make us to dwell in safety, and deliver us from the *Lion's Mouth*; or if he gives us up as a Prey, yet at least we shall even in Death overcome, and obtain the Crown of Life.

FINIS.

A
LETTER

FROM

GILBERT BURNET, D. D.

TO

Mr. SIMON LOWTH, Vicar of *Cosmus-Blene* in
the Diocess of *Canterbury*.

Occasioned by his late Book of *the subject of*
Church-Power.

Reverend Sir,

I Know no other Address to you, but this of the Press, which I hope will find you out: you have forced me to deal so publicly with you, by your beginning with me; and which is yet worse, by your refusing to give your own eyes that Satisfaction which I desired a neighbouring Clergyman of yours to offer you.

When I saw your Letters to the two Deans, in which you accused the Dean of *St. Paul's* for his *copying out unfaithfully the Papers of Cranmer and the other Deans*, which he had published, and added, *that I had*

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also

also printed them imperfect, and so had abused the House of Commons unto an approbation of my History of the Reformation, (where by the way, I cannot imagine why you left out the House of Lords, whose Approbation is printed with the other.) I confess, I wondred upon what you could found so heavy a Charge. I printed no Record in that Collection without comparing the Copies exactly with the Original, for I thought that too important a thing to trust it to any Person whatsoever : Therefore finding my self accused of a designed Fraud, which, if true, must needs shake the credit of my whole Book ; I did what I could to prevent your bringing that Shame upon your self, which I do now unwillingly lay on you, not so much for the support of my own Credit, as for maintaining the Reputation of that Work. I therefore desired your Neighbour to tell you, that I was sure I had printed all those Papers faithfully and exactly, without departing from the Originals in any thing but the spelling : I added, that if you thought fit to fall on any Discourse or inference of mine, you might do as you pleased ; but if you accused me of Unfaithfulness, in publishing any of the Papers that are in my collection *imperfect*, I should be forced to justify my self, tho to your cost : for in such Accusations a Man ought not to be over patient. I bid him also tell you, that as I had printed those Papers exactly, so if you had a mind to see the Originals

nals themselves, I should procure them for you : this was done many Months ago. He brought me an Answer from you, that I could make nothing of ; but now I see it in Print, and so I will examine it.

You say that if you may believe the Dean of *Windsor*, Dr. *Durel*, there is among these Papers in Dr. *Stillingfleet's* MS. one of Dr. *Leighton's*, in which there are two Assertions contrary to *Cranmer's* Opinion concerning Church-power, and that *Cranmer* signed Dr. *Leighton's* Paper ; from which he infers that *Cranmer* changed his Mind, and subscribed to *Leighton's* Opinion ; and of all this, you say *I have given no account to the World, but have omitted it in two Impressions.*

I would willingly believe the best of every Man, and make the best of all things that I can, and therefore I should have imputed this to an extream carelessness in you ; but since you have charged me so severely for Unfaithfulness, and abusing the House of Commons in it, and since you refused to accept of the Satisfaction which I had offered you, I must crave leave to tell you (for it is a hard thing, and needs a Preface to soften it) that you have accused me both uncharitably as to the manner of it, and unjustly as to the matter : Since these very things that you say I have left out, are in my Collection, taken *verbatim* from the Original, which will appear by my setting down that which you cite from the Dean of *Windsor*,

and that which is in my Collection, over against one another.

There is indeed a variation in the Words, tho none in the Sense : mine is exactly according to the Original : and the Variations of the Dean of *Windsor* from it, tho they make no change in the Sense , yet are too many to be the Mistakes of a Transcriber : therefore I am apt to think that as Dr. *Durel* writ them out, he put them either in *Latin* or *French*, intending perhaps to make use of them in one of these Tongues, and that afterwards he translated them into his own *English* when the Manuscript might be perhaps no more in his power to copy them from the Original. The Reasonableness of this Conjecture will appear from a view of the Words themselves, as he and I have published them; for I have published all *Leighton's* Paper, together with *Cranmer's* Subscription at the end of it.

The words that you cite from the Dean of *Windsor*, pag. 485. of your Book, l. 24. are these.

I suppose a Bishop according to Scripture, to have power from God as his Minister, of creating a Presbyter;

The Words I have, *Hist. Reform. vol. 1. Coll. Rec. Book 3. pag. 227. l. 36.* are these.

I suppose that a Bishop hath Authority of God as his Minister by Scripture to make a Priest, but he ought not

ter ; tho he ought not to promote any to the Office of a Presbyter, or admit to any other Ecclesiastical Ministry in a Commonwealth ; unless the leave of the Prince be first had. But that any other have Power according to Scripture I have neither read nor learned by Example. 2. I suppose Consecration to be necessary as by imposition of hands, for so we are taught by the Examples of the Apostles.

not to admit any man to be Priest, and consecrate him, or to appoint him to any Ministry in the Church without the Princes Licence and Consent in a Christian Region. And that any other Man hath authority to make a Priest by Scripture, I have not read, nor any Example thereof. And P. 230. l. 22. I suppose that there is a Consecration required as by imposition of Hands, for so we be taught by the Ensamle of the Apostles.

And Pag. 243. l. 3. from the bottom, where Dr. Leighton's Subscription is set down, there is set by it *T. Cantuarien.* Thus, Sir, you see you may believe the Dean of *Windsor*, and believe this further, that you have slander'd me *falsly* : if there is any harshness in these Expressions, the things themselves draw them from me, and your unaccountable Behaviour in this matter has brought them on you. I wish that instead of reading any other Books, you would read the Gospels and Epistles more carefully ; and before you venture to treat of such tender points as Church-power,

power ; that you will learn to practice the Rules of Justice and Christian Charity (not to speak of Prudence and common Discretion) ; and then the Advices of your Friends will prevail more with you than your own Heats : for tho you flatter your self so far as to fancy (as you began your Preface) that there was a *huge din and noise, Pannick almost and universal, raised in London and else-where, for two full years and upwards, occasioned by your Treatise* ; I assure you I never heard of any ; tho none, after the two worthy Deans, were more concerned in it than I was ; all that look'd into it (for I spoke with none that had quite read it) said it could hurt no body but the Bookseller or your self ; tho I have not heard that the Chancery ever gave Equity against an Author for an unsaleable Book. Many wished for the Churches sake, and for your own sake, that she might not suffer by so ill an Advocate, and that you would not discharge your Spleen on two such eminent Men, whose Works (as well as their Persons) will be had in Honour, long after both you and your Book will be forgotten. You are indeed proud of the Honour of assaulting two such men, and tell the World that their Eminence was no small Motive to you to undertake this Work, and give this modest account of your self (*Preface, pag. 7. l. 22.*) *Doth the King of Israel go out as against a Flea ?* I confess this is a lofty Figure, and the Application of it to your self is somewhat

what extraordinary. But there was a Roman Emperor that used to be shut up *catching Flies*, and I am afraid some will think that since you will borrow a Figure from a Crowned Head, this had become you better; but you have secured your self by writing in a Stile so unintelligible, that as I hear few read your Book, so I am confident no body can understand it, and so to be sure they will not answer it. Yet since you tell the World that *here is a course of Studies upon full thoughts and a thorough consideration*: you had best do as another Roman Emperor did, write *of your self*, and illustrate your Book with Annotations, and I suppose the Bookieller will take care that it shall only be *to your self*. You tell us that your Book *is born with a Beard, as the Jews say Esau was*: it is indeed hairy all over, and so rough is the shag, that it will not submit to the Discipline of a *comb*. I shall only offer to your Consideration, one Passage which I hope you will not forget in your Annotations; it comes just after that humble comparing of your self to the King of *Israel*, and I suppose your Spirits were a little exalted upon so glorious a Figure, and so you have risen above my pitch. The words are remarkable; *Nor do those of meaner Order and Quality undertake that Authority which is in it self none, falls of it self to the ground, nor was ever influential upon any?* This is but one of many, and is the shortest I could pick out. I suppose you
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had a meaning when you writ it, tho perhaps in the two full Years and upwards in which it stuck so that it is overgrown with Hair, you may have lost it. I shall conclude with two short Advices ; the first is, That if you intend to write any more, you will learn first to write true English, then to write good Sense ; but I believe this will prove so very hard a Task , that the best and easiest Advice can be given you, is, that you will write none at all ; but set about matters of a *more close and comfortable importance* ; in which I wish you better success than you are like to have by your Book, and am , notwithstanding this freedom with you,

Reverend Sir,

London De-
cember the
20th, 1684.

Your most humble Servant,

G. BURNET.

London : Printed for *Richard Baldwin* in the Old-Baily Corner on
Ludgate Hill, 1685.

*An A N S W E R to a Letter
to Dr. Burnet, occasioned by his
Letter to Mr. Lowth.*

S I R,

I Thought you had some remnants
of Shame and Sence left with you,
and that a Correction you met
with some Years ago, had brought
you a little into order ; but, as was
then observed, *Nature is Nature
still, and will return and have the bet-
ter*, where neither Religion, Vertue,
nor good Manners, have force enough
to restrain a petulant and insolent
Temper.

You intend to support a Forgery,
of which I have reason to suppose

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you

you the Parent, as well as you are now the Nurse to it, and therefore you are tender of your own *Brat*, but with what success I can even make you your self the Judg; and if you knew the opinion that I have of your sincerity, you would believe this was a great evidence of my being very well assured that I am in the right. But some Men have got a trick of facing all things down with Noise and Impudence, and imagine that blustering and foul Language will carry all before it.

In short, for no Man can take pleasure to rake a Kennel long, you discharge a whole Sheet full of Slime and Choler at me, for asserting that I had omitted no part of that Manuscript of *Cranmer's*; and that I had particularly printed that for the
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the omission of which Mr. *Lenth* has accused me, whereas you tell me that I have only printed the Subscription of *T. Cantuarien*, to an Assertion concerning Extream Unction, and that I have not added it to the Assertions concerning *Church Power*. Now how any Man that had his sense about him, and thought that I would call him to an account of it, could venture on so gross a piece of falshood and folly both, I cannot easily imagine; so that really I am inclined to think, the last New Moon, or the New Wine, have their shares in it.

In the beginning of those Papers, *Pag. 201. line 6.* where I set down their Title, I tell, *That as they are taken from the Originals, under the Hands of those Bishops and Divines,*

so I add, *That in copying them, I judged it might be more acceptable to the Reader to see every Man's Answer set down after every Question, and therefore they are published in that Method.* Thus instead of setting every Paper entirely by it self, I set every Man's Answer under every Question; to which I was advised, as being the easier method to give a view of their Thoughts of every particular altogether. And *Pag. 242.* when I come to the last Question, I set this down on the *Margent*, over against *Cranmer's Subscription; These are the Subscriptions which are at the end of every Man's Paper.* After all this, no man but *you*, could have been so forsaken of common Sense and Honesty, as to pretend that the Subscription to which I refer, was only to the last Article concerning Extream Unction, and not
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to the whole Paper ; and by this same art of Reasoning, you may pretend that your Subscription belongs only to the last line of your Letter.

I do assure you I do not admire your Understanding so much, as I perceive you do your self ; yet I did not think it was so sunk, for this is such childish and gross Ignorance, that your Friends had best enter a *Caveat*, lest you be beg'd for it. But I am afraid your *Morals* are more in fault here than your *Intellectuals*. You thought somewhat must be said for supporting your Friend, and so took hold of any thing could furnish out a *Letter*.

And now for the Flourish and Garniture of your Letter, it is so like the Author, that none who have given themselves the trouble to read any of his Books, can miss him. The Character is indelible, and sticks as close as if he
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were stigmatized with it. I will let it all go, for I am not practised to search among Excrements, only one remarkable Line in it deserves some Observation. You sprinkle a little Civility, p 2. l. 13. and call my History, *the only good thing I ever wrote, that could recommend me to the kind Opinion of Honest Men, that know the difference between English and Scotch.* This lewd Reflection on a whole Nation, as it shews the clownishness of your Temper, for all your pretence to Courtliness, so it shews your contempt of the King and the whole Royal Family, and of that blessed *Martyr* himself, that was born in that Kingdom, notwithstanding all your Affectations, and writing of Addresses in the Name of the *Primitive Church.*

But thus it is, That because in the last disposal of Bishopricks, the Secretary

tary to the Primitive Church was forgotten, he who but a Year ago set his Majesty above Christ himself, and taxed the Expression of praying for the King as *Supream under Christ*, as *crude*, not to call it *profane*, is now so disgusted, that he says, *Honest Men* (and to be sure he ranks himself in that number, tho he is singular in that too) *know the difference between English and Scotch*. And thus while you fall on me, you secretly discover what lies at your Heart ever since the last Disappointment. But now that you have so wisely taken a whole Nation to task, it seems you intend to have all the Characters of the Rehearsal Transposed to you; and that you are not contented with being *Bays*, but you will be *Draw-can-sir* too. I wish you a better mind, and am,

Yours, &c.

I have now justified my sincerity in my History ; and that being established, I will think my self little concerned in all the *Billingsgate* Language that you or any else can throw out upon me. I would not have said so much, if there were not some Occasions in which it is necessary to *answer a Foot according to his Folly*, as well as there are others in which it is as necessary *not to answer him according to his Folly* : And as I have brought my self, not without some uneasiness, to treat you as you deserve, so it will be much easier for me, to despise all you can say, and to be silent hereafter.

F I N I S.

L O N D O N ; Printed for Richard Baldwin, in the
Old-Baily Corner on Ludgate-Hill. 1685.

A

LETTER

Occasioned by the second LETTER to

Dr. BURNET,

Written to a Friend.

SIR,

I Saw another nameless Paper directed to me two days ago; and indeed it was so dull, and so little to the purpose, that I laid it aside as unworthy of an Answer: But you have perswaded me once more to put Pen to Paper, tho not to satisfy such a Trifler, who would pretend to Wit, if he knew how to lay his Claim to it; but it is so course, and his good Nature and Candor are so conspicuous, that I did not wonder to hear a witty Gentleman say, That I had certainly hired one to write it; but I scarce know where I could have found out such another. I do not trouble my self to ask after his Name; for till he gives himself one, I must let all lie where I laid it before, since his Protestations, without a Name set to them, are things of as little weight as he that makes them, and must go for nothing, as certainly he that writ them, is one of the next things to nothing.

But since I understand, that some who have read the Papers that have passed in this matter, desire to see the whole thing fairly stated, which, in such Points of Fact, is of more force than all other Discourses can possibly be; I will set it in a clear light, and then it will appear what a sort of Men I have to do with, who will so obstinately keep up a Noise where there is no Cause or Colour given for it. The state of the whole thing is this:

In King *Henry* the eighth's time, the method that was taken, while the Points of Religion were under Consideration, was this: A Matter

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was put into Queries, and these were given out to some Bishops, and other Divines, who by a set day were required to bring in their Answers to those Queries under their hands; and then these being examined and compared, they went on to determine it. So when the Sacraments came to be enquired into, there were seventeen Queries drawn up, and given out to a select number of Bishops and Doctors, the last of these happens to be concerning Extreme unction. Some of these relate to Church-Power; as, *Whether the Apostles lacking a higher Power, as in not having a Christian King among them, made Bishops by that necessity, or by Authority given by God? Whether Bishops or Priests were first? Whether a Bishop hath Authority by the Scripture to make a Priest, or no? And whether any other, but only a Bishop may make a Priest? Whether in the New Testament be required any Consecration of a Bishop and Priest, or only appointing to the Office be sufficient? And whether, if it fortun'd, that a Christian Prince, having none but temporal learned Men with him, conquered Infidels, if it was forbid by the Law of God, that he and they should preach and teach the Word of God there, or no? And also make and constitute Priests, or no?* The like Question is put in Case that all the Bishops and Priests of a Kingdom were dead; *Whether the King of that Region should make Bishops and Priests to supply the same, or no?*

To these Queries *Cranmer* gave Answers, that shew he then thought, "That Bishops and Priests derived their Authority from the King, as much as Officers of State, Mayors and Sheriffs do; That Ordination was only a decent Form of Admission; that Princes might dispense with it, and that no Grace was given in it, any more than in the committing Civil Offices; and that what the Apostles did was only by reason of the extraordinary Measure of the Spirit of God, that was in them; to which the People that had then no Christian Prince to govern them, did freely submit, considering the Apostles not as Men that had any Empire or Dominion over them; but as good Counsellors. So he thought Bishops and Priests were at first the same thing, and one Office; and that Princes as well as Bishops, might make Priests; and that Consecration was not necessary by Scripture to make one a Bishop, or a Priest, but that Election, or Appointing thereto was sufficient: And that in Cases of Necessity, Christian Princes might make Bishops and Priests.

The Archbishop of York differed from *Cranmer*, and argued these Points copiously, considering the Nature of those Papers, and proved, "That the Apostles had Power from Christ to ordain Bishops and Priests; and

" and that no other Authority was required for doing that, but that
 " which they derived from God ; and that a Bishop is the Overseer of
 " the Priests, who are the Shepherds of particular Flocks ; which distinction
 " he said was derived from the Apostles and the primitive Church ; and
 " asserted, That none but Bishops or Priests could make a Priest : And
 " by a great many Arguments both from the Old and New Testament,
 " he prove that Consecration was necessary, and that Appointment
 " without it was neither convenient nor sufficient ; and that tho in cases
 " of necessity any Christian, tho a Lay-man, might preach and baptize,
 " yet he could not make a Priest ; for no Authority that comes
 " from the Holy Ghost can be used by any Man, unless he has a
 " Commission for it grounded in Scripture, Tradition, or ancient
 " Use ; and that this Authority was only committed by Scripture
 " to the Apostles, and was from them derived to their Successors.

All the other Bishops and Divines, except the Bishop of *St. Davids*, whose Paper is lost, agreed with the Archbishop of *York* in most of his Opinions ; only some of the Divines, *Leighton* in particular, thought that a Christian Prince's Consent ought to have been asked by the Apostles, if there had been any at that time, before they had gone to make Bishops and Priests. In the Point of Bishops and Priests being the same thing, or a distinct Office at first, *Leighton* it seems, was doubtful, for he says nothing to it. *Robertson* thinks, that a Priest may consecrate a Bishop, if a Bishop cannot be found. The Bishop of *St. Davids*, *Thirleby* the elect Bishop of *Westminster*, *Cox* and *Redmayn* thought that Bishops and Priests were all one in the beginning ; and both *Bonner*, Bishop of *London*, and *Edgeworth* agreed with *Robertson* in this, That a Priest might consecrate a Bishop, if a Bishop could not be found. As to the necessity of Consecration, *Robertson* yields it, but thinks the Office so given can never be used without the Consent or Permission of the Magistrate ; which Limitation is not added by *Leighton*. In Cases of Necessity both *Leighton* and *Robertson*, as well as many others, think the Prince may make Bishops and Priests.

After they had all given their Answer to the seventeen Queries, every Man, except the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, signed his Paper ; and *Cranmer* not only set his Hand to his own Paper with that modest Qualification, *That he did not temerariouſly deſine, but referred the Judgment of it wholly to his Maſteſty* ; But ſet his Name likewise to *Leighton's* Paper, which has given the Riſe to all this Noiſe ; and ſet it alſo to *Robertſon's*, which the late Scribblers have not

thought fit to observe; tho they could not but see it & for it is in the same Page with the other. Upon this, some have hastily inferred, that because *Cranmer's* Name is at *Leighton's* Paper, therefore he retracted his own Paper, and subscribed to his Opinions. I have by other clear and unexceptionable Evidences proved, That *Cranmer* did indeed change his Opinion in those tender Points: but as if there were a Spirit of Contradiction in some People, they will not accept of this, but will lay hold of this slight Colour of his signing *Leighton's* Paper, on which I laid no weight; and therefore tho I printed the Papers to a Tittle as I found them in the Manuscript, yet I took no notice of this in my History: so howsoever I might be accused for passing it over in my Discourse concerning it, there was no reason to accuse me for Unfaithfulness in my Collections: but that Part of my Book galls some People, as giving a Credit to the whole History, and therefore they must accuse my Fidelity in that, upon which the Credit of the Book is founded; otherwise there were no considerable Service done; And it would give a specious Colour beyond-Sea to disparage that Work, to say, that Divines of (or rather in.) the Church of *England*, have detected my Unfaithfulness in publishing the Records, for that strikes at all; So a Man that was resolved to have a Coach and six Horses at any Rate, at last found out a Journey-man to do this Piece of Work for him; and he has, very probably, entred it into the particular of his Merits.

Cranmer's subscribing these Papers, cannot be understood to be his assenting to all the Opinions contained in them, for they differ in several particulars from one, another; and he could not subscribe Contradictions: And tho he had assented to their Opinions, it does not clear him of that for which the Presbyterians, or the *Erastians* may vouch him; for in the main Point that relates to Presbytery, concerning Bishops and Priests being at first the same Office, which *Cranmer* had asserted, *Leighton* saies nothing to it (See *Collect. p. 225.*) so *Cranmer* retracts nothing upon this Head; and *Robertson* thinks, that where a Bishop cannot be had, a Priest may consecrate a Bishop, which is also a main Point: He likewise thinks, that a Church-man ought not to use or exercise his Function, without the Consent or Permission of the Magistrate, which is all that most *Erastians* plead for: so if this Subscription is a good Argument, *Cranmer* is theirs still; and both *Robertson* and *Leighton* think, that in Cases of Necessity Princes may make both Bishops and Priests, and I know few *Erastians* that plead for more.

Thus

Thus it is plain, that suppose it were granted that *Cranmer* had by signing these Papers subscribed to the Opinions contained in them, he may still be cited both by *Presbyterians* and *Episcopalians*, so that if it were not for the other Evidences that I gave of his changing his Mind, which no person had ever observed before me, he might still be cited by them, notwithstanding these Subscriptions. All that I can make of the Subscriptions is, that he might according to a Rule that some Ministers of State have observ'd, set his Hand to those Papers, as a mark that they might not be altered: and as to *Lightoun's* Paper, there may be this particular reason for it, that *Leighton* not being in the Commission, of which I take notice in my History, p. 289. *Cranmer*, who it seems order'd him to write Answers to those Queries, might have set his hand to his Paper, as a warrant to him for having writ them, I confess these are but conjectures; but to guess somewhat probably, is all that can be done at this distance.

I have now opened this matter so particularly, that I hope I have satisfied the desires of those who complained that the thing was left too much in the dark.

As for the method in which I published them, I could make a short defence for it; since it is well known that a very eminent Person took the direction of that whole Work into his particular care; but since I am not so near him as to obtain his leave for naming him, and that I will not do it without his leave, I shall tell the reasons that were suggested, for following the method in which I have published them. The method in which they lie in the Manuscript is this, first the Queries are set down, then every Man's Paper comes, first Arch-Bishop *Cranmer's*, then the Arch-Bishop of *York's*, and so forward according to the order in which they are under every Query: All these Papers are Sign'd at the end of them, except the Bishop of *Rochester's*, but there is but one Signing for all, and there are no special Subscriptions to any particular Articles (as some have fancied,) so that the Subscription to the last Article belongs to the whole Paper, and to every Article in it: After these come two Papers, the one in *Latine* and the other in *Engliss*; in which the agreement or disagreement of them all is marked, *Cranmer's* only excepted; so that it seems these were for his private use: Now, since every Paper relates to the Queries without repeating them, the Queries must either have been repeated to every Paper, or the Reader must have been always turning Leaves to find them out; and if any Man had the curiosity to examine their agreement or disagreement, he could

find it out much readier in the way in which they are put than if I had followed the method in which they lie in the Manuscript; and these Papers in which they are already compared, come in more naturally at the end of every Query; and can be more easily examined when one has under his eye at one view all their Opinions, than if they had come in at the end of all after all the Papers had been set down; so that this Method very well becomes the exactness and the true Judgment of him that advised it. On the Margents every Man's Name is set over against every Article of his Paper; so that if one will read a whole Paper in an entire Thread as it lies in the Original, he has an easy work, and is only to seek *Canterbury*, *York*, or any other, all through the 17 Queries, and he finds it without any confusion or difficulty.

And now, what is to be said to all this? Is there any thing here left out, or mangled, or disguised, or any thing else done sufficient to justify a small part of the Clamour that is raised? The reflections made in this last Letter on the Dean of *St. Pauls*, are too visible to be carried off with the good words that introduce them; if he had writ his Book after my History, it might have been pretended that I had mislead him, though these Gentlemen's Friends know to their Cost that he is not apt to mistake in his Quotations; but he who writ his Book almost Twenty years before mine, and had the Manuscript so long in his hands, saw it as it is; and therefore all that is said from this against the Method that I took in publishing these Papers, is meer fooling: But the truth is, the Dean saw well enough, that there was nothing in all this matter that deserved to be taken notice of.

His Arguments, such as they be, is a Civility that he had no reason to expect from any on this side the Water. A Man may differ from him both in Opinion and Argument; and yet none but he that can *Drummanfir* like, kill both Friend and Foe, and arraign a whole Nation, would treat a Man of his worth in so rude a manner: but as the Devil is known by his Cloven-Foot, so the attacking such Men is a little too early and too bare-fac'd. If I was guilty of a mistake in my last Letter, I will acknowledg it as soon as the Author of this gives himself a Name; and if ever he on whom I laid it, finds but half the reason to lay any Paper to my charge, that I have here, I will allow him all the liberty he shall be pleas'd to take: but I will say nothing upon an Anonymous Paper. I confess I acquit him directly of any accession to this; for I believe, though he would set about it,

it; he could not bring his stile so low, nor write so ill. I do not trouble my self to find out the Author. *Dull and pen* are such common Characters, that without a more particular mark I cannot trace him. I confess a fit of kindness he falls into upon my naming the *Blessed Martyr*; leads me a little nearer, for I remember I saw a Dedication to the second Peer of *England*; that began *MY DEAR LORD*; upon which one askt if the Author was Married to him: but if he will be as good as his Word, and pay me the Ten Thousand Thanks in full tale for every time that he finds the *Blessed Martyr* in my Writings, he will be very hoarse long before he gets through them.

As for his bringing himself off from that *crude*, not to call it *profane* reflection on a whole Kingdom, 'tis ill nature in me to take notice of it, since I hear all cry shame on him for it; for his contracting what he said indefinitely on a whole Kingdom, to a few persons, is a Figure well becoming his Wit and Candor. His ranking me with a Man whose Face I do not so much as know, is another of his Flowers; he may perhaps hear more of him than I can tell him, from one that Lodged so long at *Nat. Thompson's*, if he happened to be in his House when he Printed the Appeal from the City to the Country, in which I have been told *Ferguson* had a hand.

As for the Zeal that all this sort of Men pretend for the Crown, the Book that is the foundation of this Stir, is a good Indication of it, which without any straining, falls so evidently within a *Præmunire*, as I hear an Honourable Person has observed, that the Writer owes his not being questioned for it to His Majesties Clemency, and to the neglect that both he and his Book are under. There is another Sect beside Presbytery, that has first degraded Kings wholly from their Ecclesiastical Supremacy, and after that point was gained, made them reign at the Mercy of the Church, and at the Pope's Courtesy: It were too bold to attempt both at once, and it is ingeniously enough done, to seem to yield up the one wholly, till the other is gain'd. But in all this matter their *Honest Mr. Lowth* is quite forsaken, since his false charging me for leaving out that passage of *Leighton's* is not so much as pretended to be justified; it seems this Writer is very scant of Epithets, or thinks there are few that can fit *Mr. Lowth*, that he has no other for him in both his Letters but *Honest*, so that one would think it is a part of his Christian Name. *Epithets* are chosen with relation to the matter in hand; Now though he may be a very honest Man in all other things for ought I know, yet I

am sure he was neither *Wise* nor *Honest* in this particular; but it seems his Friends that set him on, think they are bound in honour to fetch him off.

I confess this Trifler is modester than he was, for whereas he, Sir *Hudibras* like, valued himself, that *the King of Israel was not to go out as against a Flea*; this Writer more humbly compares his Letter to a *Flea in my Ear*; but how *Fleas* are so much in their favour, I do not know; the last was a truer Figure for an Animal of a higher form had suffer'd by the comparison: But, with my Readers Pardon, I will venture to take it a little lower, and assure him it is as dead as if it had been shut up in a Microscope a Week. I do not blame him for rising a little higher in another Figure taken from the Marble; it is his top-flight, and it were pity to see a whole Sheet without one touch that can be calumniated with *Wit*. So far have I complied with your desires, in contradiction to my own Inclination: I am sure this matter is at an end, so let the whole Pack bark as long as they will, I will not write one word more on this subject. I am with all possible respect and duty,

Jan. 24.

Sir,

Your most humble Servant

G. Burnett.

L O N D O N, Printed for Richard Baldwyn, at the
Old-Baily Corner. 1685.

A
LETTER

Written to

Dr. BURNET,

Giving an Account of

Cardinal POOL's Secret Powers :

From which it appears,

That it was never intended to confirm the
Alienation that was made of the Abbey-Lands.

for will Country.

To Which are Added,

Two BREVES that Card. **POOL**
brought over, and some other of his
Letters, that were never before printed.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Richard Baldwin*, in the *Old-Baily-Corner*
on *Ludgate-Hill.* 1 6 8 5.

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LONDON:
Printed for J. Knapton, at the Old-Drum-Office, in
St. Dunstons Church-yard, 1687.

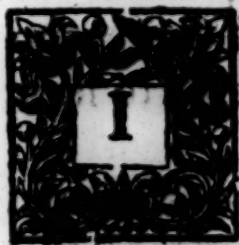


A LETTER

TO
Dr. BURNET,

Giving an Account of Cardinal Pool's
Secret Powers.

S I R,



Have fallen on a Register of Cardinal Pool's Letters, which carries in it all the Characters of Sincerity possible. The Hand and the Abbreviations shew that it was written at that time. It contains not only the two Breves that I send along with this, but two other Breves, besides several Letters that pass between Card. Pool

and the Bishop of *Arras*, that was afterwards the famous Cardinal *Granvell*; and others that past between *Pool*, and the Cardinal de *Monte*, and Cardinal *Morone*, and *Soto* the Emperor's Confessor. There are also in it some of *Pool*'s Letters to the Pope, and to *Philip* then King of *England*; and of these I have sent you two, the one is to the Pope, and the other is to *Philip*: But with these I shall give you a large account of some Reflections that I have made on these Papers, since I hear that you desire I would suggest to you all that occurs to me upon this occasion.

You have given the World a very particular Account, in your *History of the Reformation*, of the Difficulties that were made concerning the Church Lands, in the beginning of Queen *Mary's* Reign; and of the Act of Parliament that past in her Reign, confirming the Alienation of them, that was made by King *Henry the Eighth*; and of the Ratification of it made by Cardinal *Pool*, who was the Pope's Legate, and was believed to have full Powers for all he did.

You have observed, there were two Clauses in that very Act of Parliament, that shew there was then a Design form'd to recover all the Abbey Lands: The one is, a Charge given by *Pool*, to all People that had the Goods of the Church in their

their hands, to consider the Judgments of God that fell on *Belshazzar*, for profaning the holy Vessels, even tho they had not been taken away by himself, but by his Father: Which set the matter heavy upon the Consciences of those that enjoyed these Lands. The other was, the Repeal of the Statute of *Mortmain* for twenty Years; for since that Statute was a Restraint upon the profuse Endowments of Churches, the suspending it for so long a time, gave the Monks Scope and Elbow room; and it is not unlike, that within the time limited of twenty Years, the greatest part of the Work would have been done: for Superstition works violently, especially upon dying Men, when they can hold their Lands no longer themselves; And so it is most likely, that if a Priest came to tell them frightful Stories of Purgatory, and did aggravate the Heinousness of Sacrilege, they would easily be wrought upon to take care of themselves in the next World, and leave their Children to their Shifts in this.

But I go now to give you some account of the Papers that accompany this Letter.

The first is the Breve that contains the Powers that were given to Cardinal *Pool*, besides those general Powers or Bulls that were given him as Legate. This bears date the 8th of *March*, 1554, and

and so probably it was an Enlargement of the Powers that were, as it is likely, granted him at his first dispatch from Rome, and therefore these carry in them, very probably, more Grace and Favour than was intended or allowed of at first: For Pool had left Rome the November before this, and no doubt he carried some Powers with him; but upon the Remonstrances that were made by the Emperor, as well as from England, it seems those were procured that I now send you.

The most uneasy part of this whole Matter, was that which related to the Church-Lands; for it is delivered in the Canon-Law, That the Pope cannot alienate Lands belonging to the Church, in any manner, or for any necessity whatsoever. And by that same Canon which was decreed by Pope Symmachus, and a Roman Synod, about the Year 500; The Giver and Seller of Church-Lands, as well as the Possessor, is to be degraded and anathematized; and any Church-Man whatsoever may oppose such Alienations, and these notwithstanding may recover the Lands so alienated.

Caus. 12.
q. 2. cap. 20.
Non liceat
Papa predi-
um Ecclesia
alienare ali-
quo modo, pro
aliqua neces-
sitate, nec in
usum fru-
ctuum rura-
re, nisi
tantummodo

domus quæ in quibuslibet urbibus, non modica impensa sustentantur: quæ lege omnes custodes astringuntur, ut donator, accusator, venditor, honorem perdat; & qui subscripserit anathema sit, cum eo qui dedit, vel recepit, nisi restituatur. Licet etiam quibuslibet ecclesiasticis personis contradicere, & cum fructibus alienata recuperare, quod non modo in Apostolica servatum est Ecclesia, verum etiam in universis Ecclesiis per provincias quædam dicuntur observari.

The Pope according to this Decree could not confirm the Alienations that had been made by King Henry; and if he did confirm them, the Act must be null in Law, and could be no prejudice to the present Incumbent, or his Successor, to claim his Right. Therefore pursuant to this, the Powers given to Pool, authorize him only to indemnify and discharge the Possessors of the Church Lands, for the Goods that they had embezzled, and for the Rents that they had received; for it runs in these Words, *(which I have mark'd in the Breve it self, that you may readily turn to it)* And to agree and transact with the Possessors of the Goods of the Church, for the Rents which they have unlawfully received, and for the moveable Goods which they have consumed; and for freeing and discharging them for them, they restoring first *(if that shall seem expedient to you)* the Lands themselves, that are unduly detained by them. By these Powers it is plain, that the Pope only forgave what was past, but stood to the Right of the Church, as to the restitution of the Lands themselves: And that Clause *(if that shall seem to you expedient)* belongs only to the Order and Point of Time, so that the discharging what was past, might have been done by Cardinal Pool, before or after Restitution, as he pleased: But Restitution was still to be made; and

and he had by these Powers no Authority to confirm the Alienations that had been made by King Henry the 8th for the time to come.

But these Limitations were so distasteful both in England and at the Emperor's Court, that Pool found it necessary to send his Secretary Ormanet to Rome, for new Instructions and fuller Powers: He addressed him to Cardinal de Monte for procuring them. Ormanet was dispatched from Rome in the end of June, 1554, and came to Pool in the end of July, as appears by the Date of Pool's Letters to the Cardinal de Monte, which is the 29th of July, upon the receipt of the two Brevés that Ormanet brought him, bearing date the 26th and 28th of June.

The first of these is only matter of Form, empowering him to act as a Legate, either about the Emperor or the King of France, in as ample manner as former Legates had done. The second relates almost wholly to the Business of Abbey-Lands; in it the Pope sets forth, That whereas he had formerly empowered him to transact with the Possessors of Church-lands, and to discharge them for the Rents unjustly received, on the moveable Goods that were consumed by them; yet since the perfecting of the Reduction of England would become so much the easier, as the Pope gave the greater hopes of Gentleness and Favour

Favour in that matter, he therefore not being willing to let any worldly Respects lie in the way, of so great a Work, as was the Recovery of so many Souls, and in imitation of the tender-hearted Father, that went out to meet the Prodigal Child, empowers the Cardinal, according to the Trust and Confidence that he had in him, to transact and agree with such of the Possessors of them, by the Pope's Authority, for whom the Queen should intercede, and to dispense with them for enjoying them in all time coming. But the Salvo that comes in the end, seems to take all this off; For he reserves all to the Pope's Confirmation and good pleasure, in all those things that were of such importance, that the Holy See ought first to be consulted by Pool.

By these Powers, all that Pool could do was only provisional, and could not bind the Pope; so that he might disclaim and disown him when he pleased: And the Agreements that he made afterwards with the Parliament, were of no force, till they were confirmed by the Pope. And as the Pope that succeeded *Julius* the Third, who granted these Breves, (but died before the Execution of them was brought to him for his Confirmation) would never confirm them; so this whole Transaction was a publick Cheat put on the Nation, or at least on the Possessors of the Abbey-Lands; nor did it grant them either a good

Title in Law, (I mean the Canon-Law) or give any Security to their Consciences, in enjoying that which according to the Doctrine of the Church of Rome, is plain *Sacrilege*.

And therefore I cannot imagine how those of that Church can quiet their Consciences in the possession of those Lands. It is plain by the progress of this matter, that the Court of Rome never intended to confirm the Abbey-Lands; for all that was done by *Pool*, was only an Artifice to still Mens Fears, and to lay the Clamour, which the Apprehension of the return of Popery was raising, that so it might once enter with the less opposition; and then it could be easy to carry all lesser Matters, when the great Point was once gained, as the Saddle goes into the Bargain for the Horse. And indeed tho a poor Heretick may hope for Mercy, notwithstanding his Abbey-Lands, because it may be supposed to be a Sin of Ignorance in him, so that he possesses them with a good Conscience, and is that which the Law calls *bonæ Fidei Possessor*; yet I see no Remedy for such as go over to the Church of Rome: for if there is a Sin in the World that is condemned by that Church, it is *Sacrilege*; so that they must be *malæ Fidei Possessores*, that continue in it, after the enlightning which that Church offers them.

A Man may as well be a Papist, and not believe Transubstantiation, nor worship the Host; as be one, and still enjoy his Church-Lands. Nor can any Confessor, that understands the principles of his own Religion, give Absolution to such as are involved in that Guilt, without restitution: So that it is a vain thing to talk of securing Men in the possession of those Lands, if *Papery* should ever prevail: For tho the Court of *Rome* would, to facilitate our Reconciliation, offer some deceitful Confirmation, as was done by Cardinal *Pool*; yet no Man, after he went over to that Church, could suffer himself to enjoy them: Every Fit of Sickness, or cross Accident, would, by the Priests Rhetorick, look like the beginning of the Curse that fell on *Ananias* and *Saphira*. The terrible Imprecations that are in the Endowments of Monasteries, would be always ringing in his Ears; and if Absolution were denied, especially in the hour of Death, what haste would the poor Man make to get rid of that Weight which must sink him into Hell: For as he must not hope for such good Quarters as Purgatory, so if he happened to go thither, he would be so scurvily used by the poor Souls, which have been kept frying there for want of the Masses which would have been said for them in the Abbey-Church, if

he had not withheld the Rents, that he would find so little difference between that and Hell, that even there he might be tempted to turn Protestant again, and believe that Purgatory was no better than Hell. If any will object, that at least Cardinal Pool's Settlement secures them till it is annulled at *Rome*: To this, as these *Papers* will offer an Answer, since his Settlement was to have no force, till it was confirmed by the Apostolick See, which was never yet done: So if our English *Papists* go into the Opinion that is now generally received and asserted in *France*, That the *Pope's* power is limited by the *Canons*, and subject to the *Church*; then the Confirmation given by Cardinal Pool, is null of it self, tho it had been granted exactly according to the Letter of his Instructions: Since there has been in several Ages of the *Church*, so vast a number of *Canons*, made against the Alienations of *Church-Lands*, that if they were all laid together, they would make a big Book: For in the Ages of Superstition, as the *Church-men* were mightily set on enriching the *Church*; so they made sure Work, and took special care that nothing should be torn from it, that was once consecrated.

But I return from this Digression, to give you some account of the other Letters that are in my
Regi-

Register. There is a Letter of Cardinal Morone's to Pool, of the 13th of July, sent also by Ormanet in which he tells him, That tho the Emperor had writ very extravagantly of him to the Pope, yet the Pope said, he was sure there was no just occasion given for it: And whereas the Emperor prest that Pool might be recalled, the Pope continued firm in his resolution, not to consent to so dishonourable a thing. He adds, That the Pope was not yet determined in the Business of the Church-lands, but had spoken very often very variously concerning that matter. After this there follows another Breve of the 10th of July, by which the Pope, upon the consideration of the Prince of Spain's being married to the Queen of England, enlarges Pool's Powers, and authorizes him, as his Legate, to treat with him: but this is meerly a point of Form.

*Termini costi
estragan-
ti.*

*Com' auco
non si resol-
veva nella
materia, delli
beni ecclesi-
astici supra
laqual sua
santita ha
parlato molte
volte varia-
mente.*

Pool sent Ormanet, with an account of this Dispatch that he had received from Rome, to the Bishop of Arras, to be presented by him to the Emperor: All the Answer that he could procure, as appears by Ormanet's Letter, was, That the Emperor had no News from England since his Son's Marriage: but that he would send an Express thither, to know the State of Affairs there; which he thought must be done first, before the Legate could go over. And of this the Bishop of Arras

writ

writ to *Pool*, three days after *Ormanet* came to him, his Letter bears date from *Bouchain*, the 3^d of *August*, 1554.

By *Ormanet*'s Letter it appears, that these last Powers gave the Emperor full satisfaction, and were not at all excepted against; only *Granvell* made some difficulty in one Point, * Whether the Settlement of the Church-Lands should be granted as a Grace of the Pope's, by the Cardinal's hands, immediately to the possessors? or should be granted to *Philip* and *Mary*, and by their means to the possessors? For it seems it was thought a surer way to engage the Crown to maintain what was done, if the Pope were engaged for it to the Crown, with which he would not venture so easily to break, as he might perhaps do with the possessors themselves. But *Ormanet* gave him full satisfaction in that matter; for the manner of settling it being referred wholly to the Cardinal by his powers, he promised that he would order it in the way that should give the Nation most content.

The Emperor's Delays became very uneasy to Cardinal *Pool*, upon which he wrote to *Soto*, that was the Emperor's Confessor, the 12th of *August*, and desired to speak with him. By the place from whence the Cardinal dates most of these Letters, it appears he was then in a Monastery called *Diligam*,

* *Esso gindi cava necessa-
rio, che si
fosse venuto
piu all parti-
colare, circa
due cose: la
forma delle
faculta di
intorno questi
beni: che
gran differen-
za sarebbe se
fosse stata
commissa la
cosa all Sig.
Cardinale, o
alli serenissi-
mi Princip.*

gain, near *Brussels*. I will not determine whether it may not be a Mistake that passes so generally, that no wonder you have gone into it, that he was stopt at *Dilling*, a Town upon the *Danube*, by the Emperor's Orders, which might have been founded on his being lodged in this Monastery; for as he dates some of his Letters from *Diligam*, and others from *Brussels*, so he dates one from *Diligam-Abbey*, near *Brussels*: but this is not of any great importance.

After some Letters of no great consequence, there comes a long one writ by *Pool* to the Pope, bearing date from *Brussels*, *Octob. 13. 1554* which I send you. In it *Pool* gives him an account of the first Conference that he had with the Emperor on this Subject. He told the Emperor, That tho as to Matters of Faith the Pope could slacken nothing, nor shew any manner of Indulgence; yet in the Matter of the *Church-Lands*, in which the Pope was more at liberty, he was resolved to be gentle and indulgent: And as to all the Pains and Censures that the possessors had incurred, and the Rents that they enjoyed, which were points of great importance, he was resolved to use all sort of Indulgence towards them, and to forgive all: Nor had he any design of applying any part of these Goods, either to himself, or to the Aposto-
lick.

lick See, of which some were afraid; tho he might pretend good reason for it, considering the Losses that that See had sustained by reason of the Schism; but he would give up all that to the Service of God, and the Good of the Kingdom. And such regard had the Pope to the King and Queen of *England*, that he was resolved to grant upon their Intercession, whatsoever should be thought convenient, to such Persons as they should think worth gratifying, or were capable to assist in the Design of settling the Religion. To all this the Emperor answered with a new delay: He was expecting to hear very suddenly from *England*; and it was necessary to have that Difficulty concerning the Church-Lands first cleared, which by his own Experience in *Germany* he concluded to be the chief Obstacle: For as to the Doctrine, he did not believe they stuck at that; and he thought that they believed neither the one nor the other Persuasion, and therefore they would not be much concerned in such points: Yet since these Goods were dedicated to God, it was not fit to grant every thing to those that held them; and therefore tho *Pool* had told him how far his Powers extended, yet it was not fit that it should be generally known. But as the Emperor was putting in new Delays, *Pool* prest him vehemently, that the Mat-
ter

ter might at last be brought to a Conclusion. The Emperor told him, that great regard must be had to the ill Dispositions of the Parties concerned, since the Aversion that the English Nation had to the very name of *Obedience to the Church*, or to a *Red Hat*, or a *Religious Habit*, was so universal, that his Son had been advised to make the Friars that came over from Spain with him, change their Habits: but tho he had done it, yet the danger of Tumults deserved to be well considered. Pool replied, That if he must stay till all Impediments were removed, he must never go. Those that were concerned in the Abby-Lands, would still endeavour to obstruct his coming, since by that means, they still continued in Possession of all that they had got. In conclusion, it was resolved that Pool should stay for the return of the Messenger, that the Emperor had sent to *England*.

Two things appear from this Letter; one is, that Cardinal Pool intended only to grant a general Discharge to all the Possessors of the Abby-Lands, for what was past: but resolved to give no Grants of them for the future, except only to such as should merit it, and for whom the Queen should intercede, and whose Zeal in the matter of Religion might deserve such a Favour; and it seems that even the Emperor intended no more

C

and

and that he thought that this should be kept a great Secret. The other is, that the Aversion of the Nation to Popery was at that time very high, so that Tumults were much apprehended: yet the whole Work was brought to a final Conclusion within two Months, without any Opposition, or the least Tumult: so inconsiderable are popular Discontents, in Opposition to a Government well established, and supported by strong Alliances.

Pool being wearied out with these continued Delays, of which he saw no end, writ a long and high-flown, or according to the stile of this Age, a canting Letter to *Philip*, then King of *England*: I send it likewise to you, because you may perhaps desire to see every thing of *Pool's* writing, for whose Memory you have expressed a very particular esteem: he tells the King that he had been knocking at the Gates of that Court now a Year, tho he was banished his Country, because he would not consent, that she who now dwelt in it should be shut out of it; but in his Person it was *S. Peter's* Successor, or rather *S. Peter* himself, that knock'd; and so he runs out in a long and laboured Allegory, taken from *S. Peter's* being delivered out of Prison, in the *Herodian* Persecution; and coming to *Mary's Gate*, where
after

after his Voice was known, yet he was held long knocking; tho *Mary* was not sure that it was he himself, &c. Upon all which he runs division, like a Man that had practised Eloquence long, and had allowed himself to fly high with forced Rhetorick. And to say the truth, this way of enlarging upon an Allegory from some part of Scripture-story, had been so long used, and was so early practised, that I do not wonder much to see him dress this out with such pomp, and so many words. I shall be very glad if these Papers give you any considerable light in those matters; in which you have laboured so successfully: I am very sincerely,

Sir,

Your most Humble

Servant,

W. C.

after his Voice was known, yet he was held long
knocking; the May was not true that it was he
himself &c. Upon all which he was divided like
a Man that had practised Eloquence long, and
had allowed himself to fly high with forced Rhetoric.
And to say the truth, this way of enlarging upon an Allegory from some part of
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Your most Humble

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W. C.

Ca. 1661

Ca. 1661

*Cardinal POOL'S general Powers
for reconciling ENGLAND to the
Church of ROME.*

JULIUS PAPA III.

Dilecte Fili noster, salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem: dudum, cum carissima in Christo Filia nostra Maria, Angliæ tunc Princeps Regina declarata fuisset, & speraretur Regnum Angliæ, quod sæva Regnum Tyrannide ab unione Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ separatum fuerat, ad ovile gregis Domini & ejusdem Ecclesiæ unionem, ipsa Maria primum regnante, redire posse. Nos te, præstanti Virtute, singulari Pietate, ac multa Doctrina insignem, ad eandem Mariam Reginam & universum Angliæ Regnum, de Fratrum nostrorum Consilio & unanimi consensu nostrum & Apostolicæ sedis legatum de latere destinavimus: tibi que inter cætera, omnes & singulos utriusque sexus, tam Laicas quam Ecclesiasticas, seculares & quorumvis ordinum reglæ, personas, in quibusvis etiam sacris ordinibus constitutas, cujuscunque Status, Gradus, Conditionis & Qualitatis existerint ac quacunque Ecclesiastica, etiam Episcopali, Archiepiscopali, & Patriarchali; aut mundana, etiam Marchionali, Ducali; aut Regia dignitate præfulgerent, etiam si Capitulum, Collegium, Universitas, seu Communitas forent, quarumcunque heresim, aut novarum Sectarum, Professores, aut in eis culpabiles, vel suspectas, ac credentes, receptatores, &

& fautores eorum, etiamſi relapſæ fuiſſent, eorum errorem cognoscentes, & de illis dolentes, ac ad Orthodoxam fidem recipi humiliter poſtulantes, cognita in eis, vera & non ficta, aut ſimulata, penitentia, ab omnibus & ſingulis per eos perpetratis, (hæreſes, & ab eadem fide Apoſtaſias, Blaſphemias, & alios quoscumque errores, etiam ſub generali ſermone non venientes ſapientibus) peccatis, criminibus, exceſſibus, & delictis, nec non Excommunicationum, Suspensionum, Interdictorum, & aliis Eccleſiaſticis, ac Temporalibus etiam Corporis afflictivis, & capitalibus Sententijs, cenſuris & pœnis in eos premiſſorum occasione, a jure vel ab homine latis, vel promulgatis, etiam ſi in iis viginti, & plus annis inſorduiſſent, & eorum abſolutio nobis & divinæ ſedi, & per literas in die Cænæ Domini legi conſuetas, reſervata exiſteret, in utroque, Conſcientiæ videlicet, & contentioſo foro, plenare abſolvendi, & liberandi, ac aliorum Chriſti fidelium conſortio aggregandi : nec non cum eis ſuper irregularitate per eos premiſſorum occasione, etiam quia ſic Ligati, miſſas & alia divina officia, etiam contra Ritum & Cere monias ab Eccleſia eatenus probatas, & uſitatas, celebrarent, aut illis alias ſe miſcuiffent, contracta ; nec non bigama per eodem Eccleſiaſticos, Seculares, vel Regulares, vere aut fictæ, ſeu alias qualitercunq; incurſa, (etiamſi ex eo quod Clerici in ſacris conſtituti, cum viduis vel aliis corruptis, Matrimonium contraxiſſent pretendetur) rejectis & expulſis tamen prius uxoribus, ſic de facto copulatis : quodque bigamia & irregularitate ac aliis premiſſis non obſtantibus, in eorum ordinibus, dummodo ante eorum lapſum in hereſin huiusmodi, rite & legitime promoti vel ordinati fuiſſent, etiam in altaris miniſterio miniſtrare, ac quæcunq; & qualitercunq; etiam curata beneficia, ſecularia vel regularia ut prius, dummodo ſuper eis alteri

alteri jus quæsitum non existeret, retinere : & non promoti, ad omnes etiam Sacros & Presbyteratus Ordines, ab eorum ordinariis, si digni & idonei reperti fuissent, promoveri, ac beneficia Ecclesiastica, si iis alias canonice conferentur, recipere & retinere valerent, dispensandi & indulgendi : ac omnem infamiae & inhabilitatis maculam siue notam, ex premissis quomodolibet insurgentem, penitus & omnino abolendi ; nec non ad pristinos honores, dignitates, famam, & patriam, & bona etiam confiscata, in pristinumque, & eum, in quo ante premissa quomodolibet erant, statum restituendi, reponendi, & reintegrandi : ac eis, dummodo corde contriti, eorum errata & excessus alicui per eos eligendo Catholico confessori, sacramentaliter confiterentur, ac penitentiam salutarem, eis per ipsum confessorem propterea injungendam omnino adimplerent, omnem publicam confessionem, abjuracionem, renunciationem, & penitentiam jure debitam, arbitrio suo moderandi vel in totum remittendi. Nec non Communitates & Universitates, ac singulares personas quascunque, a quibusvis illicitis pactionibus & Conventionibus, per eos cum Dominis aberrantibus, seu in eorum favorem, quomodolibet initis, & iis præstitis juramentis, & homagiis, illorumque omnium observatione, & si quem eatenus occasione eorum incurrissent perjurii reatum, in etiam absolvendi, & juramenta ipsa relaxandi. Ac quoscunque regulares & religiosos, etiam in hæresin hujusmodi ut prefertur lapsos, extra eorum regularia loca absque dictæ sedis licentia vagantes, ab Apostasiæ reatu, & Excommunicationis aliisque censuris ac penis Ecclesiasticis, per eos propterea etiam juxta suorum ordinum instituta incurfis, pariter absolvendi : ac cum eis ut alicui beneficio Ecclesiastico curato, de illud obtinentis consensu, etiam in habitu Clerici Secularis, habitum suum regularem sub honesta

nesta toga Presbyteri Secularis deferendo, deservire, &
 extra eadem regularia loca remanere libere & licite pos-
 sint dispensandi. Nec non quibusvis personis, etiam Ec-
 clesiasticis, ut quadragesimalibus & aliis anni tempori-
 bus & diebus, quibus usus oyorum & carnum est de jure
 prohibitus, butiro & caseo & aliis lacticiiniis, ac dictis ovis
 & carnibus, de utriusque seu alterius, spiritualis, qui Ca-
 tholicus existeret, Medici Consilio, aut si locorum &
 personarum qualitate inspecta, ex defectu Piscium aut
 olei, vel indispositione Personarum earundem, seu alia
 causa legitima id tibi faciendum videretur, ut tuo arbi-
 trio uti & vesci possint, indulgendi & concedendi. Nec
 non per te in præteritis duntaxat casibus, aliquos Clericos
 Seculares, tantum Presbyteros, Diaconos, aut Subdiaco-
 nos, qui Matrimonium cum aliquibus Virginibus, vel
 corruptis Secularibus, etiam Mulieribus, de facto eatenus
 contraxissent, considerata aliqua ipsorum singulari quali-
 tate, & cognita eorum vera ad Christi fidem conversione,
 ac aliis circumstantiis, ac modificationibus tuo tantum ar-
 bitrio adhibendis, ex quibus aliis præsertim Clericis in
 Sacris Ordinibus hujusmodi constitutis, quibus non licet
 Uxores habere, Scandalum omnino non generetur, citra
 tamen altaris ac alia Sacerdotum ministeria, & titulos be-
 neficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, ac omni ipsorum ordinum
 exercitio sublato, ab Excommunicationis sententia, &
 aliis reatibus propterea incurfis, injuncta inde eis etiam
 tuo arbitrio penitentia salutari, absolvendi ac cum eis
 dummodo alter eorum superstes remaneret, de cætero sine
 spe conjugii, quod inter se Matrimonium legitime con-
 trahere, & in eo postquam contractum foret, licite rema-
 nere possent, prolem exinde legitimam decernendo,
 miserecorditer dispensandi: ac quæcunque beneficia Ec-
 clesiastica, tam secularia quam regularia, & quæ per
 Rectores

Rectores Catholicos possidebantur, de ipsorum tamen Rectorum Catholicorum consensu, seu absque eorum prejudicio, cuicumque alteri Beneficio Ecclesiastico ob ejus fructuum tenuitatem, aut Hospitali jam erecto vel erigendo, seu studio Universali vel Scholis Literariis, uniendi, annectendi, & incorporandi, aut fructus, redditus, & proventus, seu bonorundem beneficiorum dividendi, separandi, & dismembrandi, ac eorum sic divisorum, separatorum & dismembratorum partem aliis beneficiis seu Hospitalibus, vel Studiis aut Scholis, seu piis usibus similiter arbitrio tuo perpetuo applicandi & appropriandi. *Ac cum Posterioribus bonorum Ecclesiasticorum (restitutis, prius si tibi expedire videretur, immobilibus per eos indebite detentis) super fructibus male perceptis, ac bonis mobilibus consumptis, concordandi, & transigendi, ac eos desuper liberandi & quietandi:* ac quicquid concordii & transactionibus hujusmodi proveniret, in Ecclesia cujus essent bona, vel in Studiorum Universalium, aut Scholarum hujusmodi, seu alios pios usus convertendi, omniaque & singula alia, in quæ in premissis & circa ea quomodolibet necessaria & opportuna esse cognosceres, faciendi, dicendi, gerendi, & exercendi: nec non Catholicos locorum ordinarios, aut alias Personas Deum timentes, fide insignes, & literarum scientia præditas, ac gravitate morum conspicuas, & ætate veneranda, de quarum probitate & circumspectione ac charitatis Zelo plena Fiducia conspici posset, ad premissa omnia, cum simili vel limitata potestate (absolutione & dispensatione Clericorum circa connubia, ac unione beneficiorum, seu eorum fructuum, & bonorum separatione, & applicatione, ac concordia cum possessoribus bonorum Ecclesiasticorum & eorum liberatorum, duntaxat exceptis) substituendi & subdelegandi: ac diversas alias facultates per diversas alias nostras tam sub plumbo quam in

forma Brevis confectas literas, concessimus, prout in illis plenius continetur. Verum cum tu ad partes Flan-
driæ ex quibus brevissima ad Regnum transfretatio ex-
istit, te contuleris, ac ex certis rationalibus nobis notis
causis inibi aliquandiu subsistere habeas, ac a nonnullis, ni-
mium forsan scrupulosis, hesitetur, an tu in partibus hujus-
modi subsistens, predictis ac aliis tibi concessis facultatibus
uti ac in eodem Regno locorum ordinarios, aut alias Per-
sonas ut premittitur qualificatas, quæ facultatibus per te
juxta dictarum literarum continentiam pro tempore con-
cessis utantur, alias juxta earundem literarum tenorem
substituere & delegare possis: Nos causam tuæ subsisten-
tiæ in eisdem partibus approbantes, & singularum lite-
rarum prædictarum tenores, præsentibus pro sufficienter
expressis, ac de verbo ad verbum insertis, habentes, cir-
cumspeditioni tuæ quod quamdiu in eisdem partibus de li-
centia nostra morum traxeris, Legatione tua prædicta du-
rante, etiam extra ipsum Regnum existens, omnibus &
singulis prædictis & quibuscumque aliis tibi concessis & quæ
per præsentibus tibi conceduntur, facultatibus, etiam erga
quoscunque, Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, ac Abbates, ali-
osque, Ecclesiarum tam secularium quam quorumvis or-
dinum regularium, nec non Monasteriorum & aliorum
regularium locorum Prelatos, non secus ac erga alios in-
feriores Clericos, uti possis, necnon erga alias Personas in
singulis Literis prædictis quovis modo nominatas, ad te
pro tempore recurrentes vel mittentes, etiam circa ordi-
nes, quos nunquam aut male susceperunt, & munus con-
secrationis quod iis ob aliis Episcopis vel Archiepiscopis
etiam Hæreticis & Schismaticis, aut alias minus rite & non
servata forma Ecclesiæ consueta impensum fuit, etiam si
ordines & munus hujusmodi etiam circa altaris ministeri-
um temere executi sint, per te ipsum vel alios, ad id a te
pro

pro tempore deputatos, libere uti, ac in eodem Regno tot quot tibi videbuntur locorum ordinarios vel alias Personas, ut premittitur qualificatas, quæ facultatibus per te, eis pro tempore concessis, (citra tamen eas quæ solum tibi ut præfertur concessæ existunt) etiam te in partibus Flandriæ hujusmodi subsistente, libere utantur ; & eas exerceant & exequantur alias, juxta ipsarum Literarum continentiam ac tenorem substituere & subdelegare. Nec non de Personis quorumcunque Episcoporum vel Archiepiscoporum, qui Metropolitanam aut alias Cathedralis Ecclesias de manu Laicorum etiam Schismaticorum, & præsertim qui de Henrici Regis & Edvardi ejus Nati receperunt, & eorum regimini & administratione se ingesserunt, & eorum fructus redditus & proventus etiam longissimo tempore, tanquam veri Archiepiscopi aut Episcopi temere & de facto usurpando, etiamsi in hæresin ut præfertur, inciderint, seu antea hæretici fuerint, postquam per te unitati sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ restituti extiterint, tūque eos rehabilitandos esse censueris, si tibi alias digni & idonei videbuntur, eisdem Metropolitanis & aliis Cathedralibus Ecclesiis denuo, nec non quibusvis aliis Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis Ecclesiis per obitum vel privationem illarum Præfulum, seu alias quovis modo pro tempore vacantibus, de Personis idoneis pro quibus ipsa Maria Regina juxta consuetudines ipsius Regni, tibi supplicaverit autoritate nostra providere ipsasque Personas eisdem Ecclesiis in Episcopos aut Archiepiscopos præficere : Ac cum iis qui Ecclesias Cathedralis & Metropolitanas, de manu Laicorum etiam Schismaticorum ut præfertur, receperunt, quod eisdem seu aliis ad quas eas alias rite transferri contigerit, Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis Ecclesiis, in Episcopos vel Archiepiscopos præesse ipsasque Ecclesias in spiritualibus & tem-

poralibus regere & gubernare, ac munere consecrationis eis hactenus impenso uti, vel si illud eis nondum impen- sum extiterit, ab Episcopis vel Archiepiscopis Catholicis per te nominandis suscipere libere & licite possint. Nec non cum quibusvis per te ut præmittitur pro tempore ab- solutis & rehabilitatis, ut eorum erroribus & excessibus præteritis non obstantibus, quibusvis Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis Ecclesiis in Episcopos & Archiepiscopos prefici & præsse, illasque in eisdem spiritualibus & tem- poralibus regere & gubernare: ac ad quosunque etiam Sacros & Presbyteratos Ordines promovere, & in illis aut per eos jam licet minus rite susceptis ordinibus etiam in altaris ministerio ministrare nec non munus consecrati- onis suscipere, & illo uti libere & licite valeant; dispen- sare etiam libere & licite possis, plenam & liberam Apo- stolicam Auctoritatem per presentes concedimus faculta- tem & potestatem: non obstantibus Constitutionibus & Ordinationibus Apostolicis, ac omnibus illis quæ in singu- lis literis præteritis volumus non obstare, cæterisque con- trariis quibuscunque.

*Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo
Piscatoris, die 8. Martii 1554. Pontificatus nostri
anno Quinta.*

*A second Breve containg more special
Powers relating to the Abby-Lands.*

JULIUS PP. III.

Dilecte fili noster Salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Superioribus mensibus oblata nobis spe per Dei Misericordiam, & charissimæ in Christo Filiae nostræ Mariæ, Angliæ Reginae, summam Religionem, & Pietatem, nobilissimi illius Angliæ Regni, quod jamdiu quorundem Impietate, a reliquo Catholicae Ecclesiae corpore avulsum fuit, ad ejusdem Catholicae & Universalis Ecclesiae unionem, extra quam nemini salus esse potest, reducendi; Te ad præfatam Mariam Reginam, atque universum illud Regnum, nostrum & Apostolicæ sedis Legatum de latere, tanquam Pacis & Concordiæ Angelum, de venerabilium Fratrum nostrorum, Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiae Cardinalium Consilio atque unanimi assensu, destinavimus, illisque facultatibus omnibus munivimus, quas ad tanti negotii confectionem necessarias putavimus esse, seu quomodolibet opportunas. Atque inter alia circumpectioni tuæ, ut cum bonorum Ecclesiasticorum possessoribus, super fructibus male perceptis, & bonis mobilibus consumptis concordare & transigere, ac eos desuper liberare, & quietare, ubi expedire posset, Auctoritatem concessimus & facultatem, prout in nostris desuper confectis Literis plenius continetur: Cum autem ex iis Principiis, quæ ejusdem Mariæ sedulitate & diligentia, rectaque & constante in Deum Mente, tuo & in ea re cooperante studio atque Consilio præfatum reductionis

onis opus in prædicto Regno usque ad hanc diem habet ejusdemque præclari operis perfectio indies magis speretur ; eoque faciliores progressus habitura res esse dignoscatur, quo nos majorem in bonorum Ecclesiasticorum possessionibus in illa superiorum temporum confusione, per illius Provinciæ homines occupatis, Apostolicæ benignitatis & Indulgentiæ spem ostenderimus. Nos nolentes tantam dilectissimæ nobis in Christo Nationis recuperationem, & tot animarum pretioso Jesu Christi Domini nostri sanguini redemptarum, salutem, ullis terrenarum rerum respectibus impediri, more Pii Patris, in nostrorum & Sanctæ Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Filiorum, post longum periculosa peregrinationis tempus, ad nos respectantium & redeuntium, peroptatum complexum occurrentes ; tibi de cujus præstanti Virtute, singulari Pietate, Doctrina, Sapientia ac in rebus gerendis Prudentia, & dexteritate, plenam in Domino Fiduciam habemus, cum quibuscunque bonorum Ecclesiasticorum, tam mobilium, quam immobilium, in præfato Regno possessoribus, seu detentoribus, pro quibus ipsa serenissima Regina Maria intercesserit, de bonis per eos indebite detentis, arbitrio tuo, Autoritate nostra, tractandi, concordandi, transigendi, componendi, & cum eis ut præfata bona sine ulla scrupulo in posterum retinere possint, dispensandi, omniaque & singula alia, quæ in his, & circa ea quommodolibet necessaria & opportuna fuerint, concludendi & faciendi : *Salvo tamen in his, in quibus propter rerum magnitudinem & gravitatem, hæc sancta Sedes merito tibi videretur consulenda, nostro & præfate Sedis beneplacito & confirmatione, plenam & liberam Apostolicam Autoritate tenore præsentium & ex certa scientia concedimus facultatem.* Non obstantibus literis, felicitis recordationis Pauli P P. II. prædecessoris nostri, de non alienandis bonis Ecclesiasticis, nisi certa forma servata, & aliis quibuscunque Apostolicis ac in Provincialibus &

& Synodalibus Concilijs Edictis generalibus vel specialibus Constitutionibus, & Ordinationibus: nec non quarumvis Ecclesiarum & Monasteriorum ac aliorum regularium, & piorum locorum, juramento, confirmatione Apostolica, vel quavis alia firmitate roboratis, foundationibus, Statutis & Consuetudinibus, illorum tenores pro sufficienter expressis habentes contrariis quibuscunque.

Datum Rome apud S. Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris die xxviii Junii 1554. Pontificatus nostri Anno Quinto.

A Letter of Cardinal Pool's to the Pope, giving an account of a Conference that he had with Charles the 5th, concerning the Church-Lands.

Beatissime Pater,

E Molto tempo che non havendo cosa d'importanza non ho scritto a V. Santita per non molestarla facendole col mezzo del mio Agente intendere tutto quello che occorreva; e benche hora io non habbia da dirle quanto desiderarei, nondimeno mi e parso conveniente scriverle, e darle conto del raggiamento prima havuto con Monsieur d'Arras & poi di quel che ho negoziato con sua Majesta. Mons. d' Arras alli ix che fu il giorno istesso che sua Majesta torno, essendomi venuto a visitare, trovandosi all' hora meco Mons. il Nuncio, mi disse, che Sua Majesta havea ueduta la lettera che io mandai ultimamente per l'auditor mio, e che ella era benissimo disposta verso questo negocio della Religione in Inghilterra come si conveniva, e si poteva credere per la sua Pietate,

Pietate, & anche per l'interesse, che ne seguieria de quel Regno & de questi Paesi per la congiunzione che e tra loro. Si che quanto a questa parte di disponer sua Maesta non accader far altro. Ma che era ben necessario, che io venissi a particolari, & a trattar de gli impedimenti, e della via di rimuoverli: sopra che sua Maesta mi udiria molto volentieri, Jo risposi che veramente non era da dubitare del buono e pronto animo di sua Maesta, e che io ni era stato sempre persuassissimo. Ma che quanto pertineva all' officio mio per esser io stato mandato da V. Santita per far intender l'ottima sua mente ver- to la salute di quello Regno, e la prontezza di porgere tutti quei remedii che dall' autorita sua potesser venire; a me non toccava far altro, che procurar d'haver l'adito: E che ad esse Principi, quali sono sul fatto, & hanno il governo in mano, le apparteneva, far intendere gli impedimenti, che fossero in contario: e tornando pur esso Monsieur d'Arras che bisognava che io descendessi alli particolari, io replicai che in questa causa non conveniva in modo alcuno che si procedesse come si era fatto in quella della pace nella quale ciascuna delle parti stava sopra di se non volendosi scoprire, ma solo cercando di scoprirne, l'altra, per rispetto de gli interesse particolari; percio che questa e una causa commune e nella quale V. Santita e sua Maesta Cesarea, & quei Principi hanno il medesimo fine, & noi ancora come ministri. Confermo cio esser vero quanto al tratar della pace, con dire in effetto in tratar del negocio della pace io mi armo tutto. Ma pur tuttravia tornava a dire, che io douessi pensare e raggi- nar in particolare, con sua Maesta di quest' impedimenti. e Mons. il Nuncio al hora voltatosi a me disse, che in effet- to era bisogno venire a questi particolari: e cosi al fine restammo che ogniuno ci pensasse sopra.

Alli xi poi nell andar da S. Maesta Monsieur d'Arras torna a replicarmi il medesimo; nell audientia di S. Maesta nella quale si trovo presente Mons. il Nuncio, e Monsieur d'Arras, poiche mi fui ralegrato con sua Maesta che havendo liberato questi suoi paesi dalle molestie delle guerre, doppo tanti travagli, e d'animo e di corpo fusse tornato piu gagliarda e meglio disposta che quando si parti, in che si videva che il Signior Iddio haveva preservata & preservava a maggior cose in honor di S. Divina Maesta a beneficio commune. Sua Maesta confermo senterfi assai bene, e disse dele indispositione che haveva havuta in Arras e altre cose in simil proposito: entrai poi a dire della lettera che io haveva scritta a S. Maesta della risposta che Monsieur d'Arras mi haveva fatta, che era stata di rimetterfi al breve. Retorno di sua Maesta qui, e dissi che se havessi a trattar questo negotio con altro Principe, della Pieta del quale non fussi tanto persuaso, quanto io sono certo di quella di sua Maesta, dimostrata da lei con tanto segni, e nella vita sua privata e nell attioni publiche, cercaci de essortarlo per tante vie quante si potria ad abbracciar e favorir questa cosi sancta causa: Ma che non essendo bisogno fare questo con S. Maesta, e tanto piu per esser in questa causa con honore d'Iddio, congiunto anco il beneficio di S. Maesta et del Serinissimo Re suo figliuolo, solo aspettava da lei ogni ajuto per remover gli impedimenti, che fussero in questo negotio, i quali per quanto io poteva considerere sono di duo sorti: Uno pertinente alla Doctrina Catollica, nella quale non poteva esser in alcun modo indulgente, per esser cosa pertinente alla fide ne poteva sanaraltrimente questo male, che con introdure de nuovo la buona Doctrina. l'altro impedimento essendo de i beni, gli usurpatori di quali, sapendo la severita delle leggi Ecclesiastiche, temevano per questa causa di ritornar all Obedienza della chiesa,

E

desse

disse che in questa parte V. Santità poteva, et era disposta ad usar la sua benignità et indulgenza: e primo quanto alle censure e pene incorse et alla restitutione de' frutti percetti, che era di grand' importanza, V. Santità haveva animo nell'una nell'altra di questo due cose d'usar ogni indulgenza, rimittendo liberamente il tutto: ne pensava d'applicar parte alcuna de' detti beni a se, ne alla sede Apostolica, come molti temevano: benché di ragione lo potesse fare, per le ingiurie et danni ricevuti: ma che voleva convertir il tutto in servizio d'Iddio et a beneficio del Regno senza haver pur una minima consideratione del suo privato interesse: et confidandosi nella Pietà di quei Principi, voleva far loro quest' honore di far per mezzo del suo legato, quelle grazie che pareissero convenienti secondo la proposta et intercessione delle loro Maestà, a quelle persone che esse giudicassero degne d'essere gratificate, et atte ad ajutar la causa della Religione. Sua Maestà respondendo ringratia prima molto V. Santità mostrando di conoscere la sua bona Menre, et con dire, che ella in vero haveva fatto assai: poi disse che per gli impedimenti et occupationi della guerra, non haveva potuto attendere a questo negozio come saria stato il suo desiderio: ma che hora gli attenderia: et che haveva già scritto e mandato in Inghilterra, per intender meglio in questa parte il stato delle cose, et aspettava in breve risposta: et che bisognava ben considerare fin dove si potesse andare nel rimover questo impedimento d'beni, il quali esso per l'esperienza che haveva havuto in Germania, conosceva esser il principale. Perchè che quanto alla Dottrina, disse, che poco se ne curavano questo tali, non credendo ne all'una ne all'altra via: disse anche che essendo stati questi beni dedicati a Dio, non era da concedere così ogni cosa, a quelli che li tenevano: e che se bene a lei io diceffi fin dove s'estendesse la mia facoltà,

non

non però si haveva da far intendere il tutto ad altri: e che sarà bisogno veder il breve della faculta per ampliarle dove fusse necessario: alche io risposi haverlo già fatto vedere a Monsieur d'Arras, il quale non disse altra: e dubitando io che questa non fusse via di maggior dilatione dissi a S. Maesta, che devendosi come io intendeva e come S. Maesta doveva saper meglio, fare in breve il Parlamento, era d'avertire grandemente, che non si facesse senza conclusione nella causa dell'obedienza della chiesa: che quando altrimenti si facesse, sarebbe d'un grandissimo scandalo a tutto il Mondo, e danno alla detta causa: E che se bene la Regina a fare un così grande atto, haveva giudicato haver bisogno della congiunzione del Re suo Marito, come che non esse *bonam mulierem esse solam*, se hora che Iddio ha prosperato e condotto al fine questa santa congiunzione, si differisse più l'essecutione di questo effetto, che deve esser il Principio et il Fundamento di tutte le loro Regie attioni, non restarebbe via di satisfar a Dio, ne a gli huomini: e dicendo S. Maesta che bisognava anco haver grand rispetto alla mala dispositione de gli interessati, e quanto universalmente sia abborito questo nome d'obedienza della chiesa, e questo cappel rosso, e l'habito ancora dei Religiosi, voltatosi all' hora a Monsi Nuncio e in tal proposito parlando de' stati condotti di Spagna dal Re suo figliuolo che fu consigliato far loro mutar l'habito, se bene ciò non si feci, ne si conveniva fare: condire anco di quanto importanza fusse il tumulto del popolo, et in tal proposito toccando anche de' mali officii che non cessavano di fare per ogni via i nemici esterni. Io risposi che volendo aspettare che tutti da se si disponessero, e che cessasse ogni impedimento, sarà un non venir mai a fine, percheioche, gli interessati massimamente, altro non vorriano se non che si continuasse nel presente stato, con tenere et godere esse, tutto quello che

hanno. In fine fu concluso che si aspettasse la risposta d'Inghilterra, col ritorno del Secretario Eras, che faria fra pochi di, e che in questo mezzo io pensassi e conferissi di quelle cose con Monsieur d'Arras. V. Beatitudine puo con la sua prudenza vedere in che stato si trovi questa causa; e come sara necessario, che qui si trattino le difficulta sopra questa beni; e per non tediarla con maggior lunghezza quel di piu che mi occurreria dirle V. Santita si degnira intendere dall Agente mio, alla quale con la debita reverenza bacio i santissimi piedi preguando il Sig. Iddio che la conservi longamente a servizio della sua Chieffa. Di Bruxelles alli 13 d'October 1554.

Reginaldus Gard. Polus.

A Letter of Cardinal Pool's to Philip the 2d, complaining of the Delays that had been made, and desiring a speedy admittance into England.

Serenissime Rex,

IAm annus est cum istius regiae domus fores pulsare caepi, nedum quisquam eas mihi apperuit. Tu vero, Rex, si quæras, ut solent qui suas fores pulsare audiunt, quisnam pulset? atque ego hoc tantum respondeam me esse qui ne meo assensu regia ista domus ei clauderetur, quæ tecum simul eam nunc tenet, passus sum me domo & Patria expelli, & exilium viginti annorum hac de causa pertuli. An si hoc dicam non vel uno hoc nomine dignus videar cui & in Patriam reditus & ad vos aditus detur? At ego nec meo nomine nec privatam Personam gerens pulso, aut quidquam postulo, sed ejus nomine ejusque Personam referens, qui summi Regis & Pastoris hominum in Terris vicem gerit. Hic est Petri Successor: atque

atque adeo ut non minus vere dicam, ipse Petrus, cujus
 Authoritas & Potestas cum antea in isto Regno maxime
 vigeret ac floureret, postquam non passa est jus Regiæ
 domus ei adimi, quæ nunc eam possidet, ex eo per
 summam injuriam est ejecta. Is Regias per me fores
 jampridem pulsat, & tamen quæ reliquis omnibus patent
 ei uni nondum aperiuntur. Quid ita ejus ne pulsantis
 sonum an vocantis vocem non audierunt, qui intus sunt?
 audierunt sane, & quidem non minore cum admiratione
 divinæ Potentiæ & Benignitatis erga Ecclesiam, quam
 olim Maria illa affecta fuerit, cum ut est in Actis Aposto-
 lorum, Rhode ancilla ei nunciasset Petrum quem Rex in
 vincula conjecerat, ut mox necaret, & pro quo Ecclesia
 assidue precabatur, e carcere liberatum ante ostium pul-
 santem stare. Ut enim hoc ei ceterisque qui cum illa
 erant magnam attulit admirationem, ita nunc qui norunt
 eos qui Petri Authoritatem Potestatemque in isto Regno
 retinendam esse contendebant, in vincula Herodiano Im-
 perio conjectos, & crudelissime interfectos fuisse, quin
 etiam Successorum Petri nomina e libris omnibus sublata
 in quibus preces Ecclesiæ pro eorum incolumitate ac
 Salute continebantur, qui inquam hæc norunt, facta ad
 omnem memoriam Petri Autoritatis a Christo traditæ
 penitus ex animis hominum delendam, qui fieri potest ut
 non maxime admirentur hoc divinæ Benignitatis & Po-
 tentiæ pignus ac testimonium, Petrum nunc quasi iterum
 e carcere Herodis liberatum, ad Regiæ domus fores unde
 hæc omnia iniquissima in eum edicta emanarunt, pulsan-
 tem stare, & cum hoc maxime mirandum est, tum illud
 non minus mirum, a Maria Regina domum hanc teneri:
 sed cur illa tamdiu foras aperire distulit. De ancilla quidem
 illud Mariæ scriptum est, eam Petri voce audita prænimio
 gaudio suæ quasi oblitam, de aperendo non cogitasse:
 rem prius, ut Mariæ aliisque qui cum ea erant nunciaret,
 accurrisset,

accurrisse, qui cum primo an ita esset dubitassent, mox
 cum Petrus pulsare pergeret aperierunt, neque illum domo
 recipere sunt veriti, etsi maximam timendi causam habe-
 bant, Herode ipso vivo & regnante. Hic vero quid di-
 cam de Maria Regina, gaudeo ne eam an timore esse pro-
 hibitam quominus aperuerit; presertim cum ipsa Petri
 vocem audierit, cum certo sciat eum ad domus suæ janua-
 ram jamdiu pulsantem stare: cum admirabilem Dei in hac
 re potentiam agnoscat, qui non per Angelum, ut tunc Pe-
 trum e carcere Herodis, sed sua manu eduxit, dejecta porta
 ferrea quæ viam ad Regiam ejus domum intercludebat:
 scio equidem illam gaudere, scio etiam vero timere; ne-
 que enim nisi timeret tam diu distulisset. Verum si Pe-
 tri liberatione gaudet, si rei miraculum agnoscit, quid im-
 pedimento fuit quo minus ei ad januam latibunda occur-
 rerit, eumque meritis Deo gratias agens, introduxerit,
 Herode presertim mortuo, omni que ejus imperio ad eam
 delato? An fortassis divina Providentia quæ te dilectum
 Petri Filium & ex virum destinavit, illam timore aliquo
 tantisper affici permisit, dum venisses, ut utriusque ad rem
 tam præclaram & salutarem agendam, opera atque offici-
 um conjungeretur: equidem sic antea hunc Mariæ Regi-
 næ conjugis tuæ timorem, quod etiam ad eam scripsi sum
 interpretatus: ac propterea ad te nunc, virum ejus, Prin-
 cipem religiosissimum, scribo, & abs te ipsius Petri Christi
 Vicarii nomine postulo, ut illi omnes timoris causas pror-
 sus excutias: habes vero expeditissimam excutiendi ratio-
 nem, si consideres eique proponas, quam indignum sit si
 dum te illa corporis sui sponsam accerferit, cum non de-
 essent quæ timenda viderentur, tamen omnem timorem so-
 la vicerit, nunc te tanto Principi illi conjuncto, timore
 prohiberi quominus aditum ad se aperiat sponsæ animæ
 suæ, mecum una & cum Petro tamdiu ad fores expectanti;
 qui presertim tot & tam miris modis custodem ejus se, de-
 fenso:

fenforemque esse declaraverit. Noli enim, Rex, putare,
 me, aut solum ad vestram Regiam domum, aut uno tan-
 tum Petro comitatum venisse; cuius rei hoc quidem tibi
 certum argumentum esse potest, quod tamdiu persevero
 pulsans; nam sive ego solus venissem, solus jampridem
 abiissem, querens & exposulans quæ aliis omnibus pate-
 ant, mihi uni oclusas esse fores; sive una mecum solus
 Petrus, jampridem is quoque discessisset, neque secum ab-
 duxisset, pulvere pedum excusso, quod si preceptum fuit
 a Domino ut faceret quotiescunque ejus nomine aliquo
 accedens non admitteretur. Cum vero nihil ego, quod
 ad me quidem attinet conquerens, perseverem, cum Pe-
 trus pulsare non desistat, utrumque scito ab ipso Christo
 retineri, ut sibi sponso animæ utriusque vestrum aditus
 ad vos patefiat. Neque enim unquam verebor dicere,
 Christum in hac Legatione, qua pro ejus Vicario fungor,
 mecum adesse: quamdiu quidem mihi conscius ero me ni-
 hil meum, me non vestra, sed vos ipsos toto animo om-
 nique studio quærere. Tu vero, Princeps Catholice, cui
 nunc divina Providentia & Benignitate additum est alte-
 rum hoc præclarum *Fidæ Defensoris* cognomen, quo Re-
 ges Angliæ Apostolica Petri Autoritate sunt aucti atque
 ornati, tecum nunc considera quam id tuæ Pietati con-
 veniat, cum omnibus omnium Principum ad te Legatis
 aditus patuerit, ut tibi de hoc ipso cognomine adepto
 gratularentur, solum Successoris Petri qui hoc dedit, Le-
 gatum, qui propterea missus est ut te in solio Regni di-
 vina summi omnium Regis quam affert pace & gratia, con-
 firmet, non admitti. An si quidquam hic ad timorem
 proponitur, quominus cum admittis non multo magis
 Christi hac in re metuenda esset offensio, quod ejus Le-
 gatus qui omnium primus audiri debuit, tamdiu fores ex-
 pectet, cum ceteri homines qui multo post venerunt,
 nulla interposita mora, introducti auditique sint & hono-
 rifice

risce dimissi. At hic conqueri incipio ; conqueror quidem, sed idcirco conqueror, ne justam tuæ Majestati causam de me conquerendi præbeam, quam sane præberem, si cum periculi, quod ex hac cunctatione admittendi Legati a Christo Vicario missi, nobis vestroque Regno impendat, Reginam sæpe admonuerim, nihil de ea re ad Majestatem tuam scriberem ; quod officium cum tibi a me pro eo quo fungor munere maxime debeatur, id me satis persoluturum esse arbitror, si his Literis ostendero quantum periculi ei immineat, cui illud vere dici potest, *distulisti Christum tuum*. Is autem Christum differt, qui Legatum missum ab ejus Vicario, ad requirendam Obedientiam Ecclesiæ, ipsi Christo debitam, ex quo nostra omnium pendet Salus, non statim admittit. Differs vero, tu Princeps, si cum accersitus fueris, ut pro munere Regio viam ad hanc divinam Obedientiam in tuo isto Regno restituendam munias, ipse alia agas.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

Page 25. line 4. for *fructuus*, read *fructus*. L. 7. f. *bonorundem*, r. *bonorum*. L. 11. f. *posterioribus*, r. *possessoribus*. P. 26. l. 29. f. *ob*, r. *ab*. P. 29. l. 1. r. *containing*. P. 31. l. 21. f. *si riverle*, r. *scriverle*.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE

Gunpowder-Treason,

Collected from Approved Authors,

AS WELL

POPISH as PROTESTANT.

*The Second Impression, with some Passages relating
thereunto, never before Printed.*

*Sæpè Divinitatis opera hæc sunt, ut furias in ipso jam suc-
cessu securas subita ultio excipiat: nè vel unquam im-
probis timor, vel spes absit Calamitosa virtuti.*

Jo. Barclaii Conspiratio Anglicana.

LONDON,

Printed for Richard Chiswel at the Rose and Crown in
St. Paul's Church-yard, 1679.

THE
HISTORY

OF THE

AMERICAN

AS WELL

AS THE

THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN

THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN

THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN

THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN

TO THE
READER.

UPon the Reprinting of this Tract,
I not only compared things a-
gain, and corrected and added
as I saw Occasion ; but also had a design
as I went along to consider what Objections
were made by those of the Church of Rome
against the matter of it. I find indeed, that
they have very much laboured in it, and
have by several little Arts endeavoured to
clear their Church from the Scandal of it ;
but to so little purpose, that I think it no
hard matter to detect and confute them.
This I thought to have done, and had made
preparation for it ; but the work hath grown
so much in my hands , that it will rather
be a little Book than an Appendix, and will
require more time than I have now to
finish it.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
GUNPOWDER TREASON.

THere are no Conspiracies and Insurrections more dangerous to States and Governments, than those that the name of Religion is made to patronize; for when that doth head and manage the Party, as it makes it look somewhat considerable in it self, so it doth inspire those that are concerned with a certain furious and intemperate zeal, and an ungovernable violence; they then rebel with authority, and kill with a safe conscience, and think they cannot do amiss as long as it is to do God service. *The Brother will then deliver up the Brother to death, and the Father the Child: and the Children will rise up against their Parents, and cause them to be put to death; and the Laws of Nature, which are of themselves sacred and inviolable, shall in such a case be despised and lose their authority. This, this is it which in these latter Ages more especially hath disturbed Governments, disposed of the Crowns of Princes, and troubled the peace of the world: From hence sprung all those mischiefs that threatned & perpetually allarm'd this Nation during the long and fortunate Reign of Queen Elizabeth: From hence proceeded that barbarous and bloody design of the Gunpowder Treason in the year 1605. Such a Design*
as

* *Thuz. 12,*
Barclay,
Rog. Widdring-
ton in his A-
polog pro juve
incipum.
 Pag. 1.

* *Mori historia*
Missionis An-
glicanae prefat.

as the World before never heard of, and which Posterity will hardly believe for the horror of it, say the soberer of their own * Authors : such a design as even some of the Jesuits, after it miscarried, and they saw how ill it was resented by the rest of Mankind, professed their detestation of * ; but how little to their own vindication, and the satisfaction of the World, will easily appear to any one that doth impartially inquire into the History and the process of it. For this design was not taken up of a sudden, and what a small company of rash and hot-headed persons did without consideration attempt, but what proceeded from the same original, and was carried on by the same Counsels and Endeavours that were in being in the time of Queen *Elizabeth* ; the Principals in which for their time were *Garnet* the Provincial of the Jesuits in *England*, *Baldwin* in *Flanders*, and *Creswel* in *Spain* ; these were the great Projectors and Encouragers of that which was called the *Spanish Treason* in the last year of Queen *Elizabeth* ; and which, when defeated in by her death, and the Peace that issued upon it betwixt the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*, they were put upon new Counsels, and forced to take other Measures for the prosecution of it.

The *Spanish*
Treason.

It was in *Decemb.* in the year 1601, that *Tho. Winter* was sent into *Spain* by the joynt advice of *Henry Garnet* and *Oswald Tesmond*, aliàs *Greenwel*, Jesuits ; and of *Robert Catesby* and *Francis Tresham*, Gentlemen of good quality and reputation, to try what could be done for *Their* assistance that were ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for the Catholick Cause ; and to assure the King of *Spain* that could they but prevail with him to send over an Army, they would have in readiness 1500 or 2000
 horses

horses for the service. With *Winter* was sent over *Oswald Tesmond*, and by them a Letter to *Creswel* the Jesuit then residing there: By whose Mediation the motion was readily hearkned to, and *Don Pedro Francesa*, second Secretary of State, and the Duke of *Lerma*, did assure them of the King's furtherance and help; and in the Conclusion the Count of *Miranda* particularly told them, That his Master had resolved to bestow two hundred thousand Crowns to that use, half to be paid that year, and the rest the next following, and that at *Spring* he would without fail set footing in *England*.

About the latter end of the year, *Thomas Winter* returns with this joyful news, and they were now busie in preparing for it, and almost every day expecting the arrival of these Forces, when of a sudden all was dashed by the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, which was *March 24. 1602*. Upon this *Christopher Wright* is immediately dispatched into *Spain*, to give the King notice of it; and about the same time was *Guy Fawks* sent with Letters and Commission from Sir *William Stanly*, *Hugh Owen*, and *Baldwin* the Jesuit (who were then in *Flanders*, and ready to attend and to prosecute the same Design): But That King told them, That he was now otherwise resolved, and it became him not to hearken to such proposals, after he had sent Embassadors to the new King of *England* to treat of a Peace. It was now therefore fit either to let their Design fall, or to betake themselves to some other course to effect it; but the Former, their Temper and their Principles would not permit; And therefore since they could not promise themselves success therein by force, they did contrive how without any noise or visible and open preparations it might be obtained.

That

The rise of
the Gun-pow-
der-Plot.

* V. Watson's
Quodlibets,
p. 11. 71.
265, 284.

Proceedings
against the
Traitors.

That a King or Queen who is an Heretick may be deposed or killed, was current Doctrine amongst them, in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, and what they had been taught from Father *Parsons* and *Creswel*, or whoever was the Author of the Book called *Philopater* *, and by *Tresham* in his Book *de officio hominis Christiani*, found with them about this time. And though the King was not formally declared and proceeded against as such, yet it was thought sufficient by them that the Pope on *Maunday-Thursday* did censure and condemn all Hereticks in the general, as *Guy Fawks* and others of them did confess. And therefore the Question was not so much about the lawfulness of it, as about the order that was to be observed, and the way that was fit to be taken in it. *Catesby*, who was no Novice in these affairs, and that from his acquaintance with *Parsons* when in *England*, and *Garnet* and the other Jesuits (to whose order he and his Family, from *Campion* down to this time, were particularly devoted) had learned great skill and subtilty, quickly contrived this for them; and when *Thomas Percy*, who was of the House of *Northumberland*, and at that time one of the King's Pensioners, according to the bluntness of his temper, did offer himself for the service, and that he would without any more adoe undertake to assassinate the King; This wary Gentleman replied, That would be too dear a purchase, when his own life would be hazarded in it; and it was unnecessary, when it might as well be accomplished without it; And so acquaints him in part with what was intended.

Before this was fit to be fully Communicated, he thought it necessary that there should be some care taken to oblige all to Secrecy; for which purpose an Oath

Oath was devised that every one should take, and which was accordingly administred to them by *Gerard* the Jesuit. The Oath was,

You shall swear by the Blessed Trinity, and by the Sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose Directly nor Indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to keep Secret, nor desist from the Execution thereof, until the rest shall give you leave.

The Oath of Secrecy.

This was taken, and the Sacrament upon it received by *Catesby, Percy, John Wright, Thomas Winter, and Fawkes*, in May, 1604.

Upon which *Catesby* communicated the whole, and told them, That at the meeting of the Parliament which now drew on, they would have a fair Opportunity to consummate all their wishes, and, without being observed and discovered, by one fatal Blow to destroy the King, the Prince, the Duke, and the Parliament at once; for as long as there were those Branches of the Royal Family remaining, to what purpose would it be to make away the King; and as long as there was a Parliament in being, what should they get if they could not as well Destroy the Branches as the Root. Therefore his Design was to extirpate at once all the seeds of Heresie, and by a train of Powder conveniently laid under the House in which at that time they should all be assembled, to Blow them up, and their Cause together. This was what the Confederates very well approved of, and now they united Counsels and Endeavours to carry it on.

The Plot.

The first thing to be considered, was the hiring of the House, and this *Percy* undertook, and having not without some difficulty persuaded the present Tenant *Fer-*

The House made choice of.

Others taken
in to be Con-
federates,

ris to quit it, he became immediate Tenant to *Whinyard*, Keeper of the *Wardrobe*, at whose disposal it was in the Intervals of Parliament. The House was committed to the care of *Fawkes*, as being least known, who, the better to conceal himself, changed his name to *Johnson*, and gave himself out to be *Percy's* Servant. Whilst they were thus busie in contriving and carrying on their Plot, the Parliament was Prorogued till *February* the 7th, upon which they dispersed themselves into several Countreys; but to lose no time, did think of taking in some other Persons, whom they might confide in, and expect some help from. *Catesby* was sensible that he had given *Thomas Bates*, a Servant of his that attended him, too great cause of Suspicion, and upon Examination found him to have observed somewhat from his Proceedings, and therefore invited him into the Undertaking; but he somewhat surprized at the horror of it, began to decline it, till his Master refer'd him for Advice to *Tesmond*, unto whom imparting it in Confession, the subtile Priest both invited him to it as a work of great merit, and obliged him to Secrecy and Fidelity therein. In *Michaelmas* Term they met again, and then they thought fit to provide a Store-House for the Timber, which they should use in the Mine, that they intended to make, and for the Powder and other Materials, from whence they might fetch it as Occasion served. And such a place they found and took at *Lambeth*. Then were *Robert Keyes*, and *Christopher Wright*, Gentlemen, and *Ambrose Rookwood*, and *John Grant*, and *Robert Winter*, Esquires, at several times admitted into the Number. *December* 11th, they began to work, but what from the difficulty of the work (the Wall that they were to make their way

way through, being 3 Ells thick) what from their want of skill in it, and of being used to such kind of Labour, they found that their time would be too short for their Enterprize, and they began to despair of success in it. But when under this Irresolution and Discouragement, their hopes were revived by two unexpected Accidents. For first the Parliament was Adjourned to the 5th of *October* following, by which means they should have time before them. And then they had an opportunity of hiring a Vault, much more for their turn than the Mine which they had so long employed themselves in. This they came to the knowledg of upon this Occasion; As they were one day busie at their Work, they were not a little frightened by an unusual noise on the other side of the Wall, which made them think that they were betrayed, and to betake themselves to their Weapons with a resolution of dying upon the place. But *Fawkes*, who was sent out to make Discovery, returns with Joy to tell them, That it was only the removing of Coals that were laid in the adjoining Vault or Cellar, which was now to be let. This they presently hire, thither they brought their Stores. By this means they gained a double advantage, first, that their business was brought into a less room, which was more for their ease and safety; and then that they were rid of their hard, and but upon such a cause, to them intolerable Labour; for this was a Mine as it were, already, and what was so well situated by its being almost under the Royal Throne, that they could not have chose any thing more commodious. And now they are at leisure not so much to think of this Design (for that was brought to its head, and what they reckoned themselves sure of) as how to carry on the other part of it.

The Vault
hired and
stored.

The King and Prince *Henry*, they did not doubt would fall into this common calamity ; but the Duke, being but four years old, they thought would be absent ; of him therefore *Percy* took the charge, and said, He would attend about the Chamber till the blow was given, and then in a trice convey him away, with the help of two or three that should be ready on horse-back ; which they might the more easily do, as many of the Court would be that day upon attendance and perish with the rest, and the others would by it be put into Confusion, and unprovided to make any Opposition. As for the Lady *Elizabeth*, she might be reserved, and her name made use of by them in stilling and composing the minds of the people, and for making good whatever they thought fit to use her Authority in ; And her they might the more easily gain into their hands, as she was now at the Lord *Harrington's* at *Comb-Abby* in *Warwickshire*, whereabouts they might securely be under the pretence of an Hunting-match, and with the first news there surprize her.

Their Intelligence abroad.

In the mean time was care taken to give notice to those abroad whom they might trust ; and in *March* 1605, *Parks* sent over to Sr. *William Stanly*, and *Hugh Owen* ; and with Letters from *Garnet* to *Baldwin* the Legier Jesuit in *Flanders*. Sr. *William* was absent ; but having first administered the Oath of Secrecy, to *Owen*, he acquaints him with the Plot, who promised to give his utmost assistance ; and to dispose Sir *William* to it (whom he thought it not fit for the present to communicate it to, for fear he might be discovered and fail in a design, that he was then about in the Court of *England*.)

To the 20 Barrels of Powder laid in at first ; they added in *July* 20 more with Barrs of Iron, and massie Stones

Stones, and at the last made up the Number Thirty Six ; over which they laid a Thousand Billets, and Five-hundred Faggots. And at a Meeting at the *Bath*, of *Percy* and *Catesby*, it was agreed that *Catesby* should take in whom he thought fit ; who thereupon engaged Sir *Everard Digby*, that promised to advance 1500*l.* towards it ; and Mr. *Francis Tresham*, that gave him assurance of 2000*l.*

All things thus being in a readiness, the Parliament was again Prorogued till the Fift of *November* ; upon which they retired, with a promise of meeting about Ten days before. At which time *Catesby*, being informed by *Winter* at a House by *Enfield Chase*, called *White-Webbs*, That the Prince was not likely to be present with the King, there was another Plot laid to surprize him, if it should so happen.

The Parlia-
ment Pro-
rogued.

The time drew very near, and they that had past so long without discovery, seem'd now to be above the fear of it. All things had so happily concurred to further their design, and they had all approved themselves to be so trusty in it, that they were more concerned how to manage the success than to fear it. But God that had a reserve of favour for us, and that doth delight in catching the wise in their own craftiness, suffered them to proceed thus far in it, that the detection and overthrow of it might appear to be more from his than Man's Providence. When *Catesby* first thought of this, the great difficulty with him was about the lawfulness of destroying the innocent with the guilty. For the blow would know no difference betwixt a Catholick and a Heretick, betwixt a Friend or Foe. When the Nobles and the Commons, those that were a part of
that

that Assembly, and those that came to be Auditors and Spectators only; those that were within, and those that were without the House; when no less than Thirty thousand must perish at once by it (as *Barclay* saith it was computed) it must needs be that many whom they wished well to; and that also (if they knew it) would wish well to their cause, must be part of the Sacrifice. What an havock would Thirty-six Barrels, or Nine or Ten thousand Pound of Powder make, loaded thus with Bars of Iron, massie Stones, and great pieces of Timber? how would it tear the Foundations of the strongest Buildings, throw down all the Tops of the neighbouring Houses, and bury all within the ruins of both? What would become of their Friends and Allies, those that they had received much kindness from, and others who neither did nor knew how to do them an injury? How many Families must they undo, by the loss of Relations, Estates, and Records which were there deposited? This and much more was what they well foresaw, and what they could not foresee without some kind of horror, if they had but one spark of humanity left untouched by their unnatural Religion. What must therefore be done, to whom should he resort for Counsel, but to his fast Friend Father *Garnet*, to him he opens the Case (as far as it was fit, and as far as the other was willing to know of it) after this manner.

atesby's Case
of Conscience.

“Whether for the good and Promotion of the Catholic cause (the necessity of time and occasion so requiring) it be lawful or not, amongst many Nocents, to destroy and take away some Innocents also?

“To which the Jesuit replies, That if the advantage
“was

“was greater on the side of the Catholicks by the destruction of the Innocent with the Nocent, than by the preservation of both, it was doubtless lawful; further explaining himself by this comparison. “That, if at the taking of a Town possessed by the Enemy, there happen to be some Friends, they must undergo the Fortune of War, and the General and Common destruction of the Enemy.

With this answer *Catesby* was satisfied, and with this he satisfied others, telling them, That it was the resolution of the Case given by the Provincial.

But, yet though this did thus compose their Minds, and what they were generally satisfied with, there wanted not one that having a kindness for the Lord *Monteagle*, eldest Son to the Lord *Morley*, sent this Note to him, by the hands of one of his Foot-boys that was abroad in the Evening of the Saturday was Sennight, before the appointed time for the meeting of the Parliament.

A Letter sent
to the Lord
Monteagle.

My Lord,

Out of the love I bear to some of your Friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your Attendance at this Parliament. For God and Man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this Advertisement, but retire your self into your Countrey, where you may expect the Event in safety: For though there be no appearance of any stir; yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurt them. This Counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good,

good, and can do you no harm: For the danger is past as soon as you shall have burned this Letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it. To whose Holy protection I commend you.

The Letter was without Date or Subscription, and the hand in which it was written was hardly legible, and the contents of it so perplexed, that the Lord knew as little what to make of it, as whence it came. But yet however since it respected more than himself he thought not fit to conceal it, and presently repaired to *Whitehall*, and put it into the hands of the Earl of *Salisbury* Principal Secretary of State. The Earl commended the Lord for his Care and Fidelity; and told him, That though there seemed to be little in it, yet because of the reports that he had received from abroad, that the *Papists* this Session of Parliament would be very busie and insolent in their demands for Toleration upon some prospect they had of being in a condition to command it; and also that because nothing that concerned the safety of His Majesty and Peace of his Government ought to be slighted, he would advise with others of his Majestie's Council about it. Accordingly he shewed it to the Lord Chamberlain, (to whom it particularly belonged to visit all places, where his Majesty either lived, or to which he did resort) to the Lord High-Admiral, the Earls of *Worcester* and *Northampton*; who all were of the same mind with the Secretary, and concluded it fit to deliver it to the King at his return from *Royston*, when he came from hunting, and from whence he was expected the *Thursday* following.

On

This was not kept so secret, but that *Thomas Winter* had some intelligence of it, the next day; and on Monday went to *Enfield*, to acquaint *Catesby* with it; but he found him resolved to see further, and to wait *Percy's* arrival, whom he then expected.

On the next Day after the King's Return, the Earl presented him with the Letter, and told him how it came to his Hand. After the reading of it, the King made a pause, and then reading it again, said, that there seemed somewhat in it extraordinary, and what was by no means to be neglected. The Earl replied, that it seemed to him to be written by a Fool, or a Mad-man; for who else could be guilty of saying, *The Danger is past as soon as you have burn'd the Letter?* for what Danger could there be in that, which the burning of the Letter would put an end to? But the King considering the smartness of the Stile, and withal what was said before, *That they should receive a terrible Blow, and yet should not see who hurt them*, did conclude, as he was walking and musing in the Gallery, that the Danger must be sudden, and like the blowing up by Gunpowder; for what else could the Parliament be in danger of? or what Rebellion and Insurrection could there be, and yet there be no appearance of Stir therein? or how could they be otherwise hurt, and not see who hurt them? And as for the Phrase which the Secretary particularly offered at, he said, to him it seemed to be of a quite different signification, and that thereby was to be understood the Suddenness and Quickness of it, which should as soon or as quickly be done, as that Paper might be burnt. Doubtless this was the sence of it, and what the Person that wrote it did intend, who was no Fool, as appears by the other parts of the Letter; and yet the Discovery of it was extraordinary, being against the common Construction, and far from what any other did apprehend by it; and therefore it is what even some of the adverse Party have looked upon as God's Inspiration. So

*The Letter
presented to
the King.*

John Barclay entitles his little Book that he wrote about it, *Series patefacti divinitus Parricidii, &c.* And *Spondanus*, Ann. 1605. §. 8. saith of the King, that *divinitus evasit.*

The House
ordered to be
searched.

The Secretary admired the King's great Sagacity; and tho he seemed to differ from him whilst in his Presence, yet presently conferred with the Lords about it, and on Saturday it was resolved, that the Houses and Rooms thereabouts should be searched. The Care of this was committed to the Lord Chamberlain. who was appointed on Monday to make the Search: which he accordingly did that Evening, being accompanied with the Lord *Monteagle*, that was very desirous of seeing the Event. Having view'd this House, they found in a Cellar under Ground great Store of Billets, Faggots, and Coal, brought thither (as Mr. *Whinyard* told them) for the use of Mr. *Percy*, and spied *Fawks* standing there in a Corner, who said that he was Mr. *Percy's* Servant, and left there by him for the keeping of his House. Upon the naming of *Percy*, the Lord *Monteagle* told the Chamberlain, that he now vehemently suspected Mr. *Percy* to be the Author of that Letter, both from his Inclination to the Romish Religion, and the Intimacy that had been berwixt them. Though this was a mistake, it being neither *Percy* nor *Tresham* (as Bishop *Goodman* in his Answer to Sir *Anth. Weldon's* Court of King *James*, doth conjecture.) Yet that Circumstance, with what they had already discovered, so much encreased the Suspicion, that when all was reported by the Lord Chamberlain to the King, in the presence of the Lord Admiral, Lord Treasurer, the Earls of *Worcester*, *Northampton*, and *Salisbury*, it was resolved, that further Search should be made, what was under that great Pile of Fewel, in such a House where *Percy* had so little occasion to reside. But what for avoiding the Report of too much Credulity, and Easiness to receive Informations of that kind; what from the care of doing any thing that might redound to the blemish of the Earl of *Northumberland*, whose near
Rela-

Relation, and great Confident this *Thomas Percy* was ; it was resolv'd to do it under the pretence of making Inquisition for some of the Kings Hangings, that were stollen out of *Whinyard's* Custody. Sir *Thomas Knevet*, one of the King's Privy-Chamber, was employed in it, being a Person in publick Office, as a Justice of Peace, and of great Prudence. At midnight he repaired thither, and found *Fawks* standing at the Door, booted and spurr'd, whom he presently apprehended. Then proceeding, he first lighted upon one of the smaller, and after discovered the rest of the Barrels. Upon which, causing *Fawks* to be searched, he found about him three Matches, a Tinderbox, and a dark Lanthorn.

Being thus taken in the Fact, he both confessed and defended it, adding, *That if he had happened to be within the House, as he was without, he would by putting Fire to the Train, have put an end to their Enquiry.* Sir *Thomas* having had such happy Success, immediately returns with Joy to the Palace, and acquaints the Lord Chamberlain, and Earl of *Salisbury* with it, who went to the King's Bedchamber, and with as much hast as joy the Chamberlain told the King, that all was discovered, and the Traitor in safe Custody. This was about four of the Clock in the Morning. As soon as the Council met, (who were immediately sent for) the Prisoner was taken into Examination, and to the amazement of all, appeared no more dash'd by their Presence, or the Questions put to him, or the Condition he was in, than if he had been altogether innocent, declaring, *That he was not at all sorry for what he had design'd, but only that he fail'd in the execution of it ; and that the Devil, and not God, was the Discoverer.* So pertinacious and resolute was he, that he would not own any Accomplices, but that he alone was the Contriver, and should have been the sole Executor of it, and that he was induc'd to this for Conscience sake, as the King (being an Heretick) was not his lawful Sovereign, but an Usurper. Thus stout and resolute did he continue,

Fawkes his Behaviour upon his Apprehension.

till he was brought to the Tower, and shewed the Rack, upon the sight of which he began to relent, and after some days examination disclosed the whole.

The News of this Discovery flew like Lightning ; it was what rejoiced the Heart of every good Subject, and daunted that of the Rebels, and therefore those of them that were in Town no sooner heard of it, but they betook themselves to Flight.

Catesby was gone the Night before towards the place appointed for the Rendezvous ; not a little perplexed from the intimation he had that their Plot was discovered. And *Percy* set forward at 4 of the Clock in the Morning, much about the time that the Discovery was made publick. *Thomas Winter* and the 2 *Wrights* that staid behind, staid to hear the certainty of their Defeat and Disappointment, and so made all the haste they could to overtake and meet their Confederates ; that they might consult what was to be done in so great an Exigence.

In the mean time there was nothing wanting on their part, who were to contribute their endeavours in the Country. *Sir Everard Digby* came to *Dunchurch* according to appointment, and so confident were they of success above, that one *Grant* a Gentleman in those parts, on Monday Night, much about the time that *Fawkes* was apprehended with other of his Associates, broke open the Stables of one *Benock*, a Rider of great Horses, and took away all that he found, for their own Service, and with them they repaired to the rest. But all their hopes were soon blasted, by the sad News which they quickly received from those that had made their escape. Desperation begets Resolution ; and now they are lost as well as their Cause, if they do not speedily find out a Remedy ; and therefore with all the haste they could, they dispatched some to call in others to their Assistance, and to represent to them the greatness of the danger, that they, and their Religion is in, unless they appear in its defence. This *Tesmond* (*alias Greenmel*) the Jesuit, did particularly

larly concern himself in, exhorting all to take up Arms, and to unite their Forces, and for this purpose rode as far as *Lancashire*. This riding to and fro made a noise in the Countrey and awakened the People; the loss of *Benock's* Horses came quickly to the Ears of some of those Gentlemen that had put them into his Hands to manage and fit them for their Service. And for one reason or another the Country was presently up in Arms, and upon pursuit of them.

Some of them were taken Prisoners, and others of them pursued by Sir *Richard Verney*, Sheriff of *Warwick-shire*, to the borders of that County. But they kept on their course, till they came to *Holbeach* in *Stafford-shire*, the House of *Stephen Littleton*; thither Sir *Richard Welsh* Sheriff of *Worcester-shire* followed them, and by his Trumpeters commanded them in the Kings Name to surrender, assuring them that upon their so doing he would intercede with the King for them, and doubted not to obtain their Pardon. But they that were conscious to themselves of more than he understood (for the News had not yet spread so far, nor the King's Proclamations, though sent after them, had not yet overtaken them) bid him Defiance, and sent him word that he must have a greater Force, than what he had then the command of, to reduce them. But whilst the one was preparing for the Assault, and the other for their Defence, God himself seemed to decide the Quarrel: for by the same means which they contrived to destroy others, they themselves came to suffer; for having laid some Powder to dry before the Fire, a Coal upon the mending of it, flew into the Pan, and set fire to the rest, thereby not only blowing up part of the Roof, and a Bag of Powder of 17 or 18 pound, that they under-set the Pan with, which was carried unfired into the Court, but so wounded *Catesby*, *Rookwood*, *Grant*, and several of the Conspirators, that they were unable to make any further Defence. By this time Fire was set to the House, and their case grew so desperate, that they opened

*The Traitors
pursued and
taken.*

opened the Doors, and exposed themselves to the Weapons and Fury of the People. The three principal of them, viz. *Catesby*, *Percy*, and *Thomas Winter*, joined Back to Back, and the two former of them were mortally wounded with one Shot, by one *Heming* a Train-Souldier, who had a Pension for it during his Life. *Catesby* dying upon the Spot, and *Percy* if not then slain, yet not out-living him above two or three days. The two *Wrights* were slain at the same time; *Digby*, *Rookwood*, *Thomas Winter*, *Grant*, and *Bates* were taken Prisoners, and sent up to *London*. *Robert Winter* and *Stephen Littleton* concealed themselves in the Woods, and other places for some weeks, but were afterward taken and committed to the *Tower*. *Tresham* continued in *London*, and seemed ready to find out the Traitors, and by that means thought at first to remain undiscovered; but being suspected, he was afterwards searched for, and apprehended, and sent to the same place. Thus suddenly was that Design discovered which had bin so long concealed; thus suddenly was it broken, which they had bin some years in contriving, therein verifying that of the Psalmist, *The ungodly are sunk down into the Pit that they made: in the Net which they hid, is their own Foot taken. The Lord is known by the Judgment which he executeth, the wicked is snared in the work of his own Hands.*

The Examination of the Prisoners.

These Persons thus apprehended, were carefully examined, (in the doing of which were spent 23 days) and from their several Confessions was drawn sufficient matter not only for their own Condemnation, but also for detection of others.

The Jesuites in the Conspiracy.

The most considerable of which were *Garnet* the Provincial of the Jesuits, *Hall*, *Greenwell*, *Gerard* and *Hamond*, Priests of the same Order. The respect that *Garnet* had to the reputation of their Society, and his own Safety, had made him to act with so great caution, that he would willingly converse with none about this matter, but those that

that were of his own Order; for *Catesby* his self with
 And therefore much of the evidence again presumpti-
 that Conspirators. But yet there appeared were taken,
 ons by the acknowledgment of the was a Proclama-
 and Letters that were found; that *th* him and his Bre-
 tion issued out for the apprehension, harbour and con-
 thren, declaring it Treason for any near, and all things
 ceal them. *Garnet* when the time a Journey to *Coughton*
 were ripe for their Design, in place of general Rendez-
 in *Warwickshire*, not far from a Mon, and in which he ex-
 vous, where he preached a sermon, and in which he ex-
 hortd his Auditors to pray of the success of a great Acti-
 on, to be undertaken in the behalf of the Catholicks, at
 the beginning of the Parliament, as is acknowledged by
 his Apologist, and was confessed by *Hall*, alias *Oldcorn*.
 Whilst at that place he received a Letter November 6. from
Wesby, to let him that their Design had miscarri-
 d, and to desire him that he would use his interest in stir-
 ring up the Catholicks in *Wales* to Arm and Defend them-
 selves. But the wary Jesuit provided for his own Safety,
 and sending *Glacwell* to them for their Assistance and Di-
 rection he himself retreated to *Hall* at Mr. *Habington's*
 House, in *Hinlip* in *Worcester-shire*, where *Hall* had found
 a safe retreat for sixteen years together, as an Author of
 theirs informs us. This was a place of great reception,
 and as much of the Plot was there hatch'd, so it was from
 thence that it came to be prevented. For Mrs. *Habington*
 was Sister to the Lord *Monteagle*, and so being solicitous
 for her Brother, whom she had reason to believe would
 then be at the Parliament, she writ the abovesaid Letter to
 him, to give him so much notice of the danger as might
 warn him to provide for his own Safety, but not so much
 (as she apprehended) as might discover it. From this Re-
 lation betwixt the two Families, it was that Mr. *Habington*
 alone of all the Conspirators, after Sentence, had his Life
 given

Friend.

*Eudam. Joan-
 nis Apologia
 pro Garneto.
 page. 265.*

*Hen. Mori-
 Historia missi-
 onis Anglica-
 na. pag. 333.*

given him.

(20)

alive about an account Mr. *Habington* himself (who was
There they lay gave to a worthy Person still in being.
were discovered & cealed for some time, but at the last
Conspirators, as in that place by *Littleton*, one of the
further saith, that the Author relates, pag. 314. Who
Bricklayers were used, though the help of Carpenters and
they could find them out they were many days before
which was in an upper room being in a Vault, the way to
the Hearth, whose Wooden order was made like a Trap-
Door, to pluck up and down, and then the Bricks were
laid in their Courses and Order again, as we are told by
an Author of our own.

*Fowles Romish
Treasons. pag.
698.*

From whence these Authors had this account of the
place of their concealment I know not, but that they are
mistaken, I am very well assured from the aforesaid Relator,
to whom Mr. *Habington* gave a full Relation, viz.
That for some time after the Plot was discovered, and
others apprehended, there was no notice taken of him, so
that he began to think himself secure. But one night on
the sudden his House was beset, and he called for by the
Sheriff, who as soon as he came down, told him that he
was come by special Order of Council to search his
House. Mr. *Habington* told him that he was freely welcome,
and caused Lights immediately to be brought. They went
from Room to Room, and about eleven of the Clock at
noon had finished, and found nothing. The Sheriff then be-
ing come into the Parlor, said to Mr. *Habington*, Cousin, I am
heartily glad that I am disappointed; and so they drank a
glass of Wine, and were taking leave, Mr. *Habington* accom-
panying the Sheriff to the Door. But *Francis Dingly* of
Charlton, Captain of the County-Horse, staying a little be-
hind, struck his hand against the Wainscot over the Chim-
ney, and finding it to be hollow called the company in, and
forthwith breaking it down, found there what they
searched for.

Hence

Hence they were brought to *London*, and committed to the Tower.

On *January 27.* the other Prisoners were brought to their Trial at *Guild-Hall*. The Persons arraigned were *Robert Winter Esq;* *Thomas Winter Gentleman,* *Guy Faux Gentleman,* *John Grant Esq;* *Ambrose Rookwood Esq;* *Robert Keyes Gentleman,* and *Thomas Bates, Servant to Catesby.* By another Indictment was arraigned *Sir Everard Digby.* The Arraign-
ment of the
Traitors.

They generally acknowledged the Fact, and spake little in their own Vindication. *Rookwood* pleaded, *That it was the entire Affection he had for Mr. Catesby which drew him in ; and he hoped, as it was his first Fact, some Mercy would be shewed him.* *Sir Everard* said the same with respect to *Catesby*, and added, *That he had undertaken it for the Zeal which he had to the Catholick Religion, which he was ready to sacrifice all for ; and to prevent those Calamities which he understood that the Parliament was prepared to bring upon them of his Perswasion.* *Keyes* said, *That his Fortunes were sunk, and as good now as at another time, and for this Cause rather than another.* *Thomas Winter* desired that he might be hanged both for his Brother and himself. *Bates* and *Robert Winter* craved mercy. *John Grant* was a good while mute, yet after said, *he was guilty of a Conspiracy intended, but never effected.*

They seemed resolved to vindicate the Jesuits, or at least to say nothing against them; whether it were that they were not allowed to discourse of the Plot with any but such and such particular Persons, or whether it were that they thought it to be highly meritorious ; and this last seems to be not unlikely. When *Tresham* not above three hours before his Death, in the Tower, did declare upon his Salvation, that he had not seen *Garnet* in sixteen years before ; whereas it appeared, both by the Confession of *Garnet*, and *Mrs. Ann Vaux*, *Garnet's Bosom-Friend*, that they had been frequently together the two last years past. And *Sir Everard Digby* when asked by the Lord Chief Justice, *if he had taken the Sacra-*

*Sir Everard's Pa-
pers. p. 6.*

went to conceal the Plot as others did; replied that he had not because, faith he, I would avoid the question at whose hands it were.

Their Execution.

On the *Thursday* following, Sir *Everard Digby*, *Robert Winter*, *John Grant*, and *Bates*, were according to Judgement, Drawn, Hang'd and Quarter'd, at the *West* end of *St. Paul's Church*. And on the *Friday*, the other four, viz. *Thomas Winter*, *Keyes*, *Rookwood*, and *Fawkes* were executed in the *Palace-Yard* at *Westminster*.

Garnet's Examination.

Now were *Garnet* and *Hall* had in Examination, and that several times from the thirteenth of *February*, to *March* the twenty sixth. In all which *Garnet* shewed by the wiliness of his Answers, and the Confidence he maintained them with, that he deserved the place of Provincial of the *Jesuits* (which he held for twenty two years) being so well versed in all the Practices of his Society, that few could exceed him.

*Historia
missionis
Anglican*
p. 315.
p. 334.

The King from the first was resolved to forbear the severity of the Rack, much practised in other Countries, in the examination of notorious and perverse Criminals. We indeed are told by a late confident Author of their own, that *Garnet* was kept waking six Days and Nights together to bring him by that new kind of Torment (as he calls it) to a Confession of his Crime; and that *Hall* was put to extream Torture for fifteen hours space together in the Tower, for the same reason. But a greater than he, one of their own Perswasion, doth assure us, that the King to avoid Calumny, did purposely forbear any thing of that kind of Rigour, and *Garnet* himself did publicly own at his Trial, that he had been used whilst in Prison with great lenity. We know not what effect the Rack might have had upon him, for that was a way of Trial he had not been exercised in; but that Course which they took, by frequent and cross examinations, by Expostulations and Arguments, he was so much a Master of, that in all the twenty three days spent in it, they would have gained but little Information, had they not had some greater advantage. Had he been alone, and could not have been confronted by others,

Thoum
Ann. 1606.

others, he had been much more secure, and they more at a loss. And therefore to prevent any mis-understanding betwixt him and others in custody, that their Answers might not be inconsistent or repugnant, he writes both to *Hall* and *Mrs. Vaux*, to let them know after what manner he thought to excuse or defend himself, and what Replies to make to some particular Enquiries; as if he should be charged with his Prayer for the good Success of a great Action, &c. he would say, It was for the prevention of those severe Laws, which those of their Church expected would be made against them by that Parliament. But it hapned, that these Letters that were writ by him, came into other hands than those he intended them for, and did him a worse Injury than any Account that his sworn Friends could have likely given of the same Actions, though disagreeing with his. And indeed herein his Adversaries did outwit him, and worsted him at his own Weapons. For when they perceived that he obstinately persisted in the defence of his Innocency, they took another Course to find him out. A Person was employed as a Keeper, that should profess himself to be a Roman Catholick, and that should take a great liberty to complain of the Kings severity, and of the Sufferings their Party were made to undergo. By these and the like crafty Insinuations he grew to be a Familiar of *Garnet's*, and at last was entrusted by him with a Letter to one, and to another. Which yet he did not so much venture upon, but that he wrote sparingly to one, and to the other nothing in appearance but what any one might see, filling up the void places with other more secret Matters, written indeed, but written with the Juice of a Lemon. By this means they found out, that it was not so much his Innocency, as the want of Proof, that made him so confident. By this they came to understand, that *Greenwel* and he had conferred together about the Plot.

There was also another Calamity that befell him by the same Contrivance; for now thinking himself sure of his

Keeper, he let him know what a great desire he had of conferring with *Hall*. The Decoy told him, that he would endeavour to find out a way for it. This was done, and they had that freedom; but at the same time there were placed within hearing Mr. *Fauset* and Mr. *Lockerson*, two Persons of such known Credit, that *Garnet* at his Trial had nothing to object against them, who took notice of what was said, and made it known to the Council. The next day Commissioners came to examine them, and in Discourse charged them severally with those things that passed betwixt them the day before. This *Hall* did acknowledge, being convinced by the Particulars that they produced; but *Garnet*, though desired not to equivocate, did deny it upon his soul, and the word of a Priest, and with such reiterated Protestations, detestable Execrations, as the Earl of *Salisbury* then present, said, *It wounded their hearts to hear him*. And when they told him that *Hall* had confessed, he said, *Let him accuse himself falsely if he will, I will not be guilty of that folly*. But at the last, when he perceived that the Evidence was not to be gainsaid, begged their Pardon with no little Confusion, and owned the Particulars they charged him with: and a little to save his Reputation, told them, That as he denied all, because he knew none but *Greenwel* could accuse him; so he did deny what he knew to be true, by the help of Equivocation.

Now they had gained good Evidence against him, his Letters first, then his Discourse with *Hall*; and lastly, his own Confession, were a sufficient Ground for them to proceed and try him upon. And that they began to do two days after, viz. upon *Friday, March 28*.

*Garnet's
Trial.*

The great thing charged upon him was, That he was privy to this Conspiracy, that he held a Correspondence with *Cutesby*, and by him and *Greenwel* with the rest. And the chief Part of his Defence was, "That what he did know of
"it was in Confession, and what was told him in that way
he

“ he was bound to conceal, notwithstanding any Mischief
 “ that might follow it ; he might dissuade Persons from it,
 “ but whether they would be perswaded by him or not, he
 “ was obliged not to divulge it.

After a long time spent in his Tryal, there was but little taken by the Jury to give in their Verdict, which was, that he was guilty of the Treason ; and accordingly he received Sentence, and was executed the third of *May* following, at the West-end of *St. Pauls Church-yard*. His Execution.

This is the Man whom the Jesuits extol to the Clouds, and that is put into the Catalogue of their Martyrs, as it is to be found at the end of *Alegambe's Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Iesu*. This Person, who was a perfect Master of the Art of Dissimulation, that could by Equivocation swear to what he knew to be false, is what one of them bestows this Character upon, That there was in him *Morum Simplicitas, & Candor animi minime suspicacis*. This Man who had not the Heart to die, and who at the time of his Execution was so divided betwixt the hopes of a Pardon, and the fear of Death, that he could not attend to his own Devotions, but one while cast his Eyes this way, and another that ; now at his Prayers, and anon breaking off from them to answer to that discourse which he overheard. This Man, I say, is said by *Alegambe* to go to his Death *interritus & exporrecta fronte obestans*, &c. without any fear, and protesting that he exceedingly rejoiced that he was now to suffer that Death which would be an entrance to an Immortal Life. Hist. Mission. Angl. p. 311.

The Conclusion of all which is, that no Jesuit can be a Traitor, and none suffer for Treason but he must be a Martyr.

The Case of *Hall* was much the same with that of *Garnet* ; he did confess, and it was also proved that they were both together at *Coughton*, and they were both found together afterwards. It appeared that he had afterward defended the Treason to *Humphrey Littleton*. The Excuses, the Discourse, the Confessions, were much one and the same, but only that *Garnet* was the more resolved, and the more obstinate of the two. The Tryal and Execution of Hall, &c.

two. Now because as this Treason was hatched, and to be executed in the main at *London*, so because part of it was also to have been done in the Countrey, and the chief of the Conspirators were there taken, therefore six of them were sent to *Worcester*, and there tryed before Sir *David Williams*, one of the Justices of the *Kings-Bench*, and executed *April 7.* two and two together; First *Humphrey Littleton* and *John Winter*, and then this *Hall* with three others. Thither, I say, he was carried with them for that reason, and not because his Adversaries were ashamed to have his Cause heard at *London*, as a bold Author of theirs would have it.

*Eudamon-
Joannis A-
pologia
pro Gar-
netto, pag.
272.*

It is no wonder to find these Men so concerned to clear themselves of it, when all the World is against them; though this is no more to be done, than to prove that one that kills a King is a good Subject, and one that stirs up his Subjects in Rebellion against him, is a Friend to him.

These were the Persons that were taken, and suffered for this bloody Treason: Some of the rest escaped, the Jesuits *Greenwel* and *Everard* to *Rome*, when the former was made a Confessor in *St. Peters* at *Rome*, and the latter was preferred to be the Popes Pœnitentiary: And others to other Parts; of which one, when *Dominicus Vicus*, Governor of *Calice*, assured them of his Kings Favour, and though they lost their own Country, they might be received there, replied, *The loss of their Countrey was the least part of their grief; but their sorrow was, that they could not bring so brave a Design to perfection.* At which the Governor could hardly forbear casting him into the Sea, as *Thuanus* relates from *Vicus* his own Mouth. Others there were whom the Government had a great suspicion of, as *Henry Lord Mordant*, and *Edward Lord Starion*, who not appearing upon the Summons to the Parliament, were supposed to absent themselves from some intelligence that they received, and were fined in the *Star-Chamber*, and to be imprisoned during the Kings Pleasure. The like Sentence did *Henry Earl of Northumberland* undergo, for having admitted *Thomas Percy* his Kinsman to be a Gentleman-Pensioner,

ner, without administering to him the Oath of Supremacy, when he knew him to be a Recusant.

This was the end of that Plot, and of the Persons chiefly concerned in it. And it would be happy if they had left none of their Principles or Temper behind them, a Generation whom no Favour will oblige, nor Kindness retain: whom nothing but Supremacy will content, and the most absolute Authority can gratifie. Whom nothing can secure against, but a sufficient Power, or great Industry, or constant Watchfulness, and scarcely all. And therefore it's fit that not only as a branch of our Thankfulness to God, but also as a caution to our selves, that this Deliverance should be celebrated, and the Memory of it perpetuated. I shall end with what is said by a great * Person of our own, some years since.

* Bishop
Sandersons
Sermons
l. 1. ad pe-
pulum
Serm. 5.
pag. 242.

Two great Deliverances in the memory of many of us hath God in his singular Mercy wrought for us of this Nation, such as I think, take both together, no Christian Age or Land can parallel. One formerly from a foreign Invasion; another since that of a hellish Conspiracy at home. Both such as we would have all thought, when they were done, should never be forgotten. And yet, as if this Land were term'd oblivious, the Land where all things are forgotten, how doth the memory of them fade away, and they by little and little grow into forgetfulness? We have lived to see 88 almost forgotten, (God be blessed who hath graciously prevented what we feared therein) God grant that we nor ours ever live to see November the 5th forgotten, or the Solemnity of it silenced.

F I N I S.



The Authors from whence this Narrative
hath been Collected, Are,

Thuanus.

Jo. Barclaii, Conspiratio Anglicana.

Proceedings against the Traitors, Printed 1606.

Historia Missionis Anglicanae, Societatis Iesu Collectore

Henrico Moro, Printed at St. Omers 1660.

Andree Eudemon Joannis Apologia pro Garnetto.

Rob. Abbati Antilogia adversus Apologiam Andree Eudemon Joannis.

Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Iesu.

*Sir Everard Digby's Papers, printed this Year at the
end of the Proceedings.*

A
VINDICATION
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE

Gunpowder-Treason.

And of the Proceedings and
Matters relating thereunto, from
the Exceptions which have been
made against it, And more especial-
ly of late years by the Author of
the *Catholick Apologie*, and Others.

To which is added,

A PARALLEL betwixt That
and the Present Popish Plot.

L O N D O N,

Printed by J. D. for Richard Chiswell, at the Rose and
Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1681.

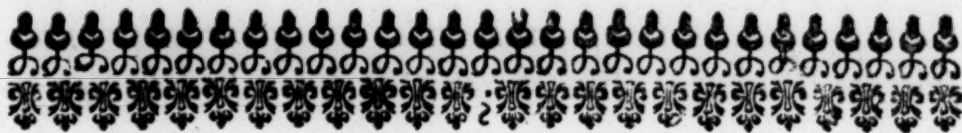
VINDICATION OF THE HISTORY

Errata's in the History of the Gunpowder-Treason.

PAge 8. l. ult. for 20 read 16. After p. 20, false paged. P. 28.
l. 23. r. *Catesby*. P. 30. l. 19. f. *Everard*, r. *Gerard*; f. *when*,
r. *where*. P. 31. l. 12. expunge *that*.

In the Vindication.

Page 17. lin. 4. read *reserve*. P. 32. Marg. l. 2. r. 9. P. 36.
Marg. l. 14. r. 313. P. 40. Marg. f. *ibid.* r. *Antilog.* p. 146. P. 47.
Marg. dele l. ult. P. 48. Marg. dele l. 9. P. 54. l. 1. r. *Wykes*.
P. 55. l. 18. r. *Conjuratationis*. P. 57. l. ult. f. *yet* r. *that*. Marg. dele
Paper 418. P. 60. Marg. f. *ibid.* r. *Proceeds*. P. 61. Marg. l. 8. r. 248,
P. 63. l. 20. r. 338.



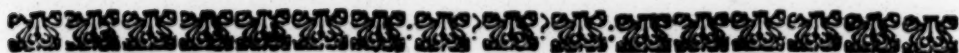
To the Reader.



IN compiling the History of the Gunpowder-Treason, published two Years since, I had a particular respect to Brevity and Truth, that I might neither burthen nor abuse the Reader. How far I attained the former, the Book it self doth shew; and that I might not mistake in the latter, I did with good heed and diligence consult not only the Histories foreign and domestick, but also all other Books which I could meet with, written pro and con upon that subject. But all this while I had neither seen nor heard of the large Reply in Vindication of the Catholick Apology, written by a Person of as great Wit as Honour; in which I afterwards found there was a particular Discourse upon this Argument. I must confess that the Honourable Author hath as well acquitted himself as could be expected in a Case of this nature, and by the reviving and skilful disposing of what hath bin said by others, and starting many things not taken notice of, that I know of, before, hath put a pretty

To the Reader.

Varnish upon the Cause, and made it passable with inconsiderate Persons. But if what is there said be warily view'd, I do not question, but it will appear to be founded rather upon conjecture, than solid History, and to have more of fancy than truth in it. But whether this be so or not, or whether what I have here said will make it evident or no, I must now leave to the Judicious and such as will be concerned impartially to inquire into the merits of the Cause. If it should be expected that I should have taken notice of some other late Books of our Adversaries that touch upon this Subject, I have only this to say, that I have not willingly overlooked any; and as for those that I have seen, I find little or nothing which is not the same with what is said in the foresaid Reply, and that hath not for the most part bin borrowed from it.



THE

(1)

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Gunpowder-Treason

VINDICATED.

THE Conspiracy of the *Gunpowder-Treason*, carried in its front, so much of unnatural cruelty, that with all their Art the Party could put no colour upon it : and therefore there hath been nothing wanting amongst them to vindicate themselves and their Religion from being concerned in it. Sometimes they will slander Authority, and make the Judges and Council to Conspire against them. Sometimes the whole was the contrivance of a Minister of State. Sometimes the Traitors were but very few, and they such as were young and rash, quick to resent a provocation, and easily inclined to revenge it. Sometimes it was in those discontent, & not Religion. And if any or all of these will serve to stop the mouths of their Adversaries and protect themselves, they will boldly stand up in their own vindication; And that they have reason to say all this, is what they do,

do maintain. I shall therefore consider their several pleas, and do think that I shall take in all that they say, and shew it to be very weak and insufficient, if I make good,

1. That this was a Plot of their own, and not contrived to their hands by their Adversaries,

2. That more were concerned in it, than were at that time publicly known and accused.

3. That those that fled and suffered for it were really guilty.

4. That this Conspiracy was purely upon the account of Religion.

5. I shall add, that they never yet gave to the world any real and good satisfaction of their abhorrency of it.

Of what great use it will be, if they could prove the whole to be anothers device, I cannot well understand. For if it could be made as clear as the day that a *Minister of State* drew the Conspirators into the nooze, and had such as from time to time did give him intelligence how their affair stood, will it serve to clear their innocency, and make the Plot on their part to be none? was there all the while no evil inclination of their own to work upon, and no mischief intended by them? were they drawn in without their consent? or were they not drawn in at all, but the whole accusation a Fiction, and it no better than

*Catholick-
Apology with
reply. p 404.*

a seeming Plot, as one suggests? If not, why is this so vigorously urged, and so much enlarged upon by our late Apologists? But yet how little shadow of proof there is for this, will appear if we consider how inconstantly these speak as to this matter. For if we will hearken to the man of 70 years when he died (who is for that reason presumed to be a person of some credit in the case by the honourable Author above said) he saith, *Fuit non levis suspitio, &c.* that there was no light suspicion of a certain Peer's being acquainted

p. 412.

Mori list,
p. 110. p. 310.

quainted with the Conspiracy long before its discovery, who cunningly pretended ignorance that the more might be involved in it. It was in his time (it seems) a suspicion, and a suspicion that that Noble-man knew of the Conspiracy, *i.e.* by the intelligence he kept with some of them. But in the current of ten or twelve years, from a suspicion it comes to a certainty; from his being privy to it, it comes to be his proper Invention. For now its said *to be set a work by the discoverers; to be a trick invented by the States-man, and to be a seeming Plot; and that they were drawn into it by the dexterity of a Protestant.* It was in *More's* time some Noble man thus was suspected, but now upon the sole credit of *Mr. Osborn*, it must be the Treasurer (meaning I believe *Cecil*, tho at the time of this Treason he was Secretary only) and he for his good service was made an Earl, as our Author saith; altho as luck would have it, he was so created on the Saturday after *St. George's day, Ann. 1605,* which was above six months before this Treason broke out. Apol. p. 403, 404. p. 538. Apol. p. 411. Baker's Chr. An. 1605.

So inconsistent are Persons with themselves, when they have not truth on their side; and so apt are they to catch at any little thing, when they serve a Cause or a Party.

For is it not an easie thing to raise such a report, and have we not reason to believe such will do it, whose interest it is to discharge themselves of it, and who as they would deny it if they could, so would to be sure extenuate it when it is not to be denied? Can we think that they who contrived to *cast the whole upon the Puritans*, if it had succeeded, were not as able and willing when it miscarried to place the name of *Cecil* in their Register, as the Master-workman (as the above said Author saith that *Sanderfon* doth acknowledg) and to make him the deviser of it? Wilson great Brit. p. 32. p. 412.

Further

- Apol.p.414. Furthermore is it not usual for such as would be accounted *Men of Wit* (which the *Apol.* saith Mr. *Osborn* was noted for) to allow little of that in others; and for such as pretend to be *Inquisitive & Politicoes* (as the *Apol.* saith *Tacitus* did) to *have everything a Mystery*? can we think that he that flubbers over what K. *James* did well, and continually exposeth him in what he thinks he did ill; that will hardly allow him to have any sense of Honour and Religion; would not be shy also of allowing him one dram of sagacity above other men to find out a Riddle, or any greater title to divine Providence to help him to unfold it? Can we think that he, that was a *frequent*er of company, and *inquisitive*, (as this Author saith *Osborn* was) could be ignorant of such rumours as were scattered at that time abroad by the party concerned (if such there were); or that he that had a spite at the Court, would not maliciously improve them? And is there any reason to believe the one or the other upon their bare affirmation? I do not think that the credit of such will pass at this time abroad without better Certificates, and therefore since this honourable Person is he alone that *hath urged some Arguments for it*, as he affirms; I shall consider what he hath said. And, in the first place, I think what he hath said concerning the Letter sent to the Lord *Monteagle* to be very remarkable, upon which he observes, *That it's pleasant to see in most of the Relations and Accounts of this Business, how the Letter appeared Nonsense forsooth to Cecil, and with what a particular adulation he seemed all along to admire the King's Comment and Exposition*; for though his Majesty had as much Wit as any man living, yet the Affair was so plain, that one of a far less capacity could not miscarry in it. Herein I must confess he is very singular, and I am of his mind when he saith, *perchance I have bin the first that urged the*
present
- P. 236,
- P. 413.
- P. 410.
- P. 413.

present Arguments. For to this day all the World hath bin of P. 413.

another opinion; and without doubt whoever had seen the Letter before the event did unriddle it, must have no more thought of such a design then those that read the Case, that *Del Rio* put, of powder being placed so, that the Prince and all that are in the City would be thereby destroyed, could think of the respect which that had to England.

Will we hearken to their stout Apologist, he acknowledgeth that *Rex & ingenio per se acer, & periculo factus acrior, &c.* the King naturally of a sharp wit, and by his danger made more quick, when he could conceive no other way by which the Parliament should be destroyed, suspected, as it was, that it must be by some Mine, and so caused the place to be searched.

If *Barclay* be to be heeded, the King was Divinely inspired. Nay, if *Bellarmino* * be to be credited, it was not discovered without a Miracle of Divine Providence. And after

all these it will be of some Authority with Protestants, not only that King James in his Speech on that occasion saith it was miraculous; and that when a general obscure Advertisement was given of some dangerous blow at this time, I did (saith he) upon the instant interpret and apprehend some dark Phrases therein, contrary to the ordinary Grammar construction of them (and in another sort than I am sure any Divine, or Lawyer in any University would have taken them) to be meant by this horrible form of blowing us all up by Powder.

But also the Lords and Commons in Parliament declared, that the Plot would have turned to the utter ruin of this whole Kingdom, had it not pleased Almighty God, by inspiring the King's most excellent Majesty with a Divine Spirit to interpret some dark phrases of a Letter shewed to his Maiesy, above and beyond all ordinary construction, thereby miraculously discovering this hidden Treason. After all which, whether I shall, with the aforesaid Author, say

B

that

V. Discourse of the original of the Powder-Plot. p. 4. &c. Apol. pro. Garneto. p. 266.

* Tortus p. 83. edit Colon.

Act of Parliament for 5. Nov.

P. 408.

P. 405.
Proceedings
P. 118.

that the words of that Letter are obvious (and which he by way of scorn calls the Miraculous Letter) or, with Sir Edward Cook in his Speech, say upon the Authority aforesaid, *that the King was divinely inspired by Almighty God, the only Ruler of Princes, like an Angel of God, to direct and point out as it were to the very place, to cause a search to be made, out of those dark words of the Letter, concerning [a terrible Blow] I leave the world to judg.* But he will not only have the Letter plain for the matter of it, but also undertakes to find out the Authour, which he will needs have to be the *States-man* ; and thinks to come off with a pretty Query or two. *Is it possible (saith he) to imagin that any Man could be so mad, after he and his Partizans had brought their Plot to that perfection, had so solemnly swore by the Trinity and Sacrament never to disclose it directly or indirectly, by word or circumstance ; and had resolved to blow up all the Catholick Lords, and the rest of their Friends, &c. To fancy that a man should write a Letter, that had more in it of a Plot against the State, than the bare saving of a Friend. Again, Suppose this, yet what need was there to write, that God and Man would punish the Parliament, &c. and a hundred other circumstances not only suspicious, but to no manner of purpose, unless intended for the detection of the whole Intrigue ? Besides, no man really engaged in the Treason (had he bin never so great a Fool) would have given warning ten days before the Plot was to be executed. And so he goes on to shew how this warning was quite opposite to the designs of a Conspirator, &c. but beneficial to a Machiavilian.*

P. 405.
P. 406.

P. 407.

P. 409.

P. 410.

From all which we may observe how much may be said by a man of Wit, to baffle any Cause that he undertakes to overthrow ; since this that he hath said, is in the ground of it false (as hath elsewhere bin shewed) and what if I had no proof of it, yet what this Honourable Person

Person saith, is far from proving what he designs. For he History of
discourseth as if no one ever had bin false to the Oath of the Gun-
secrecy which he had taken in any Conspiracy; or as if powder-
there were no persons in the World had ever done this Treason,
with allowance. He discourseth as if no Person that had a P. 19.
Design to destroy multitudes without compassion, could
not be over-ruled to spare one alone from a particular
affection. He supposeth that no one in writing a Letter
to that purpose could unwittingly let fall such things as
might beget suspicion, and be a means of discovering the
Design. He supposeth again that no one in so doing can
be over-ruled by the Providence of God to go beyond
what he did intend, and to betray what he resolved to
keep secret. Now if any, or all of these things be true, the
Letter might have bin written by one that was privy to
the Plot, by *Percy* or any of the rest, without the help of
his *Machiavilian*, notwithstanding what ever he hath bin
pleased to say to the contrary. But if it was writ by him,
why was it put into my Lord *Monteagle's* hand, who was
a Roman-Catholick, and who must have bin a Confident
of *Cecils*, and privy to the whole affair? or else it might
have miscarried through the hands of the Person that car-
ried it, or the hands of him that received it (it being a
kind of a Note, and delivered in the evening) or that
Lord might have *contemn'd the Admonition, as coming from*
an idle Fellow in the street, as this Authour saith, and throw P. 410.
it aside; or he might have concealed and disowned it.
Or if it had come safe, and that Lord did, as he did,
discover and deliver it, yet the King himself might have
happened not to have had the sharpness of our Authours
wit, and bin alike dull as others; and then the whole in-
tention of the Letter had bin lost, which was as he saith,
to have the thing discovered; And so the Secretary had lost P. 411.

the opportunity of *making his vigilance appear*, and missed of the reward of *being made an Earl for his Service*; which are the reasons the above said Author gives of the whole. And now I should have dismissed this long Discourse of the Letter, but that he spends above a page in shewing the folly of giving ten days warning, if all had not bin by the design of the aforesaid Statesman. Why it was delay'd on the Secretary's part, *Thuanus* and others do give the reason, *viz.* That the King being then at *Royston*, they kept the Letter till his return, which was Friday *Novemb. 1.* when it was shewed him, and it was the next day brought into the Council, where it was ordered that search should be made, which was deferred till Monday evening, that they might give no occasion to Rumour or Jealousie.

And why it was sent so long before (if I may guess for once as well as our Author hath often) I conceive it might be that the Lord *Monteagle* might have time to find out some pretence for his absence, or because the Person that wrote it had a sure hand to send it by.

Having thus fixed upon one for a Contriver of the Conspiracy, and withal made him to be the Author of the aforesaid mysterious Letter, this ingenious Person did perceive that he had still said nothing, unless he was able to point to one that should be a constant spy upon the Conspirators, and an useful intelligence to the projecting States-man; and in so doing he spares not to charge one who may be well supposed as little liable to a temptation to be thus made use of, as any of the Fraternity, and that is *Mr. Tresham*. For what should induce him to so great perfidiousness? Could it be a vile education that should thus debase his mind to decoy his dear Relation (for I am told by a certain Author, that he and *Catesby* were Sisters

Sisters Children) and intimate Friends into such a Design, and having thus decoy'd them to leave them to the rigor of the Law? This might perhaps lie against a *Bates*, who was but a menial Servant; but *Tresham* was a Gentle-man of an ancient Family, and had an education suitable to his extraction. Could it be necessity, and this a course made use of to patch up his broken Fortunes? This might have bin a reason for a *Keyes*, whose Fortunes were sunk (as he acknowledged upon the Trial) but *Tresham* had a plentiful Estate and promised to contribute 2000 *l.* towards the Design. Could it be a coldness in their Religion, or that he really was of none? The contrary to that is evident, in that rather than put *Garnet* into danger, or not clear him of what he had before confessed against him, he chose to die with an apparent Lye in his mouth, and did pawn his Salvation to verify it. Could it lastly be from a doubtfulness of the issue, and a resolution to provide for his own safety? That we find not a tittle of; but that he might have done and provided for theirs too by obliging them to desist from their Design for fear of discovery; that he might have done and never discover'd them, or taken such a base course to procure. So that if we consider the thing in it self, it might have bin as well *Catesby* or *Percy* (whom an Author of theirs would also fasten a suspicion in that kind upon) or any, as *Tresham*.

Proceedings
p. 56.

Proceedings
p. 177.

Advocate of
liberty.
p. 225.

But there are some Reasons offered from this suspicion; for *Tresham* was suspected by themselves saith the *Apol.* But what was he suspected of, not of being a Spy or a Setter, but of having sent the Letter to the Lord *Monteagle*; So saith *Tho. Winter* in his confession; When *Catesby*, *Tresham*, and I met at *Barnet*, we questioned how this Letter should be sent to my Lord *Monteagle*, but could not conceive; for Mr. *Tresham* forswore it, whom we only suspected; and this he might

Apol. p. 416.

Proceedings
p. 58.

might write, and be no such Person ; nay it's certain if he had writ this Letter, he could be no Decoy, since there would then have bin no need to give his Lordship any such warning ; when he, being privy to the whole Transaction, was sure that the Design would be discovered, and prevented, and so neither the Lord nor any else, but the Conspirators, be in danger.

Apol. *ibid.*

Well, but *Tresham* hanckered about the Court when all his fellow Conspirators fled, And so it's likely he did, that he might not by his flight give any suspicion ; but when he was suspected, he shifted his Lodgings, saith *Thuanus*, and so for a time escaped. And surely this was more wisely done than to fly with the rest into the Country, where they could not but be discovered, and when nothing but plain force could secure them when discovered ; and that they could have little hopes of, as long as King and Parliament and *London* were safe. But if he had bin a Decoy, what need he have hanckered about the Court, or sculked afterwards for fear of discovery ; if he was *Cecil's* instrument, and had access to him at midnight (as one, that is ready to swear to the certainty of whatever the foresaid honourable Author doth with greater modesty only suspect and conjecture at, doth say) he knew where to be safe, and by whom to be received. But a Setter may be hanged, that his Patron's Art might not be suspected — and if his Creature will not be satisfied with words, and is like to be dangerous and unruly, 'tis then only saying he died of a Strangury, or some sudden Distemper in Prison, as it happened here to *Tresham*, who, lest he should discover it, was never brought to a publick Trial, but was with another [nameless Person] sent to the Tower, and they were never seen afterwards, lest they should tell tales, as an excellent Romancer tells us. Surely *Tresham* was in the deepest Dungeon, where none but the

Advocate
for Liberty.
p. 225.

Apol. p. 415,
416.

Advocate
for Liberty.
p. 225.

sowr

fowr Keeper could come to speak with him. Surely he never spoke word, but all on the sudden by the power of some poisonous Potion was made to sleep his last, and being found dead, it was given out he died of the Strangury. But now what if this Man did indeed die of the Strangury? what if he did die while his Wife and Servant were with him? What if he did not die so suddenly, but that his Wife dealt with him to recant what ever he had said against *Garnet*, and to subscribe a Paper to that purpose? Why then it's to be feared that they must seek for another to bear the part of a Spy, and let Mr. *Tresham* die as the rest of the knot did, true so far to one another, tho never so false to their King and Country. And this I shall prove beyond any question; For if *Cecil* was the Contriver of this Plot (as they give out) then *Tresham* could not be his Agent; since the whole was communicated to *Winter* in the latter end of the Year 1603: but *Tresham* was not acquainted with it, nor taken in to the number till about *August* 1605, as appears from *Winters* Confession. So that either the Plot must not be *Cecil's*, or *Cecil* must carry it on for a year and a half without such a Factor, or else he must have another that he did thus employ than *Tresham*. But if there was such a Satesman to contrive, and such an intelligence to carry it on; how came the Conspirators, who had some suspicion it seems of *Tresham*, not to make use of such a Plea to excuse themselves, or mitigate their Crime, either upon their Examination and Trial, or at their Execution? Whence again was it that those, that in those days writ Apologies for them, never offered at this, altho they were such as were furnished with Intelligence enough to have found it out, and Sagacity enough to have made use of it, if it had bin true? To the latter of these the answer is ready: *The first Apologists* (saith our

Proceedings
p. 176.

Proceedings
p. 47, 56.

Apol. p. 411.

Authour)

Author) were strangers, as Bellarmine, Eudæmon, Johannes, &c. who perchance either knew not the grounds of our suspicion, or if they did, would not in print accuse a great Noble-man of a Crime, while, though true, could not yet be made good, and sufficiently proved by them, for time and patience can only bring such deeds of darkness to light. It must be confessed that the Persons he speaks of were strangers, but whether strangers to our affairs or not, is hardly to be questioned: There being so constant, settled, and exact a Correspondence maintained betwixt the Superiours and Inferiours of the Order of the Jesuits (of which Order these *Apologists* were) that hardly any be greater. For the Rectors and Superiours of any College must every day write down the Transactions of their House, and every week write to the Provincial, if in Europe, and with such exactness, *ut omnia tanquam presentia Provincialis cernat*, that the Provincial may understand all things by that means as if he was present. The Missionaries, who are employed abroad, are obliged to write also to the Provincial every week concerning such Affairs as they are concerned in, and such matters as they observe. The Provincials are under the same obligation of writing to their General at Rome once every month; and in that manner also, *ut omnium rerum, omniumque personarum ac Provinciarum statum, quoad ejus fieri possit, ante oculos habeat*: So that the General may as it were have before his eyes, as much as can be, the state of all Things, Persons, and Provinces: But if this monthly and weekly writing be not sufficient; in extraordinary cases, it is to be as often as there is a necessity for it: provided that in matters of Secrecy it be in such Cyphers as the General shall appoint, and none but him shall have a Key to. Now who can apprehend, that any thing in a case fit to be observed should not be known as well at Rome as London; and

Regule societatis Iesu auctoritate

Congregat. Generalis auctor. cap.

Formula scribendi.

Reg. 2, 3, 4.

Reg. 5.

Reg. 7, & 11.

Reg. 9.

Reg. 18.

and that those who are so punctual in lesser matters should not be as precise in understanding and making their observations upon a case, which the reputation of their Religion and Society were infinitely concerned in. And as for *Endamon-Johannes* ; besides he saith *Neq; verò mirum*, &c. let not any one wonder, that I write freely, not only of the manners and customs of England ; but also sometimes of secret affairs, when from my youth up I have bin very conversant with them. So that his converse with them, and the intelligence of his order furnished him with all things necessary for an Apologist, and withall he further pretends that *etiamnum versatur Romæ*, &c. there are those now at Rome, who took not only the words but the Syllables Garnet spoke before his execution. So punctual do they desire and would be thought to be in things of this nature,

Apol.pro.
Garneto
P.3.

Apol. Pro.
Garneto.c.
12.p.332.

But further the Apologist saith, that those persons would not in print accuse a Noble-man of a Crime, &c. as if they were very backward to speak ill of any ; though it be in their own vindication. But what then shall be said to the above said Author, who calls Sr. Edward Coke an impudent man, and the greatest forger of Lyes and Calumnies. And saith of him, that he looks upon it as dishonorable to himself, to let any thing pass from him without a lie to back it ; and yet this person whom he thus reviles was at the time of his writing Lord Chief Justice, as he owns. What shall we say to Bellarmine in his reply to King James under the name of *Tortus*, who treats his Majesty in such terms, as neither became a Church-man to give, nor a Prince to take (saith Dr. Hakewel) giving me nine times the lye in express terms, and seven times charging me with falsehood, which Phrase is equivalent to a lye ; as King James himself saith. And besides other things of that kind there enumerated, compares him with *Julian the Apostate*, and saith

Apol.pro.
Garneto
P.13. 212.
P. 227.
P.1.&c. 228.

Answerto
Carrier.
P.235.
Premoniti-
on in his
Works

V. Tortur. *Jacobus non est Christianus*; that James (not vouchsafing
 Tort. p. 101, to call him King) was no Christian. Whence it appears they
 102. are not over thrifty of reproaches where there is occasion,
 and the greatness of the person shall not protect him from
 them, where they have a mind to bestow them. But what
 can we expect from such as will tell us in the face of the
 World that Tresham was a Decoy, that there were but four
 Advocate Gentlemen in the powder-Treason, that these four were necessi-
 for Liberty tions or loose persons; and that if any of these were Papists,
 of Consci- or so died, they were not so long before; Things altogether as
 ence p. 218, true, as that Percy and Catesby had no weapons but their
 219, 226. Swords; and that there was little intimacy betwixt the Lord
 p. 225. Monteagle and Percy. And yet all these falsehoods are to be
 p. 224. met with in a few pages of an Advocate of theirs. Such as
 will dare thus to contradict, not only our, but their own
 Apol. pro Books in such evident particulars (as those above mention-
 Garnet. p. 4. ed, and which any one may be satisfied about in the Books
 K. James referred to in the Margent) when it may serve their turn;
 p. 229. Such as will not spare their own party in such a case, may
 be presumed to sacrifice the Reputation of others without
 difficulty for the same end; and if they can perswade us to
 believe these, we may be brought to believe in time there
 was no such Plot at all, and (to make use of the words of a
 Dr. Stilling- learned person) if they go on in this way, without the least sha-
 fleets Serm. dow of proof, to lay the contrivance of this Plot on a professed
 Nov. 5. 1673. Protestant: for all that I know, by the next age they may hope
 to perswade men, that it was a Plot of the Protestants to blow up a
 Popish King and Parliament. So that for all that hath been
 said to the contrary, we have reason to believe King
 James, who hath published to the World, that the Gun-
 powder-Treason was only plotted by Papists.

Premoniti- Now if we reflect upon all that hath bin said, and what
 on to all Monarchs in pains hath bin taken to make Cecil the deviser of all this
 his works. mischief,
 p. 291.

mischief ; one would think that there was nothing else
 could be charged upon them ; and that they had never
 bin before concerned in any Design of this nature. Who
 would have thought that either the Pope had issued out
 Breves to keep any Protestant Prince (such as K. James was)
 out of the Throne : or that ever any means had bin used
 by this sort of men to prevent it ! And yet Pope Clement 8.
 sent two Breves, one to the Laity, and another to the Cler-
 gy, to this purpose, in which it was required, that *quando- Proceedings*
cunq; contingeret miseram illam feminam ex hac vita exce- p. 160, 161.
dere ; whensoever it shall happen that that miserable Woman
 [Q. Elizabeth] *should depart this life ; whosoever should lay*
claim or title to the Crown of England, quantumcunq; propin-
quitate sanguinis niterentur, &c. tho never so directly interes-
sed therein, unless they were such as would not only tolerate
the Catholick [Romish] Religion, but swear with all their
endeavours to promote it, they should not admit them to be King
of England. But these Breves, saith an Author of theirs, were
so far from being a prejudice to King James, that it was inten- Cath. Apol
ded for his advantage ; for there was a Letter sent to the said P. 364.
 Clement (some two or three years before our Queens death)
 under the King's own Hand and Seal, by the hand (as they
 said) of the Scots Secretary of State ; and therein his Ma-
 jesty gave his Holiness assurance of his being a Catholick, or
 to that purpose ; therefore the Breves could not be intended to
 put him by, whom the Pope had already such confidence in :
 but their drift it seems was against several English pretenders,
 as my Lord of Hertford, &c. Thus far that Honourable Per-
 son. But if the Pope was so much a Friend to King James *Watson's*
 as to assert his title against all his opposers, whence was it *Quodlibets.*
 that such care was otherwise taken to set up another, and *p. 107, 241*
 that such Books were written as *Doleman*, for that purpose? *&c.*
 And whence was it that money was sent over to maintain *Proceedings*
 it, *p. 186, 187.*

Weston, de
triplici hom.
Offic.

Proceedings
p. 123.

Apology for
the Oath of
Allegiance
in K. James
his Works.
p. 257.

Proceedings
p. 167.

Proceedings
p. 195, 196.

it, as Garnet himself did confess? Whence came all these Prophecies of the confusion and misery that this Nation should be involved in upon the death of Queen Elizabeth? And why then did the Jesuits tamper with Catholicks, as well to dissuade them from the acceptance of King James at his first coming, saying, that they ought rather to die, than to admit of any Heretick to the Crown; and that they might not under pain of Excommunication accept of any but a Catholick for their Sovereign; as also to dissuade Catholicks from their Loyalty, after the State was settled? as Watson and Clark two Seminary Priests did confess upon their apprehension. What ever is pleaded now, I am sure King James thought otherwise, who saith, *it may be the like excuse* [viz. the rashness of the Pope upon wrong Information] *shall hereafter be made for the two Breves, which Clement 8th sent to England immediately before her death* [Queen Elizabeth] *for debarring me of the Crown, or any other that either would profess, or any ways tolerate the Professors of our Religion, &c.* Catesby also was of another opinion: for when Garnet seem'd to desire that the Pope's consent might be obtained to the Powder-Treason: Catesby answered, *that he took that as granted by the Pope in the two Bulls or Breves before; For if it were lawful not to receive or repel him* [K. James] *(as the said Bulls do import)* *then it is lawful also to expel and cast him out.* Garnet also himself had no such thoughts, for instead of alledging that the King was not concerned in them, he only pleads that altho he received them from the Pope, yet he shew'd them to very few Catholicks in the Queens time; and when he had understood the Pope had changed his mind, then he burnt the Bulls. By which he owns that they were directed against the King, or else it were no Plea for him to make, that the Pope had changed his mind, and no excuse for himself, that he had burnt them.

So

So King *James* himself argues against one that made use of *Tortus's* lies the same thrust with our Author, *If the Breves did not exclude me from the Kingdom, but rather did include me, why did Garnet burn them? why would he not receive them that I might have seen them, that so he might have obtained more favour for him and his Catholicks?* So little was it then thought either by Friends or Foes that these Bulls were sent over on that Prince's behalf. But it seems the Pope had some broad intimation given him of King *James's* affection both to his Holiness and his Religion; our Author calls it, *an assurance of his being a Catholick under his own Hand and Seal.* And truly if it had been so, I know no better Certificate could be given at that distance; but this Honourable Person did with caution add, [*to the Kings Hand and Seal*] *that it was obtained by the fraud (as they said) of the Scottish Secretary of State.* For indeed thereby hangs a tale, and tho the Intrigue of this matter hath been sufficiently discovered and made evident to the World by several learned Persons; yet because this Story hath bin revived not only by this Author, but also by a spiteful Pen amongst our selves, * (whom I shall not be so severe upon, because he lately upon his Death-bed recanted that mischievous Book) I shall insert a brief account of it.

In the year 1598, the Lord *Balmerinock* Secretary of State in *Scotland*, at the instance of his Cousin Sir *Edward Drummond*, a professed Papist, did solicit the King to write a Letter to *Clement* the VIII in the behalf of the Bishop of *Vaison*, their kinsman, for a Cardinalship: suggesting withal that it would be a means to secure the succession of the Crown to his Majesty. But the King obstinately refusing, they did contrive to shuffle in a Letter, to that purpose, amongst others (omitting the Titles given to the Pope and leaving room for their insertion afterwards) and

Bp. Andrews
Tort. Torti p.
190. &c.

Spotswood's
Hist. Scott.
p. 508.

*Dr. Moulin
advances of
the Church
of En. to-
wards Po-
pery.

and to wait when the King was ready to go on hunting to procure his hand to that with the rest. This Letter so obtained, *Drummond* carried to *Rome*; but within a while this being discovered to Queen *Elizabeth*, she in the year 1599 sent to the King about it. He thereupon questions *Balmerinock*, who absolutely denied it, and to give the King satisfaction sent for *Drummond*, who abjured it. This it continued, till in the year 1608, when Cardinal *Bellarmino* undertaking to reply to the King's Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, charged him with inconstancy upon the account of this Letter. *Balmerinock* happen'd then to come into *England* about other matters; the first thing put to him at *Royston* (where the King at that time was) was the business of this Letter, which he then confessed. upon this he was remitted to *Scotland*, and there Arraign'd, and Condemn'd; all the while acknowledging, as he wished God to have mercy upon his Soul, that his Majesty was wrongfully charged with the writing that Letter. And that he was so, (and so it could not be an argument for the Popes kindness to the King in those Breves) will be evident, if it be considered,

Spotswood's
Hist. p. 510.

(1.) That in the year 1599 (as above said) the thing was known, and the whole denied and abjured by the persons concerned, which the Pope could not be ignorant of. For *Drummond* was not only sent for over by *Balmerinock* to forswear it, but was notwithstanding upon suspicion imprisoned, and after he had obtained his Liberty, going to *Rome*, did, upon the importunity of *Balmerinock*, by some art procure that Letter, and sent it back to the Secretary, as he confessed.

Respons. ad
Tort. p. 194.

Id. 195.

(2.) While the Pope had this Letter, he did shew it to all Scotsmen that came to him, enquiring if they knew the hand, and suffering some to take transcripts of it; which

which if he had not suspected, he would certainly have kept to himself, or communicated only to such as he could trust such a necessary secret, as that was, with.

(3.) The Pope never did return an answer to his Majesty, nor did at all concern himself to do what he did desire of him; whereas if he had believed the Letter to be the Act of that King, he would not have so far neglected the interest of the Church, as to have slighted it.

(4.) When not many years afterwards he, did upon his own accord write an obliging Letter to the King, he did not only omit the Title of Son, &c. which he doth give to all Princes of their Communion; but also did not take any notice of that Letter pretended to be written; which would have been a very good ground to have fastened a desired correspondence upon.

(5.) This was the sense of the Priests upon the point; for after this Parsons the Jesuit did declare that the King *Watsons* was an obstinate Heretick, and that there was no possibility of *Quodlibets* his Conversion. And Garnet, when in the last days of Queen *p. 218.* Elizabeth he was solicited by a Gentleman of his own Religion to favour the King's Title, answered, he would have *Printed,* nothing to do in it, for the King was so obdurate in his Religion, that there was no hopes of his Conversion. Now, (as the *Resp. ad Tortum. p.* Earl of Northampton then said in his Speech) every one may *197.* guess that it was no sleight or ordinary degree of despair that *Proceedings* made them renounce their portion in the Son and Heir of the *p. 136.* renowned Mary Q. of Scots, a member of the Roman Church.

From which it appears that this Letter was the Letter of Balmerinoch, and not of King James; and that the Pope had no more a respect to it in those Breves, then there was in them intended a kindness to that King. And from all that hath been said will also appear, how little reason there is to make any other a Contriver of this Treason than the Conspirators, and their own Party. *Sect.*

S E C T. II.

More were concerned in this Conspiracy, than were at that time publicly known and accused.

Catholick
Apology
P 401.

P. 528.

Apol. p.
401.

THE Author of the *Catholick Apology*, saith that the Traitors were but thirteen Laymen, viz, Catesby, Piercy, the two Wrights, Tresham, Faux, Keys, Bates, Grant, Rookwood, the two Winters and Digby, as all Writers have it, nor can any thing be more clear than that there were no more Conspirators : and he is so confident as to say, that no body was privy to it [except Owen] but these few there mentioned. Where, as he would clear the Jesuits of it, so he is forgetful of the five Laymen, besides Hall the Jesuit which suffered upon the same account at Worcester ; and of those that fled, mentioned by *Thuanus*. However that few were taken and convicted upon it, is what, with our Historians, I freely acknowledg. I shall further yield to this Noble Author, that the Commons, Lords and Privy Council were so vigilant, that they left no stone unturned to find out the depth of the Plot : but that no more were concerned than were discovered, or that no more were discovered, was because no more were really concerned, is what none, but such as are blinded by prejudice, or biaased by being of a party, can imagine.

Winter's
Confes. in
Proceedings
P. 48.

This will appear if we consider, the Design it it self, which was not only to blow up the Parliament-House, the place, as Catesby said, where they had done us the mischief, or the persons that did there contrive it ; but also to strike at the root, and breed a confusion fit to beget new alterations ; as Winter did then observe to him, it was to blow

*

up

up the established Religion to make thereby room for their own, and to disturb the Government in order to it ; and this was not to be done by fourteen Lay-men, tho we cast in the four Jesuits also to their assistance. Whilst the Plot lay under ground, and was to be carried on by Mining, there needed only a few heads to contrive, and a few hands to execute : and that part of it which required only the Match and the Tinder, a *Faux* alone was sufficient for ; these might manage the more secret Negotiation. But if that had succeeded, there must many more have appeared upon the Stage to quiet or curb the multitude ; to keep things safe at home, and maintain a fair Correspondence abroad. And can it be thought that such persons, as were found to have been employed herein, did not understand as much, or when they understood could neglect it ? Can it be thought that such persons as ventured all they had in the World ; the Gentlemen their Estates and Honours ; the Jesuits their own, and the Reputation of their Society ; and all of them the honour of their Religion, and their own Lives, would put all this into jeopardy, without weighing the case, and all circumstances relating thereunto ? Can it be thought that *Catesby*, who was a *cautious man* (as *Thuanus* saith) and *one not more eminent by birth than the endowments of his mind*, as another saith ; or *Garnet*, who was *one of a sharp Wit, solid Judgment and of long Experience*, as another saith, (being several years Provincial of his Order) and the rest, could lay the whole stress of such an important Design upon so few as twenty Persons ? Can we think again such should be guilty of this omission who had been engaged in Plots from time to time ; and that they who could assure the King of *Spain* in the *Spanish* Treason, that upon his Invasion *the Catholics of England would have in readiness for his use and Service*

D

vice

Eudæmon.
Apol. pro.
Garnet p. 4.
Mori Hist.
miss p. 311:

Proceedings
p 92.

Cath. Apol.
p.402.
Paper. 9.

vice 1500 or 2000 Horses, could forget the like provision now, or that they could think of Horses and provide no Riders for them? It was without doubt upon a better Army than that of a few *Servants and Horse-Boys* (as the Author of the *Apology* reckons them up) that Sir *Everard Digby* was assured, that if the *Design* had taken place there would have bin no doubt of other success; and that there would have bin a *League* answerable to that in *France*.

Proceedings
P. 53.

The Persons concerned herein were not such Novices as to undertake so much upon no prospect of good and sufficient assistance. This they well foresaw, and did in the beginning advise about, as *Winter* confessed; *Whilst we were together, we began to fashion our business, and discoursed what we should do after this Deed was done. The first question was, how we might surprize the next Heir, &c. and what we should do for Money and Horses, which (saith he) if we could provide in any reasonable measure, having the Heir Apparent, and the first knowledg of four or five days, was odds sufficient.*

Proceedings
p.170.

This we find them consulting how to do without suspicion; for *Garnet* did hereupon write to *Baldwin* the *Legier Jesuit* in the *Low-Countries*, in the behalf of *Catesby*, that one should move the *Marquess* for a *Regiment of Horse* for *Catesby*; not with any intent, as it was agreed, that *Catesby* should undertake the Charge, but that under colour of it, *Horses* and other necessities might be provided without suspicion to furnish the *Traitors*. This we find further that they had done; for *Watson* and *Clark*, *Priests*, at their apprehension, did affirm that there was some *Treason* intended by the *Jesuits*, and then in hand; as for other Reasons, so for that they had collected and gathered together great sums of

Proceedings
p.123, 124.

Money to *Levy* an Army therewith when time should serve: and had both bought up store of great Horses about the Coun-

try

try, and conveyed Powder and Shot, and Artillery secretly to their Friends, wishing them not to stir, but to keep themselves quiet, until they heard from them. And it seems that they had met with good success in it, for there was in June 1605 a Conference and Consultation betwixt Garnet, Catesby, and Tresham concerning the strength of the Catholicks in England, to the end that Garnet might by Letters send direct Advertisement thereof to the Pope, for that his Holiness would not be brought to shew his inclination concerning any such Commotion, until such time as he should be certainly informed, that they had sufficient and able Force to prevail. By which they must suppose not only that the Catholick Party was strong in it self, but also that that strength should be in readiness upon this occasion, or else their message to the Pope had been to little or no purpose. This Sir Everard Digby in his Papers often glances at. For he saith, I shall not need to clear any living body either private or publick, for, I never named any body, but reported that those that are dead did promise, that all Forces in those Parts round about Mr. Talbot would assist us, but this can hurt nothing, for they openly spoke it. So again, we all thought if we could procure Mr. Talbot to rise, that — and we had in our Company his Son in Law, who gave us some hope of, and did not much doubt it. (This I conceive to be Mr. Talbot of Peper Hill, from what I find of him in a Manuscript in my possession.) Let us hear Sir Everard further as to this matter, The greatest of our business (saith he) stood in the possessing the Lady Elizabeth, who lying within eight miles of Dunchurch, we would have easily surprized, &c. If she had been in Rutland, then Stoaks was near, and in either place we had taken sufficient order to have been possessed of her. In either place, we see was sufficient order, but that could not have been without a Party in Rutland, that we read nothing of. Nay, we find Sir.

Proceedings
P. 169.

Digby's Pa-
per. 1.
Paper. 9.

Paper. 9.

Pap.4.

Proceedings
p.27.

Everard after his Imprisonment to be not without hopes of good Seconds, and of making his terms by the fear which the Court might be in of them. For thus he saith, *I have some guess that it worketh, but the Lieutenant maketh all shew to me of the contrary; for, saith he, the Catholicks are so few in number, that they are not to be feared on any terms, for on his knowledg there were not above 4000 in all England. Besides, he said they were easily pacified; I would not at all argue the matter with him, but if the number should be objected to me, &c.* Whereby we may perceive what his opinion was in the case, who could not but understand in some measure what the condition and strength of his Party was, and what expectation they might reasonably have from it. The Catholicks were in his Judgment many, and to be feared, and he did apprehend they would not be wanting to their Cause or them in that juncture. Which agrees with what we find observ'd by the Secretary, that *by diverse Advertisements from beyond the Seas, he understood that the Papists were making preparations for some Combination amongst them against this Parliament time, for enabling them to deliver at that time to the King, some Petition for Toleration of Religion: which should be delivered in some such order, and so well back'd, as the King should be loth to refuse their requests.* It's likely that it was given out amongst, and by themselves that there was such a Petition preparing, and if they could but possess their own Party by that means, so as to be in expectation of it, it might serve to satisfy them about any report of an Insurrection; and keep them from enquiring into that which they endeavoured to keep within the breasts of a few. And this will serve to give light to what I have before said at the beginning of this Section, *viz.* That more were concerned in this Conspiracy than were at that time publickly known, that is, more than we read of did know

know of the very manner of a Plot, for the destruction of the King, &c. (as those that were to surprize the next Heir;) and many more of a Plot to bring in and set up their Religion by force of Arms. To this purpose it was that care was taken at the first for assistance from abroad; and that a *continual Negotiation was maintained with Spain by the Jesuits*, as *Watson and Clark* did depose; which they said they were sure tended to nothing, but a preparation for a Foreign Commotion. It's true that King James speaks favourably in this case of Foreign Princes, and their Ministers; but if we may believe *Osborn*, he saith, *that the King of Spain had an Army then in Flanders to land, in the huge mist so black a Cloud must needs have caused over the Nation;* and that when the people heard that his Catholick Majesty sent an Agent on purpose to Congratulate King James's preservation, he could not tell it the Cardinal d'Ossat without laughing in his face at so palpable a piece of flattery, as he conceived it to be.

To this purpose was it that Prayers were appointed to be used by those that were Romishly affected throughout the whole Nation, as not only *Osburn* relates, but also as it hath been this last year confirmed from *Sancta Clara's*, &c. own mouth by Mr. S. in his Depositions before the Council; and is yet to be seen in a Book of theirs wrote in the beginning of King James's Reign, where are many passages relating hereunto; in a consolatory Psalm (as it's there called) its said, *Confirm your hearts in hope, for your Redemption draweth nigh. The year of Visitation draweth to an end, and Jubilation is at hand. England shall be called a happy Realm, a blessed Country, a Religious People. Those which knew the former glory of Religion, shall lift up their hands for joy to see it—returned again. Righteousness shall prosper, and Infidelity shall be plucked up by the roots!* Again, false Error

Proceedings
P. 123.

Speech in
Parliament.
Proceedings

P. 11.

Osborn King
James S. 14.
from D'-
offat's Letter.

v. proceed.

p. 167. &

Abb. Anti-
log. p. 173. b

ibid. S. 10.

Seven sparks
of the en-
kindled Soul,
&c. p. 25. 26.

P. 29, 30.

Pag. 28.

P. 31.

P. 32.

P. 33.

Error shall vanish like smoke : and they which saw it shall say, where is it become ? The Daughters of Babylon shall be cast down, and in the dust lament their ruin. Proud Heresie shall strike her Sail ; and groan as a Beast crushed under a Cart Wheel. — The memory of Novelties shall perish with a crack, as a ruinous House falling to the ground. Repent ye Seducers with speed, and prevent the dreadfull Wrath of the most Powerable. — He will come as a flame that burneth out beyond the Furnace, his fury shall fly forth as Thunder, and pitch upon their tops which maligne him. So in the fifth Psalm of his composure—They [Enemies] shall perish in thy Fury : and melt like wax before the fire. I have repeated the more from this Book, because it was made about that season, and also because it's very hard to be got. From which we may observe (1.) That the Jubilee they expected was very near. (2.) That this was to be by the destruction of their Enemies. (3.) That it should be such a destruction as would render the Enemies uncapable of resistance or recovery. (4.) The manner is as much pointed out as a thing of that nature (that was a Secret, and charily to be kept as such) could be ; Heresie shall vanish like smoak ; the memory of Novelties shall perish with a crack ; he will come as a flame that burneth out beyond a Furnace, &c. As the time drew on, so they were more secure of success, and more confident and open in their expectations of it. Thus it was abroad ; for Henry Flood a Jesuit caused the Jesuits at Lisbon to spend a great deal of Money on Powder, upon a Festival day, a little before the Gunpowder-Treason in England, to make experiment of the force of it ; and perswaded one John How (a Merchant whom he had perverted) and diverse other Catholics to go over into England, and to expect their Redemption there (as he called it) a while ; as we have the relation of it . Thus it was also at home, for a few days before the appointed

Robinson's
Anatomy of
the English
Nunnery at
Lisbon.

appointed time, *Garnet* meets the other Traitors at *Cough-ton* in *Warwick-shire*, which was the place of Rendezvouz, whither they resorted out of all Countreys. And upon the first of *November* *Garnet* openly prayeth for the good success of the great Action concerning the Catholick Cause in the beginning of the Parliament ; adding these Verses of an Hymn in the end of his Prayer,—

Proceedings
p. 170.

*Gentem auferite perfidam
Credentium de finibus,
Ut Christo laudes debitas
Persolvamus alacriter.*

This *Garnet* never denied, but pleaded that he went thither with a purpose to dissuade *Mr. Catesby*, when he should have come down — An Answer most absurd (as the Earl of *Salisbury* replied to him) seeing he knew *Catesby* would not come down till the 6th of *November*, which was the day after the Blow should have been given ; and *Garnet* went into the Country ten days before. If this had been his Errand, it would rather have kept him in *London*, where *Catesby* was, than carried him from it.

Proceedings
p. 216, 217.

As to the Prayer he used, he had prepared this Answer (as he told *Hall* in their secret Conference together) *It is true* (saith he) *that I prayed for the good Success of that great Action ; but I will tell them, that I meant it in respect of some sharper Laws, which I feared they would then make against the Catholicks : And that answer shall serve well enough.* In which (1.) he plainly grants that he had another end in reciting that verse, than he would own to them that should examine him upon it. (2.) It appears that the end which he did it for, was what he was very much afraid to have discovered. As is evident from his own Letters, in one of which

Proceedings
p. 189.

Abbot to An-
tilogia,
p. 144 b.
145 b.

Apolog. pro
Garneto.
p. 201.
Cath. Apol.
p. 436.

Apolog. pro
Garneto,
p. 265,
& 320.

Ibi pp 320.

which he saith, *I know not how I shall satisfy them about my Journey to Coughton*; and in another, *there is a rumour of a Sermon preached by me at Hall*; *I am afraid it's that which I made at Coughton*. And he further said to Hall, *If I can clear my self of this (which I hope to do) I care not what otherwise they have to object against me, &c.* And can we then think that it was by chance that he recited those Verses (being used in the Octaves of All-Saints day) as his Apologist saith; or that the Prayers then used were only for Toleration, as the English Apologist would have it. If this had been true, what need he be so careful about it, what need he take such care for an answer to it? If it had been by chance, the thing would have spoke for it self. Or if it had been for Favour and Toleration, it was not what they needed to be afraid to own: for how could it be more dangerous to pray to God for success in it than it would have been to frame a Petition and present it to their Prince for it? It sounds somewhat better, which one of the above said Authors doth frame upon further consideration; that *when Garnet despair'd of hindring the Conspirators, the good man having tried all humane wayes in vain, adds the publick prayers to his own, ut Deus, vel pestem eam averteret, vel si ita expedire videret, felicem certè funesto facinori exitum daret*; That God would either divert it, or grant an happy conclusion to this Villanous Enterprize; and that what ever happens it might turn to the good of the Church, as he again expounds himself. By which we see how much they are put to it that would give a colour to an ill action; how they say and unsay, (as this Author doth) one while its by chance, another while by choice; and how they contradict one another. Unhappy Man! that could not light upon these answers that are since made for him; and very fortunate are they that can frame

Apologies

Apologies for Actions which those that were intimately concerned in them never thought upon. But as long as this Prayer was then used, and no better account can be given of it by him or those that speak for him ; we have all the reason in the world to believe it to have a respect to the Action that he, and the rest, were condemned for; and that this was a part of those *Forms of Prayer, that were sent down and used for the success of that great Errand*, as King James Premonition to Monarchs in K. James's Works. p. 291.

saith. It is granted then that there was an intimation given out of some great Design on foot against the Session of Parliament ; but whether it did respect a Petition against *some sharper Laws at that time feared to be made against Catholics* (as Garnet said) or whether a *Toleration* (as another) or whether the Powder-Treason and an Insurrection upon it, I hope what hath been already said will help in good measure to resolve ; although we cannot so particularly point to Time and Place, Persons, and Counsels herein concerned, & what are indeed impossible, in our Circumstances, fully to discover. The Author of the Catholick Apology saith, that *Winter, in his printed Confession descends to all particulars* ; which, if true, would have afforded an excellent light to us. But that is far otherwise, for that Confession was taken the 23 of November 1605, not long after his apprehension ; and it was immediately published to give some satisfaction to the World ; but being imperfect, he was afterwards taken into further Examination, and many other things were confessed by him upon it. In his printed Confession, we have an account of the Beginning and Progress of the Gunpowder-Treason, (strictly so called), there we have an account of what was debated and projected by them in the Vault, and what Provisions they were further to make for the accomplishing the Design : but all the while there is not

Cath. Apol.
p. 528.

Proceed.
p. 46.

Abbati Antilogia
p. 113. a
p. 162. b

a word of what was done in order to it. All this could not be done without Men, and Arms, Horses and Mony; but we read nothing then of the Levies that were made, of the Horses that were in readiness, nor of the Treasure that was provided (except what was subscribed by *Tresham* and *Digby*) and yet we are as sure that such a Design was not to be carried on without these, as we are that there was such a Design. Therefore it will be fit to enquire from whence it is that we have no fuller account as to these matters. And we shall be helped in this, if we consider,

(1.) That in the beginning of such a Design as this was, there was no need of many Assistants, (as I have before shewed) and so they took into it no more then they had present occasion for, either in working in the Mine, &c. or bearing the Charge. Whatever Accomplices they had abroad, had nothing else to do, but to lye quiet, and wait till the hour did approach and the Signal was given. So *Watson* the Priest confessed, that *they had brought up store of great Horses, and conveyed Powder, &c. secretly to their Friends, wishing them not to stir, but keep themselves quiet until they heard from them.* From hence it was that either none were discovered but the head Contrivers of it; or those, that upon presumption of the success above, got too early into arms, as *Grant &c.* or such as being sure, if any, to be discovered got into a body, and endeavoured for that reason to provoke others to joyn with them, as *Gatesby, &c.* but the rest that were to lie still, and to keep themselves quiet till the Blow was given, thought it best in prudence, when it had miscarried, to continue so.

(2.) The encreasing of Assistants, and the communicating of their Counsels to many at the first, was so far from being needful, that it would have been dangerous. It would

Proceed.

p. 124

would have endangered the whole, for by that means the Design might have got Air, and been defeated. It would have endangered their Friends (if it had been discovered) and needlessly exposed them. This was the reason that Owen gave, why Sir William Stanley would not be acquainted with any Plot (though a hearty Well-wisher to it) as having business a-foot in the Court of England, (for fear, i. e. if the Plot should be discovered, and he discovered to be privy to it, he should then lose his Interest there) and not that he would not trust him with such a secret, as the Author of the *Cath. Apol.* would have it. Proceed. p. 56. Cath. Apol. p. 528.

(3.) When they did communicate their Design to any, and take them into their Counsel and Assistance, it was with all the Caution imaginable. For they took an Oath of Secrecy, and the Sacrament upon it; the sum of the Oath was; Proceed. p. 41. P. 51.

You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the Sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose, directly or indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to keep secret; nor desist from the Execution thereof, until the rest shall give you leave. Proceed. p. 166.

The like care was taken with respect to Owen, Bates, and Digby. And Garnet himself confesseth, that by word and writing, he had often protested that he would never betray them. So that it seems they had obliged even Him after some solemn manner to Secrecy. Ibid. p. 56. 104. & 241. Tort. Torti. p. 286.

(4.) Their Caution was further remarkable, that, neither the manner of the thing was known to many, nor the Persons frequently to each other. It was enough to prepare their Party by some general Intimations; but the *How*, or the *What*, or the *Where*, was what the principal Cabal

Paper 1.

Paper 9.

and Consult kept for the most part secret to themselves. So much is acknowledged by Sir Everard Digby; *As I did not know it directly, that it was approved by such* (referring to some Persons of great authority either in point of Dignity, Wisdom, or Conscience) *so did I hold it in my conscience the best, not to know any more if I might.* So again, *This answer [of Garnet's] with Mr. Catesby's proceedings with him and me, gave me absolute belief that the matter in general was approved, though every particular was not known.* He that was privy to the main, and a principal Undertaker in one great part of the Design, which was to seize upon the Princess, and head the party that was thereabouts, was ignorant in some other things relating to it. And what he did not desire to know if he might, others its likely might not know, if they desired it. Those that knew their own work, and were assigned to some particular Office, might know no more what *They* did, or were to do, who were above, than every little Officer in a Regiment, is acquainted with, the Debates and Resolves of a secret Council of War: and they that were ready to obey, and whose work it was to observe the motions of the Commander in their eye, might think no more of killing the King, or of blowing up the Parliament, than that they should be blown up themselves. The good of the Catholick Cause, and an Insurrection for promoting it, is what perhaps such might be trusted with the knowledg of; but the Destruction of the Royal Family (excepting one whose name they were to make use of) and setting up a Protector, might be as little known to them, as their Commanders are to us. They might have an Intimation of a great Alteration coming on, and of the happy days that were approaching; and half a sentence might serve to break the business to them (whom they would prepare for it) and a nod to supply

supply what was farther to be revealed, but that should be left till time and success should interpret it. Thus speaks *Henry Morgan*, who being asked by *Hammond* the Jesuit (unto whom he amongst the rest made confession) what led him to joyn with *Winter*, &c. answered, *I did not*, saith he, *well understand it, but they told me that Religion and Life was at stake, and so it was matter of Conscience induced me to it.* When therefore the case is thus, we can have no better information, or understand more from such, then they were permitted to understand.

Abboti.
Antilog.
p. 154. b.

For the same reason was it, that, as it was in the Invasion on 1588, the Conspirators were not generally known to one another, unless those who were of the Cabinet Council. Every one knew his immediate fellow or partner, and perhaps his Commander; but the number and strength, or persons otherwise he could in such a case at best but suspect; so we find that neither *Littleton*, nor *Rookwood* knew *Greenwell*. And that they did practise according to this Principle is evident from *Winter's* Confession, where we read that *Catesby* desired Leave, that he with *Mr. Percy*, and a third, whom they should call, might acquaint whom they thought fit and willing to the business: for many, said he, may be content that I should know, who would not therefore that all the Company should be acquainted with their names. So *Sir Everard Digby*, I knew, saith he, that *Faux* could reveal me, for I must make choice of two besides *Mr. Catesby*, which I did of him and *Mr. Winter*. He had a part which he would not have every one acquainted with. But above all *Garnet* was most cautious herein, who was wont for a good while to converse only with *Catesby*, and those of his own order about this business; insomuch as *Sir Everard Digby* saith, in the place before quoted, *I did not know it directly that it was approved by such*; which he principally understands

Cambden.
Eliz.

Abbot. Antilog. p. 164. b.

Confession, Proceed. P. 55.

Paper 9.

Casauboni
Epist. ad Dn-
caum p. 94.

Pap. 1.

Paper 9.
Proceeds
p. 144.

stands of Garnet ; for he saith further, *Before that I knew any thing of this Plot, I did ask Mr. Farmer [i. e. Garnet, for that was one of the six names he was called by] what the meaning of the Pope's Brief was; he told me that they were not, (meaning Priests) to undertake or procure any stirs, &c. and this answer, with Mr. Catesby's proceedings with him and me, gave me absolute belief that the matter in general was approved, &c.* So that he understood Garnet's meaning indirectly only by the answer given to that question, and by the account which Catesby also gave him of the Provincial's opinion in the case. Catesby being his mouth to the Company, and giving them assurance that it was Garnet's Judgment as well as his own. This Garnet doth acknowledge, in a Letter of his, *what should I do ?* saith he, *first of all the other Conspirators did accuse me; and again, Catesby always made use of my Authority with them, by which means he perswaded almost every body to think well of the matter.* Thus carefully did this subtile Man proceed, that he might preserve his own Honour and Life, and that which seemed to be as dear to him as both, the honour of his Order and Society. From all which we see, that though the party hung together, yet it was by such strings that few could perceive among themselves, the clue being in the hands of the Chief of the Conspiracy : and that consequently we cannot expect that full and clear Evidence, as we might have had, had such of them as Catesby and Piercy lived to make discovery ; or had such of them as lived to be examined and tryed, been inclined to it. But that we find otherwise. For,

Tort. Torti.
p. 286.

Proceed.
p. 38.

5. When they were discovered, and apprehended, they did with great obstinacy deny every thing that either was not forced from, or could not be directly proved against them. Thus Faux laid all the blame upon himself, and would

would confess none of his complices, till he was carried to the Tower and shewed the Rack. Thus resolved, we find Sir Everard Digby, who saith, *more reasons I had to perswade me to this belief, than I dare utter, which I will never to the suspicion of any, though I should to the Rack for it.* So again, *I will do as much as my Partner wisheth, and it will then appear, that I shall not hurt or accuse one man: and however I might in general possess them with fear, in hope to do the Cause good; yet my care was ever to lose my own Life, rather than hurt the unworthiest Member of the Catholick Church. Tell her I have ever loved her and her House, &c. and I will not live to manifest the contrary.* Where we find that they were much afraid of him, who was able to do them a great deal of mischief from the knowledge that he had of the Party and the Design; and who perhaps they thought might be induced to it from the desire of life, being but about 24 years old, and one of a plentiful estate; but he shews himself to be true to his Principles and Engagements. Of the like temper and resolution do we find Mr. Habington, for saith he, *My Lord Chief Justice fell in the end to two points. The one, If Mr. Tesmond ever moved me to joyn with Sir Everard Digby, Mr. Catesby, Mr. Winter and others in Rebellion against the King, but that they could not prove; the other If I knew of Mr. Garnet's being in my house. I too confident they would not confess any thing against me, denied them both.* He doth not deny but that the whole was true; only the one wanted proof, and he did believe the other would never be confessed. And he had good reason for it; for he tells us, that it was mutually resolved by Garnet, Hall and himself, that if those two were at any time taken in his House, we should, saith he, *absolutely renounce all knowledg and acquaintance one with another.* Of this we have also another instance in one Owen, who was

Paper i.

Paper g.

Preface to
his papers.

Mss. H.

was

Thuanus

Abboti An-
til. p. 114.Apol. pro
Garneto.

Paper 1.

Ibid. &
pap. 7.Proceed. p.
166.Morus in
Hist. saith
Gerard p.
314. was
very fami-
liar with
Digby.

Paper 5.

Proceedings
p. 220.

was Garnet's man, that rather than be tortured (which he was in fear of) and any thing should be wrested from him to the damage of his Party, ript up his own Belly, and so died; by the Wound, I say, which he gave himself, and not by having his Bowels forced out by Torture, as Garnet's lying Apologist would perswade the World.

But amongst all their Accomplices they were most of all bent to conceal their Priests, and by no means to own any of them to be in the Confederacy. There was nothing Sir Everard Digby seem'd to be more concern'd to clear himself of the suspicion of offending in; *As yet, saith he, they have not got of me the affirming that I know any Priest particularly, nor shall ever do to the hurt of any, but my self. And I have before all the Lords cleared all the Priests in it for anything I know.* And this he was so resolved in, that he would not utter any thing to the suspicion of any such, though, saith he, *I should to the Rack for it.* And to testifie his affection further that way, he was resolved to clear them at the Bar, for thus saith he; *Sure I am that I never did yet confess to know him* [one that he calls Brother, who is a Priest, and, by his being said to give the Sacrament to five at one time, I conceive is meant Gerard, who did administer it to Catesby and four others of the Conspirators at the beginning of the Plot] *nor any of the three. I do it not in regard of my self, as it shall appear at the Bar: for whatsoever I could do for him or any of his [i. e. his Order] I would do it though it cost me never so much sufferance: but I have been sparing in that, because I may do more in publick, which will I think be best; as you wish, I will do, &c.* This also he did, seeking by Protestations to clear all Jesuites of those practices which they themselves confessed, *ex ore proprio*; as the Earl of Salisbury said. In order to which they thought it allowable, nay, praise-worthy, to lye, and perjure themselves.

As

As to the former we have too many instances in Sir *Everard's* Papers, for he denies that ever he took the Sacrament to keep secret the Plot; *because*, saith he, *I would avoid the question; at whose hands it were.* He denied that *Father Wally* [*i. e.* Garnet, for that is another of his names] was at Coughton with him; though Garnet confessed it afterwards himself. He affirmed that he did not know *Darcy* [who was also so called] to be the same with Garnet, and that he did not take him to be a Priest; though he was very well acquainted with him. And if we will put their Principles to it, we may see how far they will go in *Tresham*; who when he had before let fall some words tending to make Garnet guilty of the Spanish Treason; rather than he would be guilty (as he and his Wife thought) of so great impiety, as to bring a Priest into danger by a true accusation, chose to perjure himself, and as he was a dying man (for within three hours after he died) and hoped for Salvation, did acquit him of it, saying, *that he had not seen the Provincial in sixteen years before*; whereas by Garnet's own confession they had had frequent Conversation with each other for the three years last past. But if these Gentlemen (who usually stand upon the honour of their word) would go about to excuse all Jesuits how foul soever, out of an opinion that it is meritorious so to do, at such time as they had no hope of themselves, as the Earl of *Salisbury* observed: Then what may not be expected from the Jesuits themselves, who had so powerfully instilled these Principles into persons otherwise generous, and when their own life and honour, and the honour of their Religion and Society came deeply to be concerned. We may then expect obstinacy and subtilty should meet together, and all that Art and Nature can do shall be made use of to clear them of the scandal and danger that would other-

Paper

Paper 3.

Paper 7.

Proceed.
p. 220. 1.

wise befall them. And we shall not fail of an example
 herein, if we do but peruse the Examinations, and Trial,
 the Answers, and Confessions of *Gurrt*, who at this time
 was the Provincial of that Order in England. We shall
 find his great care was not so much to speak Truth, as
 to serve his Cause, and excuse himself; and if he could but
 dress up a Story, and make what he calls *Formalis Fabula*
 (in one of his Letters that was intercepted), he would not
 want Confidence, and the most powerful Asseverations to
 confirm it. I shall not trouble the Reader with the pet-
 ty ways he had of saying and unsaying as might serve his
 turn; As when before the Lords Commissioners he truly and
 freely confessed his Treasons, being (as himself under his own
 hand confessed) overwhelmed, *Tanta nube Testium*, yet, *ad fa-
 sciendum populum*, to delude the People and preserve his own
 Reputation; in his Letters which he wrote abroad, he cleareth
 himself of the *Powden-Treason*, as Sir Edward Coke relates.
 These are Tricks not to be taken notice of in comparison
 of the boldness which he at other times did take to excuse
 and clear himself. Is he charged with having writ Let-
 ters to *Greenwell*, and when he had denied it, required to
 give his answer upon the word of a Priest? he again denies
 it obstinately; and yet the Commissioners had then the
 Letters in possession; upon which, he contented him-
 self to say, that he denied it, because he thought they had
 them not. Is he demanded whether Hall and He had con-
 ference together, and desired not to equivocate? how
 stiffly did he deny it upon his Soul, reiterating it with so many
 detestable Execrations, as the Earl of Salisbury said, it
 wounded their Hearts to hear him; and yet when it was
 proved to his face, confessed the thing; as not only the
 Proceedings, but his own Letters do declare; coming off
 with this *Salvo*, That when any one is charged before a Ma-
 gistrate,

Abbots An-
 til. p. 137. a
 146. b.

Proceed.
 p. 174.

Abbots An-
 til. p. 136. b.

Proceed.
 p. 195.

Abbots An-
 til. p. 146. a.

strate, he is not bound to answer before Witnesses are produced; *quia nemo tenetur prodere seipsum*, because no one is bound to betray himself. This is a new way of arguing, but it's not the only singular thing befel him in that kind; For whereas all Mankind do practise Sincerity at their death; yet even then he could not forget to prevaricate; for he said upon the scaffold immediately before his Execution, that he only had a general knowledge of the Fact by Mr. Catesby, &c. and what he knew in particulars was in Confession: when yet the King had under his own Hand writing to the contrary (as the Recorder wished him to remember) as shall be shewed in the next Section. So that upon the whole he abundantly made good what the Earl of Northampton said to him at his tryal, *I confess that never any man in your State gave less hold or advantage to Examiners, than you have done in the whole course of Proceedings, to us that were in Commission: sometime by forswearing, as upon the Confession of Hall your fellow: sometime by dissembling, as about the places of your Rendezvous, which was the Lapwings Nest: sometime by artificial Equivocation: sometime by sophisticating true Substances: sometime by adding false qualities: yet far supersell, as may appear, to the defeat of your Inventions, and the defence of the Kings Majesty; quia magna est veritas, & praevalet.*

Now if we lay all these things together, and consider, how few the design, (as far as it went), needed to have actually concerned in it, how cautious they were in choosing persons for their turn, and in obliging them to secrecy when they were chosen; how cunning they were to shew the Plot by parts, and in disposing of Persons; so that few amongst them did know, and so should not betray each other, (if through fickleness or fear they might be so disposed); how firm and resolute they were upon

Casaub.
Epist. ad
Ducæum,
p. 117, 118.

Proceedings
p. 225,

Proceedings
P. 201.

Proceedings
p. 225.

1108

discovery and apprehension; it is so far from being an objection against the History of this Plot, which makes it popish, that so few were discovered; that it's matter of wonder there is so much reason as there is to prove it to be so. Now it may be worth our while a little to consider how they came by so much evidence as they had in the Case.

As,

(1.) Some things were evident of themselves, and not to be denied, they being taken in the fact; as it was with *Faux*, and those of them that were openly in Arms.

(2.) Other things were confessed, for fear of the Rack, or the little taste they had of it; as it was with *Faux* in his first Confession.

(3.) So much Intelligence being obtained; the Commissioners shewed this to the others, and so drew them on to confess more. This is one of the reasons *Garnet* gives to excuse himself for confessing so much as he did, in one of his Letters that was intercepted. This is the account he also gave of himself as to that matter at his death. Being upon the Gibbet he said—*to whom* [the Lords of the Privy-Council] *I remember my humble duty, and I am sorry that—I did dissemble with them; but I did not think that they had such proof against me, till it was shewed me: but when that was proved, I held it more honour for me at that time to confess, than before to have accused.*

Proceedings
p. 227.

Ibid.

(4.) Sometimes it was by several Examinations, at some distance of time; this put *Garnet* to it; as he acknowledgeth in his Letter to Mrs *Ann*; *Let any one think, saith he, after 23 several Examinations by the wisest men of the Nation, besides particular Discourses with the Lieutenant of the Tower, what could be done.* Its nothing but truth can in such a case make a Man constant to himself, and he therefore that had

had nothing but, what he calls *formalis fabula*, a forged story to save himself, must needs be often at a loss. As it happened to him; for sometime he would say *Greenwell* told him the business in Confession, sometimes it was by way of Consultation: one while upon the word of a Priest he burnt the Popes Breves as soon as King *James* was Proclaimed; another time he burnt them at *Cough-ton*.

*Tortura Tortura
Torti. p. 285.
Abboti Anti-
til. p. 137.*

(5.) Sometimes they did discover themselves through want of understanding one another. As it was with *Garnet*, who knowing *Catesby* was dead, and thinking *Greenwell* had made his escape, concluded he might then safely say any thing, and so would own no other knowledg of the Plot but what he had in confession: but afterwards understanding (through Misinformation) that he was taken, least *Greenwell* should confess and prevent him in it, he then acknowledged that he had it out of Confession.

*Tortura Tortura
Torti. p. 285.*

(6.) Sometimes a Confession was extorted by confronting of Evidence. So when *Garnet* declared that he had no design of writing in behalf of *Baynham*, but to prefer him to a Command; being opposed herein by the Testimony of *Faux*, who said that he was sent to *Rome* on purpose to implore the Pope's aid for their Assistance upon the success of their Design; he did then confess it. So it was betwixt *Hall* and him; as it follows.

*Abboti Anti-
til p. 141.*

(7.) Sometimes a discovery was made by the intercepting of their Letters or discourse; and both these befel *Garnet*. For undertaking to write a Letter to one *Rookwood* a Priest, at that time in the Gate-house; and another to Mrs. *Ann Vaux*; and a third to the Fathers and Brethren, &c. they were all taken, and much discovered by them. Again, having a mind to discourse with *Hall* the Jesuit, then also a Prisoner in the *Tower*; and prevailed with the Keeper

*Proceedings
p. 173, 200.
These are
quoted often
in Abboti
Antilog. and
Tortura
Torti, &c.*

Proceed. p. 189. & 199. Keeper to find out a way for it. The Keeper did so, but withal discovered it; and two Gentlemen of unquestionable Reputation being placed secretly within the hearing of it, gained considerable particulars against him, which he was forced by that means to confess. By these and the like means was their obstinacy and subtilty conquer'd, and the Intelligence drawn from them which we have as to this matter. But where these reasons were not, we are little beholden to them. For what is said of Garnet in a more especial manner; that *there was no Truth gained from him, which he did not find himself constrained to confess by Witnesses and Testimonies of undoubted Credit*; is also in proportion true of all the rest, forasmuch as I can perceive by the most diligent Enquiry.

Casauboni
Epist ad
Ducaum p.
116.

Abboti An-
til. p. 136. b.
Cath. Apol.
p. 401.

The Author of the Cath. Apol. saith, that there were no more Conspirators, because no Gentleman was discovered, [besides those that were killed, and taken, and Owen] which could not happen out of design to save their Friends. This he offers two reasons for: (1.) Because several particulars (which might have been easily kept secret) were revealed, as may be found in their printed Confessions. (2.) The Malefactors did accuse their Confessors, and therefore certainly they would never have spared others, had there been any guilty. This cannot be supposed, saith another, that they had not Tendernefs enough to leave any other undiscovered; whose Conscience compelled them, to expose their own Confessors to their deserved Penalty. To which the last Author adds,

Rom. Chur.
vindicated
p. 65.

Cath. Apol.
p. 406.

(3.) That not one Nobleman, or any other of the Catholick Gentry did know or approve of that wicked conspiracy; because the Catholick Lords [all of them, saith the Cath. Apol.] were to have undergone the same barbarous Fate with the rest.

But I cannot conceive the force of the first Argument; for what if there were several particulars revealed by them,
which

which might easily have been kept secret? Might not that be so, and yet there be nothing of Sincerity and Conscience in the case? Might it not be done for the connexion of one thing to another? (which often times makes Circumstances to be necessary, as it is there.) Might it not be done to impose upon the Examiners, and to let them think that when they are so exact in the less, they will not let slip the greater? And have we not just cause to think this to be the reason, rather than what the Apologist doth offer for it? If indeed these printed Confessions had been so exact (as he will needs suppose) then there had been some colour for what he says; but when the contrary is manifest, his Argument falls of it self. And that this is so, appears from what I have before observed, for *Faux* and *Winter* upon second Examination confessed more; and what they did afterward confess was so material, as could not be forgotten by them before, had they not been willing to have concealed it, if they well could. But again, where is the consequence (setting aside the conscience in it) that because they did sometimes let fall some things of little importance, therefore they must needs also reveal things of an higher nature; therefore they must betray those Friends, who had not by any overt Acts discovered themselves? So that before this Argument must be granted, we must grant that *Faux* and *Winter* were privy to the whole Plot; and that part in which they were not personally concerned, as well as what they were. We must grant, that they made conscience of not concealing any part or particular of it, (as far as they knew); and we must further grant that all these particulars are contained in their printed Confessions. Or else we may safely conclude, that notwithstanding there are *several Particulars revealed in their printed Confessions* (*which might have been easily kept secret*) they

they might *have a design to save their Friends*; and there might be more Persons in the Plot than are recorded in their Confessions; and (which is pity) a pretty Argument is thereby lost; and which is worse than that, it might be a *Popish and general Plot* notwithstanding.

But however, will they say, if they were sincere in those Confessions, then a part of it still remains good; and what greater Argument can there be for that they were sincere, than that *they did accuse their own Confessors* (which is a thing, that nothing but the power of truth can force them to) and if they did not spare them, they would certainly not spare others. In answer to which I shall consider,

1. Whether they did thus accuse their Confessors?

2. Whether if they did, *their Conscience* (as is pleaded) *compelled them to it*?

As to the first,

1. It is notorious, that there were several of them did not at all accuse their Confessors; this is certain as to Sir *Everard Digby*, that he (against his own knowledg) did all he could upon his Trial to vindicate them: And if we peruse the printed Confessions, we shall not find a word to that purpose. If *Faux* and *Winter* did afterwards accuse any, it was what they were, if not very backward and cold, yet very imperfect in. For the Earl of *Salisbury* tells Garnet; *Let it not be forgotten that this interlocution of yours with Hall, overheard by others, appears to be digitus Dei: for thereby had the Lords some light and proof of matter against you, which might have been discovered otherwise by violence and coercion.* Implying, as *Morus* observes, that *they had not matter before sufficient to charge him with.* The great thing charged upon him seems to be, that some of the others confessed, that *his name was used to them by Catesby to justify the lawfulness of the Act*, as Garnet in one of

Proceedings
p. 194.

Mori Hist.
p. 315.

Antilog. p.
146. b.

of his Letters doth say; but what he there adds, that *All did so confess*, is manifestly false. Since, besides what is abovesaid of Sir Everard, *Morus* doth declare, that *nothing was confessed against the Jesuits, but what Bates said of Greenmel [or Greenway]* viz. that he was in the company of the Conspirators; and which Sir Everard said, he heard he should confess of *Wally (or Garnet.)* So that when these late Apologists say *the Traitors did all accuse and expose their Confessors*, its more than was true, and more than the Jesuits will thank them for. For all of them that hitherto pleaded the cause of the Jesuits do say the contrary; *More* shall speak for the rest; who saith, *for ought I can perceive, the accusation of the Jesuits hath no other foundation than the Confession of Bates, who is said to have accused Greenway, &c.* and he would perswade us also, that *Persons of good credit reported that while in Prison he confessed that he had accused him falsely.* How true this is I shall afterward consider; but I produce this to shew what contrary things these men will say if it may serve their Cause; when in the last age it was pleaded none did accuse the Jesuits, and when in ours they would have it that they were accused by all.

But (2.) Supposing they did accuse their Confessors, yet it was not because their *Conscience did compel them* to it; This *More* will have them so far from, that he saith, *Bates did accuse them in hope of life, and afterward recanted.* But whether *Bates* did so or no; yet in point of reason it is evident that it was not from any such motive: for then they that thus accused them would have repented of the Fact it self, and look'd upon it as an Evil, & fit to be repented of. For what could move them in point of Conscience thus to *expose them*, if it was not that the Fact was evil, which their Confessors together with them had been complicated in? But this we find them far from acknowledg-

V. Pr. face to
his papers. &
Paper. 1.

Pap. 4.

Proceedings
p. 125 &
126.

K. James's
Premoniti-
on, in his
Works. p.
291.

Casaub.
Epist. ad
Ducæum
p. 91.

ing : For Sir Everard Digby (though for a little while af-
ter his imprisonment he doubted of the warrantableness
of it, yet being confirmed in it by the Letters of Gerard,
whom he calls Brother) was so well satisfied, that he calls
it the *best Cause*. Of the like mind were Robert Winter and
Faux ; for having found an opportunity for Conference
in the Tower from the nearness of their Lodgings, Robert
Winter said to Faux, that *he and Catesby had Sons, and
that Boys would be Men, and that he hoped they would re-
venge the Cause : Nay that God would raise up Children to
Abraham out of stones*. And they added, that *they were sor-
ry, that no body did set forth a Defence or Apologie of their Acti-
on ; but yet they would maintain the Cause at their deaths*.
And so it's likely they did, for King James saith, that *some
of them continued so obstinate, that even at their death, they
would not acknowledg their fault ; but in their last words,
immediately before the expiring of their Breath, refused to con-
demn themselves, and crave pardon for their deed, except the
Romish Church should first condemn it*.

Of this we have a particular example in Grant, when
being admonished just before his death by a learned and
reverend Person to ask pardon of God for his offence ; he
confidently and readily replied ; *That he was so well satis-
fied that there was no sin in the case, that on the contrary, he
thought that he deserved so well for that generous and brave
Attempt, that it would abundantly suffice for a satisfaction for
all the sins of his whole life*. So little did they generally
repent of the Fact, and so little reason have we to
think that what they confessed proceeded from compul-
sion of Conscience ; but rather that it was from some
other reason ; as fear of the Rack, or surprize, or because
others had confessed, or that they themselves had given
occasion from what they had before confessed for a fur-
ther

ther enquiry, &c. So it happened with *Faux* and *Th. Winter* who at the first accused none of the Jesuits; but having confessed that they received the Sacrament, that led the way to a further Examination about the Priests, whom they at last confessed also. This Sir *Everard* foresaw, and therefore he took another course, (as is before observed) and denied that he had *received the Sacrament at all upon this occasion*. Now that what I have before said is true, will appear from the behaviour of *Stephen Littleton*, who though he had confessed that he sent to *Hall* (after their defeat) for advice whither to retire; and had, with others, acknowledged that he and the rest had confessed to *Hammond* (a little before) yet he *absolutely refused to answer whether he received Absolution from him for the Fact, or had his Conscience satisfied by him about it*; and added, *that he would rather dye than reveal the secrets of that matter*. And *Robert Winter*, who had at first confessed that *all the Jesuits named, were privy to and engaged with them in the Conspiracy*; yet, as is before observed, *did maintain their Cause, and resolve to defend it at his death*. Truly I find none of them that had any touch of Remorse but *Rookwood* and *Tho. Winter*; and for the latter it is observable that when he said, *I shall set down mine own Accusation, &c. which I shall the faithfuller do, since I see such courses are not pleasing to Almighty God*; Yet was so far from doing so, that he speaks there not one word of *Gerard* (whom upon a further Examination he discovered) or any other Jesuit; so that his Confession at that time seems rather to be owing to his second reason that he there gives, than his first, and that is, *because the most material parts had bin already confessed*.

To conclude this, when the Traitors did accuse their Confessors, either they did this sincerely, and because *compelled by their Conscience*, or not; if not (as I have shewed)

Abboti An-
log. p. 159. b

Ibid. 152.

Ibid. 155.

Ibid. p. 154.

b.

Ibid. p. 154.

a.

Proceedings

p. 46.

Ibid. 154. b

then what doth the Argument signify ; that if the tenderness of their Conscience did compel them to expose their own Confessors, then they would not have spared others. But if they did thus confess them sincerely and out of Conscience, then their Confessors were guilty of what these charged them with. And then let them take their choice.

Rom. Ch.
vindicated
p. 64. 65.

Watson's
Quodlibets
p. 177.
Proceed.
p. 156.
& p. 249.

Proceed. p.
165.

I shall now proceed to the consideration of the last Argument, by which they would endeavour to prove that it was not a Popish Plot, and, that not any besides the above-said Conspirators were concerned in this Treason, viz. that all the Catholick Lords were to have undergone the same barbarous Fate with the rest. Supposing this was true (as it is not) yet is not the Pope's Interest to be promoted and the cause of the Jesuits maintained, though the Nobility of their own way be destroyed? Was there not a time when in an intended Invasion to be carried on by force from abroad, and a secret Conspiracy at home, that it was not the Persons they regarded, but Interest? *It was to make room, place and space for my Master,* said the Duke of Medina. And might not this be the case in 1605, as well as it was in 88? And so their Religion be thereby settled, and place and space made for the Master of Rome, as well as Spain, and Authority and Power gain'd to the Society; it is no matter though the *Innocent perish with the Nocent*, and Friends as well as Foes fall by the same Stroak. This was foreseen in the present Conspiracy, and when it was made a case of Conscience by Catesby, it was resolved in the affirmative by Garnet, that for the good and promoting of the Catholick Cause against Hereticks (the necessity of time and occasion so requiring) it was lawful among many Nocents to destroy and take away some Innocents also. So that it might be a popish Plot, though the Catholick Lords, and all the Catholick Lords were to perish with the other.

But

But notwithstanding what these Writers do say, that the Catholick Lords, and all the Catholick Lords, were to be thus barbarously dealt with: yet we shall find that this is a great mistake in matter of Fact also. The Confession of Thomas Winter (if they had read it) would have informed them otherwise; for, whilst we were in the Vault, we discoursed, saith he, what Lords we should save from the Parliament; which was first agreed in general; as many as we could that were Catholicks, or so disposed: but after we descended to particulars. And Sir Everard Digby doth give a clear account of this matter; I dare not, saith he, take that course I could, to make it appear less odious; for divers were to have been brought out of the danger, which now would rather hurt them than otherwise. I do not think there would have been three worth saving that should have been lost. To this purpose one of them that was privy to it took the way of writing to the Lord Monteagle. Other Lords, as the hour drew on, might be admonished of it, or called off (as an Author of theirs saith they were to be); or perhaps such a kind of Letter might have been thought of also, as the Author of the Catholick Apology hath drawn up to serve upon such an occasion; and which he thinks would certainly have kept the Person, to whom it was written, at home. By one, or the other, or the like waies, we see that care was taken to secure all those that would be true, or whom they could presume would be assisting to them. And when this was done, if the Author of the Catholick Apology, that tells us that the Catholick Noblemen then were not only considerable, but the considerablest of the Nation; the first Marquis (there being at that time no Duke but the late King) the first Earl, and the first Baron being of that Profession; If after these, and the four other Lords he there names, he had filled up the Catalogue of all those that

Proceedings.
p. 54.

Paper 9.

Eudem. Apol.
p. 240.

Cath. Apol.
p. 408.

Cath. Apol.
p. 400.

that were professedly of his Religion (besides what were so disposed) we might by deducting of *three* (according to Sir *Everard's* calculation) have told him the number and quality of the Noblemen that were to be saved; and by doing so, have shewed him that it was so far from being true, that *all the Catholick Lords were to have been destroyed*, as he saith, that scarcely one of them would have undergone that Fate; and so it might be a *Popish Plot*, and an *universal Popish Plot*, without a *contradiction* or a *riddle*, notwithstanding what that Author hath said thereupon.

As for what he there saith, that a *Plot is looked upon as general, when a good number of the chief of a Party are intrigued in the Design*. I grant that such a Plot is general (if with them men of other states and degrees generally joyn with them in it) but yet it may be a general Plot of a Party, and the Nobility not be *intrigued* in it; and they may be *intrigued*, and yet it not be known. For what more common then to send a Forlorn-Hope before, that are willing to venture their Lives and Fortunes, and who if they perish, perish alone? What more common than for persons to have such intimations given them of a Plot as are sufficient to prepare them; and again to give such intimations of their consent and approbation, as shall be sufficient to assure the undertakers of their assistance; such as shall secure the one, if it should happen to be discovered; and warrant the other to go on with the greater resolution? What more common than to have a general notice of this, and to be willingly ignorant of the particulars (as hath been already observed?) And so the Lords might know of a Design in general; but that this was to be begun by blowing up the Parliament-House, it was not necessary they should know; because they were to be kept out of that danger; nor fit to know that

that they might not, if it miscarried, be brought into another. What more ordinary than to raise and joyn Contributions, and covertly to convey it, so that it shall serve the Cause without hurting themselves? And though this was not then publickly known, yet afterward their Relations and Descendents found that it must be by some such secret ways that their Estates were broken and impaired; and I am assured that some of them (as Captain *Dingly* told a relation of his, whom he believed for that reason, and others to be concerned in it) did smell of Gunpowder some years after, if not to this day. And if this may be (as often it is) then a *good number of the chief of the Party might be intrigued in the Design*, and little knowledg of it come abroad then, or down to us now.

The Parliament then was to receive a terrible blow, and yet they should not see who hurt them; for there was no appearance of any stir; as the person that wrote the Letter to the Lord Monteagle saith. There were indeed store of great Horses bought up, and Powder, &c. conveyed secretly to their Friends; but at the same time they were wished not to stir, untill they heard further; as I have shewed from Watsons Information. It was somewhat strange, that when the Roman-Catholicks were prepared for Tumult, and hardly to be restrained by the Jesuits themselves, as Garnet in his Letters complains; and were neither then wanting in Courage or Force, as another saith; that yet they should be so profoundly quiet about that time; and that the Broils that were in Wales in the May before, should be so easily and suddenly hush'd, as not to be observed by the Government. But this shewed the diligence and dexterity of those that were concerned, and we have the reason of it: For Garnet wrote to the Pope that a strict Order might come for the staying all Commotions of the Catholicks

Proceedings
p. 29.

Ibid. p. 124.

Abboti Antil.
p. 149. a
and 165. b
Eudæm.
Apol.

Proceed.
p. 168.
Antilog.
p. 138. b.

Antilog. p. 138. b tholicks here in *England*, intending to set their whole rest of the *Romish Cause* on the *Powder Plot*, as *Faux* confessed, and lull us asleep in security in respect of their dissembling quietness and conformity, as *Sir Edward Coke* saith. The Jesuits by the management of *Gerard*, had been the means of bringing *Watson's* Treason to light, and him to the Gallows (as *More* doth own) thereby at once revenging themselves upon him for all the stories that he had told of them in Print; and also securing to themselves some respect and reputation from the Government for their seeming fidelity: And to this they added all their endeavours to keep things quiet, and themselves by that means free from suspicion. But now that all this was but a piece of Art, appears;

Ibid. P. 137. b & 138. (1.) Because all the while, even for twenty months space, *Garnet* kept *Gatesby's* practices secret; which, by his own confession, he did assuredly believe to be of very destructive consequence.

Ibid 139. b (2.) Because by the Pope's Letters to him it appears, the care was taken as to general Commotions, yet as to particulars it was then said, there needed no prohibition, because what was said about generals would suffice. The meaning of which, will appear from what *Sir E. Digby* saith, *Paper 9*.

Antilog. p. 149. a & 163. b (3.) It appears that the Commotions in *Wales* were rather hush'd than disheartned, and rather put off than brought to an end. For we find, after the discovery of the *Powder Plot*, and the defeating that part of the Design, the Traitors had an expectation of assistance from *Wales*; and therefore *Digby* and *Gatesby*, &c. did write to *Garnet* that he would go along with them thither, where they might expect help; and use his interest with theirs to make an Insurrection, and to put that fire, which was before cautiously raked up, into an open flame.

If

If we now reflect upon what hath been said in this Section, and consider the Design it self, which, in the beginning might be managed by few, yet, in the process of it, did require the help of many to take it up, to back and carry it on. If we further consider the persons at first engaged in it; who were not only Men of experience, but also experienced in the same way, and would not venture upon such a Design without a sufficient Force. If we lastly consider the Provisions that were made for such a Design; together with the other Circumstances relating to it, it will appear that what the Author of the Catholick Apology saith, *viz. that it is impossible that the Catholick Party should be engaged in it*, is so far from being true; that it may with much greater assurance be affirmed, to be *impossible that the Catholick Party should not have been involved in it.* Cath. Apol. p. 402.

S E C T. III.

Those that fled and suffered for it, were really guilty.

THe flight of Persons upon a Charge and Accusation, though it is not always a certain sign of Guilt, yet is so generally presumed to be so, upon the supposition that he that flies is conscious to himself of being criminal; that it's a Question always asked upon Trial, *Whether the Person fled for it?* But because this is only a general and not an universal mark of Guilt, I shall not take the advantage of it, but leave that for another and more certain Evidence, which is, *Good and sufficient Testimony.* Thuanus Hist. 1605: relates that many were banished or fled upon this account; and that when some of them were courtcouly received
H by

by *Dominick Wilkes*, then Governour of *Calice*, and were pittied by him as they were thus forced to an Exile ; one of them smartly replied, *that is the least part of our grief ; but that which doth afflict us indeed, is that we could not accomplish so brave and good a Design.* These were so daring as to own and glory in it ; but, on the contrary, the Jesuits, *Gerard* and *Greenwel*, when it miscarried, and brought the ill opinion of the world upon them and their Society, did disown it, and would neither be said to encourage it or know it, however they might have been pleased with it, if it had succeeded. And therefore it will be necessary to shew that they were really as guilty, though they fled from the pursuit of Justice, as the others that were taken and suffered by it : But because much of this story will fall in with *Garnet's*, I shall chuse rather to begin with his.

Mori Hist.
p. 312.

Antilog. p.
110. a.
Proceedings
P. 140.

Ibid. p. 127.

That any of the Lay-men that suffered upon this account were not really guilty, I think no body undertakes to prove. Only *More* doth offer somewhat to lessen the Guilt of *Sir Everard Digby*, making him to say at his Trial, that *he was guilty only of concealing the Plot, but otherwise he had done and conspired nothing.* But this Account is partly imperfect, and partly false. *Sir Everard* indeed upon his Apprehension, did deny, with *solemn Protestations and Execrations*, that he was privy to the *Plot of Powder* ; but being herein confronted by the Testimony of *Faux*, who confessed that *Sir Everard* told him when he was at his House, *that he was afraid the Powder was dank, &c.* he at last did acknowledge it, and upon his Trial confessed the Indictment ; which none of the rest did.

By which instance, we may conceive what kind of dealing we are to expect when we come to the case of the Persons of their *own Order*, when the Jesuits write after this rate about the case of those that are not. For of them

them also we shall find several concerned ; as Father *Creswell* Legier Jesuit in Spain, Father *Baldwin* Legier in *Flanders*, *Parsons* at Rome, *Garnet* Provincial in England, *Gerard*, *Tesmond* [alias *Greenway*,] *Hammond*, *Hall* and others, who are known to have dealt and passed through the whole *Action*, as Sir *Edward Coke* saith. But amongst those, *Garnet*, *Gerard*, *Tesmond*, *Hammond* and *Hall* were more immediately concerned ; and *Garnet* and *Hall* were taken and Executed for it. But, notwithstanding, their Trial was in the face of the World ; and *Garnet's* at *Guild-Hall* in the open Court, before five Earls, three of the chief Judges, and the Lord Mayor of *London* ; Notwithstanding all the proofs produced, and a fair Hearing of whatever the Prisoners could say for themselves ; Notwithstanding they were tried and cast by a Jury of impartial Persons, and such as they, nor any else, could have any exception against ; yet they shall be said to suffer as Martyrs, and *pulverariæ conjuraritionis obtentu*, upon the pretence of the Powder-Treason, as one saith : *To be accused through envy and malice, and condemned by a very unjust Judgment*, as saith another. But with how little Truth or pretence all this is said, will be evident, if we consider,

Proceeds
p. 96.

Widdrington
Append. p.
141.
Tort. Torti.
p. 291.

Antil. p. 9.

Alegambe
Biblioth. In-
dex Martyr.
An. 1606.
Mori Hist. p.
p. 312, &

334.

(1.) That they knew of this Plot in *Confession* at least. This *Garnet* more particularly pleaded for himself, and this is the chief Plea insisted upon by his Apologists. And to make this Plea the more effectual, they speak much of the sacredness and inviolableness of that Seal and Sacrament (as they call it) which *ought not to be broken, or the secrets of it betraid for the avoiding of any mischief how great soever*, as one saith ; or, *the saving Christianity from ruine*, as saith *Cath. Apol.* This (saith the former) is of divine Right, and if God had not thus secured it, he would be Carnifex, & fidem falleret ; he would be a Murderer, and breaker of

Eudæm. A-
pol. p. 337.
Ibid. 336.

Proceedings
p. 215.
Cafaub.
Epist. ad
Ducæum
p. 137.

Widdring-
toni Appen.
p. 149.

Proceed.
p. 186.

his Faith. This Garnet did offer in his own behalf, that he was bound to keep the secrets of Confessions, &c. and when asked by the Earl of Nottingham, if *one confessed this day to him, that to morrow morning he meant to kill the King with a Dagger, if he must conceal it?* answered, *that he must conceal it.* Now, if this be true, what a case is the World in, that when a Design is laid to destroy the Royal Family, the flower of the Nobility and Gentry, and thousands of persons besides; a Priest shall be obliged more to secrecy upon Confession, than to a discovery, notwithstanding all the mischief that shall thereby ensue. A principle so much contrary to the peace of the World and the welfare of mankind, that I am confident if it was turned against themselves they would be the first that should condemn it; and that if such a Plot had been undertaken and carried on against *the Pope and the whole Colledge of Cardinals*, (as *Widdrington* hath the Case) to send them out of the World by the like means, (as this was): neither his Holiness would have condemned the Confessor if he had discovered it; or have commended him, if he had concealed it upon this reason, and thought himself obliged to him for his fidelity that way. Without doubt they would all say, as Garnet at last did—*I must needs confess*, said he, *that the Laws made against such concealing are very good and just, for it is not fit the safety of a Prince should depend upon any other man's Conscience.* And if the Laws are good that make them guilty of Treason, who do (though upon account of Confession) conceal it, then those that thus do conceal it are far from being innocent, or fit to be inrolled amongst the number of Martyrs.

But supposing it was only in Confession that they had any knowledg of it, yet there are several cases excepted
and

and which it is lawful for them to divulge it in. Such a case is Heresie ; according to that known verse amongst the Casuists,

Heresis est crimen, quod nec confessio celat.

Thus *Dominicus Soto* determines, (who is *rigidior custodia* Tort. Torti. Sigilli, as Bishop *Andrews* saith of him) *Such crimes are not* P. 295.
to be concealed, but immediatly to be disclosed, quod plurimum Soto de rat.
timendum est in crimine Heresis, because there is very deteg. Secret.
 much danger in case of Heresie. mem. 3. Q. 4.
 Conf. 2.

Such again is any crime that tends to the damage of a Community. Such again are all those crimes which are of pernicious consequence in themselves, and that are only in intention, but not committed by the Penitent.

Such again are those where the Confession is not by way of Contrition, but Advice.

In these and the like Cases the Casuists of their own Church have accounted it lawful and necessary to disclose Tort. Torti. p. 291, 292.
 them ; and accordingly these secrets of Confession have often been divulged ; as hath been shewn by Bishop *Andrews* upon this occasion. So far is the Author of the *Catholic* Cath. Apol. Paper 418.
Apology from speaking truth, when he saith that *this Sacrament* [of Confession] *is of such reverence among* p. 426.
us (unless he mean the Jesuits and some late Writers) that we cannot lawfully disclose a secret known by it, though 'twere to save Christianity from ruin. And so far is Dr. *Stillingfleet* from having nothing but *Confidence, Malice, &c.* to drive him on, when he saith, their Casuists acknowledg, that *Heresie told in Confession may be revealed.*

But ; further supposing this was told in Confession, yet the Confessor is to dissuade the Penitent from it ; (as the Cath. Apol. p. 418.
Catholic Apology at least seems to own,) and it is to be supposed, that if he is not to be dissuaded ; yet, then to divert

divert the mischief, the Confessor may and ought to discover, (for else he leaves the Case as he finds it, with respect to the Person or Persons concerned) provided, say their Casuists, that *whilst he discovers the Crime, he doth conceal the Criminal.*

Now if all this be true, that a Secret may be communicated in Confession, and the Confessor not sin in revealing it; then what will it signifie that the Gunpowder-Treason was discovered in Confession, if the matter confessed was of that kind as would make it lawful, fit, and necessary to be revealed? And certainly, next to *the saving Christianity from ruin*, there can scarcely be a greater reason for breaking the Seal of that Sacrament (as they call it) than that a Royal Family, the Nobility (in great part) and Gentry, &c. of a Nation would have bin by one blow destroyed. And yet this was patiently heard, and the Penitent not so much as really dissuaded. For all that Garnet could say was, that he did *oblige Greenwell to desist, and that he hoped that he had so done: and that he went unto Warwick-shire with a purpose to dissuade Mr. Catesby*; though he knew *Catesby* would not come thither till the day after the Blow was given; as hath been before observed.

(2.) But all this while this is far otherwise, it being very notorious that this Plot was discovered out of Confession to *Garnet* and *Greenwell*, &c. as will appear from the account which *Garnet* himself gives of it, (as far as he was concerned.) In which he delivers his mind very uncertainly. Sometimes he saith, *it was in Confession*. Sometimes, he saith it was out of Confession, but it was with relation unto Confession; Sometimes it was by way of advice. Again, Let him be asked, what he thought of *Greenwell's* intention in it? he saith, that perhaps *Greenwell*

Proceedings
p. 216.
Antilog.
p. 143 b.

Tortura
Torti. p. 285.

well had no thoughts of Confession, but might discover it to him under a lesser Seal and Obligation of Secrecy. Now what can a person more discover himself by, than that in so solemn a thing as Confession, and such an extraordinary case as was then revealed unto him, he yet knew not, if we may believe him, what the person confessing did intend, or in what way he himself received it; whether it was communicated to him as a Friend for advice, or as to a Confessor for the disburthing of the Conscience. But if we further enquire how this was discovered to him, we are still further to seek; It was first walking in the Field, and afterward what they had frequent Conference about; as about the way of doing it, the progress in it, and the course they were to take after the first blow was given. This plainly proves it to be matter of Consultation rather than Confession; and that it was rather what he was pleased with, than what he sought to hinder. So that the whole story about Greenwel's Confession to Garnet, and Catesby's Confession to Greenwel, seems to be no other than *fabula formalis*, a story of Garnet's own invention, as he in his private Letters doth acknowledge.

Ibid. p. 296.
Antilog.
p. 140. b.
Widdrington
App. p. 137.

Lastly, If we would understand the Case, let us follow him to his death; and yet there we are at a loss, where he saith, *what he knew in particulars, was in Confession*; and yet when minded by the Recorder, that the King had it under his own hand, *that Greenway [or Greenwell] told him of this not as a fault, but by way of Consultation, &c.* he answered, *whatsoever was under his hand was true.* To which he added, that *inasmuch as he disclosed not the things he knew, he confessed himself justly condemned, &c.* From which it appears, that either he thought it was lawful upon good Reasons to divulge what he heard in Confession, or else what was discovered to him was not in Confession.

Procee
p. 226.

(3.) But this was so far from being discovered to the Jesuits in Confession, that it was by them that the Consciences of the scrupulous were satisfied : As that of *Catesby* by *Garnet* ; that of *Bates* by *Greenwell* ; that of *Littleton* by *Hall* ; and all of them at *Holbeach*, as far as Absolution for the Fact could do it, by *Hammond*. That *Catesby* was herein guided by the resolution and opinion of *Garnet* ; both the Case he put to him, and the satisfaction that he (upon the Provincial's answer to him) gave to the rest, of the lawfulness of it, will sufficiently prove. The

Cath. Apol. p. 422. *Catholick Apology* doth say, that *nothing is more false than that Garnet should determine that the Innocent and Guilty might lawfully in this Plot be destroyed together, if it were for the greater good* ; and takes it upon the word of Father *More* and the other Apologists, that *Catesby* pretending to go a Souldier into the Low-Countries, did propose only what might be done in a just War, when in blowing up a Mine the Innocent would suffer as well as the Nocent ? It is well he shifts it off to them, since this Person of Honour knows better, and cannot but be sensible that the Records of a Nation, and the proceedings of a Court of Justice in *England*, are much more to be heeded than a company of partial Apologists.

But as it is plainly affirm'd all along in the *Proceedings* ; so it is otherwise very evident, that this Case was not put by *Catesby* to *Garnet*, nor understood by *Garnet* himself, with respect to any War, or Employment, that *Catesby* pretended to have in it, in the *Netherlands*. For (1.) if it had been so, *Garnet* would most certainly have pleaded after that manner, and not as he did ; *I thought*, said *Garnet*, *it had been an idle question, though afterwards I did verily think, he intended something that was not good* ; Here is not a word of a War, or of the Low-Countries, or of his going thither. Nay, *Garnet* saith expressly, only *Mr. Catesby*

*

by

by *asked him in general the question*. But (2.) if this had been the case, and that it was so propounded by *Catesby*, as they would have it, yet what needed so great a privacy, that he should come to *Garnet* by way of secret Confession? Since the Case, as they now dress it up, is what might be put in any place or company. (3.) If the Case was such what needed *Catesby* to be so solicitous in it; and after the first resolution of it by *Garnet* to come again upon the same business? (4.) Especially considering that *Garnet* knew very well, if *Catesby* had put it after that manner, that he was not in earnest; for there was another reason for his pretence of obtaining a Regiment, and going to *Flanders*, as hath been before observed. (5.) Its a sign that the Case was not so put by *Catesby*; since it is acknowledged by *Garnet*, that *he did verily think, that he in that question intended something that was not good*. Now how could he well discern so much from thence, if *Catesby* had pretended only scruple of Conscience about what he might lawfully do, now he was going to serve in the Wars. The question if put after that manner hath in it nothing but what is fair, and gives no reason to suspect any thing that is not good; and therefore its likely, to avoid the objection that might be made against this way of framing the Case, it is that *More* adds, that *Garnet discovered that Catesby had some great Design by frequent converse with him*. And that indeed is also true, and it is as true that the Case was never so put under the disguise of a War. For lastly, *Garnet* himself doth acknowledg, that *Catesby in his name and by his authority did satisfy the rest of the lawfulness of the Fact*. Now it cannot be supposed that *Catesby* did not understand *Garnet*, from whose side he never was, as they say; or that he should abuse his friend that trusted him above all the rest, from the knowledg and experience he had of him. Its

Tort. Torti.
p. 282.
Antilog.
p. 137. b.
Proceed.
p. 170.

Eudem. Apol
p. 284.

Mori Hist.
p. 325.

Casaub. Epist
ad Ducaum.
p. 99.

Tort. Torti.
p. 282.

- Proceed.
p. 105. certain that when *Rookwood* made it a matter of Conscience to take away so much blood, *Catesby* replied, that he was resolved and that by good Authority (as coming from the Superior of the Jesuits) that in Conscience it might be done, yea though it were with the destruction of many Innocents, rather than that the Action should quail. In like manner was *Keys* satisfied. So Sir *Everard Digby* doth say; For my keeping it secret, it was caused by certain belief that those which were best able to judge of the lawfulness of it, had been acquainted with it, and given way unto it. And of this we have a
- Proceed.
p. 167. clear proof from him. For whereas there was a Breve obtained from the Pope by *Garnet*, for quieting some broils amongst the Papists in *Wales*, in May. 1605. (or rather upon the pretence of such broils, as *Eudemon* would have it)
- Paper. 1. which some now would make us believe were to forbid all Insurrections and Conspiracies whatsoever, and which it seems some did then so understand; we are told the meaning of it, in Sir *Everard's* Papers, who writes thus:
- Proceedings
p. 168. Before I knew any thing of this Plot, I did ask Mr. *Farmer* [i.e. *Garnet*] what the meaning of the Pope's Brief was; he told me that they were not (meaning the Priests) to undertake or procure Stirs: but yet they would not hinder any, neither was it the Pope's mind they should, that should be undertaken for Catholick Good. And he presently adds, This answer with Mr. *Catesby's* proceedings with him and me, gave me absolute believe that the matter in general was approved, though every particular was not known: By which means he came to so great satisfaction in it, that he saith, I could give unanswerable reasons for the good this would have done the Catholick Cause.
- Endem. Apol
p. 255. Paper 9. Paper 2.

But *Garnet* was not alone (though his Opinion and Judgment in the case was of greatest Authority) for others also did follow him in the same practice; So *Greenwel*,
whose

(whose true name was *Tesmond*, (a) but who abroad went (a) *Tort. Tort.*
under the name of *Beaumont*) (b) did satisfy *Bates* (Mr. *ti. p. 281.*
Catesby's Servant) when he feared the unlawfulness of the (b) *Mori*
Action, assuring him that it was *no offence to conceal it*, (c) *Hist. p. 336.*
nor sin to do it for a good Cause. (c) *Proceed. p. 105.*

They tell us (d) that *Bates* recanted of this Information (d) *Mori*
(for it was he that accused *Greenwel*.) But (1.) that is no *Hist. p. 314.*
credit to them; for in that Letter, which he is said to have
written to his Confessor, he recants also that he had seen
Greenwel and *Garnet*, which he doth there declare to be
true in it self (e). (2.) This report was spread of him, at the (e) *Ibid p.*
first, when all could bear witness of the falseness of it; he not 315.
recanting to, nor at his death (f). (f) *Proceed. p. 221.*

So *Gerard* did absolve and give the Sacrament to the *Antilog. p.*
five first of the Conspirators. The Author of the *Catholic* 4. b & 162.
Apology (g) doth say that he did deny both by a publick *Proceed.*
writing in which he called God to witness, that he knew not of p. 166.
the Plot, no not so much as in Confession; and also upon Oath (g) *Cath.*
at Rome when examined by the General of his Order. He did *Apol. p. 423.*
also saith another appeal to his familiar Friend Sir Everard *Mori. Hist.*
Digby. But in confutation of this, we have the Confessi- p. 282.
on of *Faux* and *Thomas Winter*, the only survivors of
the five that did thus receive the Sacrament of *Gerard*, *Antilog. p.*
and were absolved by him: whom though they did deny 159. b
at the first to name, yet did afterward accuse him of it;
and that he was thus charged by some, Sir *Everard* saith, *Paper 5.*
he was told. As for his Appeal to Sir *Everard*, he knew
that he might do it with safety and confidence, since that
Gentleman had again and again satisfied them, that he
would not confess his knowledg of any Priest, nor of Him
above any. And if he could work thus upon another
person to protest and deny, even to the death, it may well
be supposed that he himself was not without those principles

ples which he had furnished another with ; nor would be wanting in the use of them, when his own life and reputation, and the honour of his Religion was concerned to have it remain a Secret. And this also is no new thing ; for we find *Fitz-Herbert* taking the same course for his own vindication, in a charge of the like Nature.

Antilog.
p. 123. a.

Proceedings
P. 123.

Hammond the Jesuit is another, whom we find concerned in this capacity, who did absolve the Conspirators at the house of *Rob. Winter*, when they were in actual Rebellion: And for which the Apologist hath nothing else to say, but *who can tell whether Hammond did not oblige them to lay down their Arms before he did absolve them ; or whether they did not bring such Arguments for continuing in them, as might render it probable, and then he was bound to absolve them ?*

Eudem.
Apol.
p. 273. &c.

But as to the former, it is certainly otherwise ; for they not only continued in the same posture of Rebellion after absolution, which they were in before ; But also *Hammond* advised *Henry Morgan* to defend the Cause to the utmost before he absolved him. Which is further confirmed by what *Stephen Littleton* did say ; who when asked whether he was absolv'd for the Fact, or had his Conscience satisfied by any about it, viz. at that time ; answered, *that he would rather dye than reveal the secrets of that matter.* Which doth imply that he had bin thus absolved, and was confirmed.

Antilog.p.
154. b

Ibid. p. 155.

As to the latter, viz. the *Doctrine of a probable opinion*, it serves rather to condemn than excuse them ; for if the opinion of a Doctor, or their own (and the good of the Cause shall serve to procure both) may make an Opinion probable, then *Jac. Clemens*, and *Ravilliac*, and all the Regicides in the World, may be defended, and defend themselves. But yet, even this will not salve the reputation

tion of *Hammond*; for *Rookwood* believed his concealment of this Treason to be a Sin, and confessed it so to him: but he absolved him from all his Sins notwithstanding, without taking notice of this particular.

Rookwood thought it to be unlawful, and yet *Hammond* absolved him, as if he never had so thought.

Another of the Jesuits is *Hall*, or *Oldcorn*, who was privy to it, and did satisfy *Humphry Littleton*, that did begin to suspect the lawfulness of the Plot, and to think God was not pleased with it from the disaster *Catesby*, &c. met with; But *Hall* told him that *we must not judge the cause by the event*, and gave him several instances to confirm it. This *Humphry Littleton* did confess. But saith the Apologist, he did at his Execution beg pardon of *Hall* for it.

Proceedings
p. 172.

Antilog. p.

150. b

Eudem. Apol

p. 270.

But if he did, he must ask his pardon for what was true; for *Hall* himself in the substance of it did confess what *Littleton* accused him of. But how could that be, that he should beg pardon of him at the place of execution; when, though they suffered the same day at *Worcester*, yet not at the same time, and *Littleton* was dead before *Hall* came thither.

Antilog. p.

150. b

Ibid. p. 151.

b.

4. The Jesuits did not only satisfy the Consciences of others and absolve them; but also were parties in the Treason themselves. I shall not here insist upon what *Smith*, the Bishop of *Chalcedon* said of *Gerard*, that he boasted that he had largely sweat with working in the Mine; because I find it not upon Record. But there are several things laid to their charge that will sufficiently prove, that they were actually concerned in it. As,

(1.) We find that at the first beginning they were present at their most private Consultations; and so intimate in that juncture was *Gerard* with *Catesby*, that he lodged with him in *Percy's* house, as *Faux* confessed.

Antilog. p.

160. a

Proceedings

p. 113.

(2.) We

Proceedings
p. 113.

(2.) We find that some of them administered the Oath of Secrecy to the Conspirators ; So Gerard to Catesby, &c. and Greenwel to Bates.

Ibid. p. 124.

Antilog. p.

160. b

Proceed.

p. 167 &

169.

Ibid. p. 125.

Antilog. p.

160. a

Pap. 5.

Compared

with pap. 3.

(3.) They were also busie in buying up store of Horses and Arms ; and Gerard was more particularly imployed herein, as he had skill, and pretended to teach the riding of the great Horse.

(4.) That they had frequent consultations about it ; as Garnet with Catesby and Tresham about the strength of the Catholicks : Greenwel with Garnet about a Protector. And Garnet, Gerard and Greenwel with Sir Everard Digby, &c. for they seem to be the Three whom Sir Everard is so careful to conceal ; and whom he therefore is so careful to conceal, because of some particular charge that might be brought against them, for what was said or done when together with him ; as may be collected from his Papers,

Proceedings.

p. 216, 218.

(5.) When the Conspirators were in Arms, Greenwel came to them from Garnet, and so had Garnet come likewise, but for fear his order might irreparably suffer by his appearance. Greenwel went from them to raise a Party and make an Insurrection. And Hammond continued with them.

Now if to satisfy the scrupulous and absolve the guilty, and to oblige to Secrecy ; if Consulting, Advising, Assisting, and accompanying with the Traitors will bring the Priests into the number ; then they will be guilty. And its not all their own Declarations, or Apologies written by others on their behalf, will make them innocent, as long as such a Charge remains upon Record against them.

Casaub. ad

Ducæum.

Proceedings

p. 173.

It is no wonder then, that Garnet after all his confidence, should profess that he would give all the world to clear his Innocency ; and that he that hoped at the first to escape for
Want

Want of proof; should have nothing to say for himself, when he was overwhelmed, as he said, with *so great a Cloud of Witnesses*. Proceedings p. 196, & 174.

From which evidence, as he did at last confess, what they could from other proof charge upon him; so from his own confession given under his hand, he was, when he would have stray'd from the path of Truth at his death, forced into it again by the admonition of the Recorder then present. For a little to palliate his case and clear himself, he said, that *what he knew in particulars was in Confession*, which was contrary to what he before had confessed in four points; as the Recorder then shewed; and how he could thus equivocate or worse, and yet *behave himself like a faithful Servant of Jesus Christ at his death*, as the Author of the *Catholick Apology* saith, all mankind, but themselves, cannot, I believe, understand. Proceedings p. 225. P. 420.

S E C T. IV.

This Conspiracy was purely upon the account of Religion.

AS our Adversaries before have done what they could to cast off the *odium* of this Conspiracy from the Party in general, and from the Jesuits in particular, by making a few Gentlemen only and their dependents concerned in it: So they use as much Art to clear their Religion from the guilt of it; being sensible that if this be found faulty, the others are not to be defended, but the whole Party must fall under censure. Therefore they labour might and main to acquit themselves well herein, and tell us that as these persons were few in number, so

so they did proceed upon discontent, and not upon the score of Religion.

Proceed. p. 127. Sometimes they plead, the King did before his coming into *England* give them good hopes of the exercise of their Religion, which when deceived in, they were exasperated. Sometimes their Persecutions were so great, *that they almost hated life it self for their sake.* Or as the Author of the *Catholick Apology* words it ; *That which drove these Gentlemen into this wickedness, was the want of Christian patience, or a despair of any ease by this King from Queen Elizabeth's cruel and horrid Laws, &c.*

Eudæm. A-pol. p. 233.
Ibid. p. 290.
Cath. Apol. p. 416.

Now supposing (1.) that thus it was, that the King had before promised favour to them, and instead of that had permitted *the horrid and cruel Laws*, as he calls them, to have their course ; is this sufficient to excuse their cursed Design, or to prove that Religion was not concerned in it ? Was it upon any other account (if we grant this) than Religion, when they hoped for Toleration ; and was it not Religion that put them upon Rebellion, because they had not that Toleration ?

But (2.) indeed there was no such reason for their Conspiracy ; for they had no such assurances from the King. Such a report was spread abroad by themselves, as *Watson* doth acknowledge ; but with what truth will appear not only from *Watson's* Confession, who two days before his death protested upon his Soul to the Earl of *Northampton*, that *he could never draw the smallest comfort from him in those degrees* ; but also from *Watson's* Treason, who would never have attempted that, if he had been satisfied of the King's good intentions towards those of his Religion. It is not unlikely but that the King, who after his coming in did receive them freely and favourably, might before treat them after the same manner ; but how far it was from any

Antilog. p. 137. b

Proceedings p. 137.

any promise, *Watson* further declares, *I could never draw* Ibid.
more from the King, saith he, than that he would have the
Catholicks apprehend, that as he was a stranger to this state,
so till he understood in all points how those matters stood, he
would not promise favour any way

But how far the King was from affording them any
 such favours, as they pretend, is further declared in a
Memorandum in the *Star-Chamber*; For some of the Puri-
 tans having spread a rumour, that the King intended to
 grant a Toleration to Papists, the Lords severally declar-
 ed, how the King was discontented with the said false
 rumour, and had made but the day before a Protestation
 to them, *that he never intended it, and that he would spend*
the last drop of blood in his body before he would do it, and
prayed that before any of his Issue should maintain any other
Religion than what he truly professed and maintained, that
God would take them out of the World. As false also, and less
 ground is there for that of their Persecution. For he was so
 far from it that he gave honour at his first coming to many
 of them, and did admit all without distinction to his pre-
 sence upon just occasion of access, as the Earl of *Northamp-*
ton shews; and took away the Mulcts that were laid upon
 them. And in his first Speech in Parliament Mar. 19. 1603
 the King did make a proposall of clearing the Laws of such
 interpretations *as might tend to the hurt of the innocent as well*
as the guilty, as he saith; which Speech was made after the
 Treason of *Watson* was discovered; that not provoking the
 King to change his behaviour toward any other of them
 than those that were Confederates in it. So that if we truly
 enquire into the case, unless Lenity and Favour is Persecu-
 tion, we shall hardly find what may be so called, And so
 much indeed doth *Suarez* say; that King James's kindnesses
 (*inasmuch as they proceeded from political reasons*) may be well
 esteemed part of their Persecution.

Crook's Re-
ports. An.
2d Jac.

Proceed.
p. 132.

Casaub. ad
Duceum.
p. 75.

K. James's
Works. p.
491.
Tortura Tor-
ti. p. 85.
Suar. Def.
l. 6. c. 10 de
Perfec.
Angl.

K

But

But (3.) There could be no such reason for this Conspiracy; for they had laid the foundation of it, and were carrying it on before the King was settled in his Throne. This *Watson* confess'd; and its also manifest; for *Christopher Wright* was dispatched into *Spain* to engage that Kings assistance immediatly upon Queen *Elizabeth's* death, and the Powder Treason it self was formed in the first year of King *James's* Reign.

Tortur. Torti.
p. 83.

We see then they had no such provocation given them as is pretended, and that if they had, it doth not at all infer that they engaged upon this Design not upon the account of Religion. But if we should grant that they had such a provocation, and that the provocation and Religion did not go together in it: Yet we have other reasons to shew, that it was upon a religious account that this was undertaken, and that I shall make evident,

(1.) From the Principles which they went upon.

(2.) From their own Declaration.

From their Principles. As,

Proceed.
p. 38.

(1.) They held that an Heretical Prince might and ought to be deposed; So *Faux* said *he was moved to this; because the King was not his lawful Sovereign, or the Anointed of God, in respect he was an Heretick.*

(2.) That the Pope had sufficient power, by vertue of his Supremacy, to depose such; This was *Catesby's* reason, for saith he, if the *Popes Breves* were of force to keep him [King James] out, they are also of no less Authority to thrust him out.

Paper. 4.

(3.) That it was lawful for the good of the Church, and the furtherance of the Catholick Cause to kill and to destroy; This was the reason upon which *Catesby* and all the rest were satisfied; and from whence Sir *Everard* did with a great confidence affirm, *I could give unanswerable reasons*

reasons for the good that this would have done for the Catho-
lick Cause. Which it seems he was furnished with from a
Latin Book that he met with, perhaps *Delrio*. If these Paper 8.
and the like be not principles of their Religion, then we are
to seek for them; and if these are the Principles upon
which they were satisfied, then it was the Cause of Religion
that they fought in.

(2.) But if this will not do, let us attend to their own
Declarations. *I was moved hereunto*, said Faux, *only for Re-* Paper 1.
ligion and Conscience sake, the King not being my lawful
Soveraign, &c. So Sir Everard Digby, *no other cause drew*
me to hazard my Fortune and Life, but Zeal to Gods Re-
ligion. From all which we have reason to say with King K. James's
James, that it cannot be denied, that it was the only blind Speech.
Superstition of their errors in Religion, that led them to this Proceed.
desperate device. And must think the Author of the Catho-
lick Apology let fall a great Truth, though against his
own mind, that when Dr. Stillingfleet had asserted, that
the Plotters motives were from their Religion: doth reply,
'Tis as true that the Plot had its rise from Clem. 8. *Brewes.*
For so it had in a great measure, as I have before shewed. p. 10.

S E C T. V.

They never gave to the World any real and good satisfacti- Cath. Apol.
on of their abhorrency of this bloody Design. The Catho- p. 427.
lick Apology doth tell us, that Cardinal Bellarmin doth
express the Treason, not only by the name of Horrid, but also
adds, *I excuse not the Fact, I abominate King-killing, I de-*
test Conspiracies. And presently adds of his own, *Did*
ever Writer, whether Priest or Lay-man, English-man or
Stranger, own the real Plotters not to be Villains? But the
Question is, First, who are those he calls real Plotters? not
the Jesuits, or hardly Catesby, whom they do so much ap-
plaud,

K. James's
Works p.
463.

Eudæm.
Apol. p. 4.
Ibid. p. 275.

K. James's
Works p.
333.
Widdrington's
Appendix
p. 123.
Alegambe
Biblioth.
Cath. Apol.
p. 421.

Mori Hist.
p. 335.

plaud, not only for his Parts but his Piety. Again, what doth he mean by owning the real Plotters to be Villains? Is it by calling them by hard names? is it that they do abominate the thing in words of the highest detestation? All this may be, and hath been done by more than *Bellarmin* or this Author, and yet it is not good satisfaction. Is it by writing Apologies and Supplications? that was done in 1603 and 1604, just whilst the Powder-Treason was in its agitation. How shall we give credit to them? when the Principles these Persons went upon were never disowned to the World, upon any sufficient Authority; and the Persons that escaped from publick Justice, were cherished, and those that suffered by it to this day, honoured. They can hardly forbear extolling even the chief of the Conspirators [*Catesby*] to the Heavens, as a *Man very eminent for great endowments of mind, and an incredible sweetness of temper*. Nay, the whole pack of them, setting aside this business, were Persons of *very pious minds and consciences*. But when they come to the Jesuites, they spare no words nor Rhetorick to describe their Merits, and not contented with proclaiming their Innocency, they will canonize them for Saints, and enrol them in their Catalogue of Martyrs. Thus we find they did quickly by *Garnet*, who in their College at *Rome* had his Picture set up with *verus Christi Martyr*, and his Name is still with *Oldcorn* (i. e. *Hall*) to be seen in their Catalogues of Martyrs; which may be done, and is, without *that great Formality of the Church*, which the Catholick Apology doth speak of, and thinks to controul *Widdrington's* Information by. But this is not enough, for at their Death are several Miracles pretended to be wrought, as they would have us believe: For *Oldcorn's* Bowels, saith the Legend, burnt sixteen days together, which answered the number of years that he laboured in propagating their Religion in England. And
Garnet

Garnet was no sooner dead, but presently his Face must be pictured to the very life by a drop of blood that fell upon a Straw. Though those that did then see it (which was about 19 weeks after *Garnet's* Execution) could not see much in it like the Face of a Man without a great power of Fancy, and much less any thing like the Face of *Garnet* more than that of another. The *Cath. Apology* indeed doth tell us, that *it fell in the form of a Face so exactly alike, that all men knew it that had ever seen him.* But we are to receive that upon the same Credit as what he further saith, that *he was quartered for an Article of Faith.* But there was a further wonder in it; for this Straw which had before but a little touch of a Beard, and that had Eyes and Features hardly to be discerned, by that time it was presented to the Spanish Embassadour, ~~which was the first~~ it grew to greater perfection; and from a bare Head, in some time after, it had its Head encircled with a glorious Crown; as it is described by themselves. It is no wonder then, that this Straw which could work so great a change in it self, should also propagate its kind; for within a while many others were to be seen.

What shall we say more, if the Grass where *Garnet* and *Oldcorn* last set their feet in Mr. *Abington's* House, grew up into the exact shape of an Imperial Crown, and remain'd so as not to be trod down by the feet of those that came thither, or eat up by the Cattle, as an Author of theirs saith? What if there was a spring of Oyl broke forth suddenly in the place where *Garnet* was executed? as Father *David* at *Ypres* did affirm. What if *Gerard* did escape by *Garnet's* merits, as he himself did declare? After all this who but an Heretick, can believe otherwise than that he was Innocent, and died a Martyr, and is now a Saint? that it was a meritorious Act to get a Straw or a splinter of his Bones, and keep them for Reliques? and that

Antilog. p.
199. a.
Widdrington
Appendix
p. 145.
Antilog.
p. 200.
Cath. Apol.
p. 422.

Mori Hist. p.
319.
Eudem. A-
pol. init.

Mori Hist.
p. 335.

Bishop Hall
Serm. before
R. J. Sept.
19. 1624.
Mori Hist. p.
339.

that its lawful to pray, as its said they of *Lovain* did, *San-
ctæ Henrice ora pro nobis.*

Widdring.
App.p. 150.

Forliss l. 10.

c. 10.

Antil. p. 3. a

Widdringt.

App.p. 145.

R. James's

Appol. in

Works p.

274.

Widdringt.

Apol. p. 151.

Cath. Apol.

p. 4 27.

MS. Cui

Tit. Summar.

de rebus relig.

in Anglia.

An. 1632.

But now what if after all this adoe, *Garnet* should confess that he sinned, What if he should say (as he did in his this Letter to Mrs. *Vaux*) that he died for *Treason* and not for *Religion*? Then he was not Innocent, not a Martyr, and whether a Saint or no, another World must tell us. Then also we may admit the story of the Straw and others explanation of it; who said, That it was no wonder to find his Face in Blood, who was a Man that did thirst after it. This is what *Thuanus*, as well as *Widdrington*, report, and I shall end with a remarque that the former hath upon it; *So perilous a thing is it in these times to say such things for the honour of another, as do exceed belief and the common course of Nature; for they may presently be retorted to his disparagement.*

This is the honour that they have done to the dead, and they were not without shewing Favour to the living and those that made their escape, who were never called to account for it by the Pope, much less punished for so scandalous and enormous business, as King *James* saith. Two of these *Greenwel* and *Gerard* lived in *Rome*; the one *Greenwel*, [i. e. *Tesmond*] the Popes Penitentiary; and the other *Gerard*, a Confessor at Saint Peters in *Rome*, as *Widdrington* reports. But here the Author of the *Catholick Apology* thinks he hath the advantage of Dr. *Stillingfleet*, from what he relates of these two persons from *Widdrington*; for he saith the Pope's Penitentiary and Confessor at St. Peter's are but different names for the same thing. But if it was a mistake it is to err with one of their own Church; viz. *Widdrington* (otherwise called *Preston*) who was not only of their Communion, but also a Priest, as I have heard from such as knew him in the *Clinck*; and I find in a *MS*, now in my possession, that he was one of the thirty Priests

that were in Prison here in *England*, *An. 1632.*

But what if after that stir made in this matter, they prove to be different Offices, then *Greenwel* might be *The Pope's Penitentiary*, and *Gerard* a *Confessor* some while in *St. Peter's*; and the Doctor not be ignorant, notwithstanding all that honourable person hath said. For how meanly soever he describes or indeed may think of it, I find the *Pope's Penitentiary* is an Office of respect, and is called by that name, because its called the Court of Penitents, but properly is the Court of Conscience where he officiates; This Office is usually deputed to a Cardinal, who is *Major Penitentiarius*, under whom are many subordinate. This is a stated Office, and what such a person (as *Greenwel*) might be employed in, as subordinate, at least. But *Gerard's* Office was occasional, and what, tho he lived in the *English Colledg at Rome*, he might very well perform. For *Widdrington* saith, that many had seen him publickly hearing *Confessions at St. Peter's*.

Crashaw's
Mittimus, in
Advertise-
ment to the
Reader.

It is not that these are high and mighty preferments, which those Persons were advanced to, that made the Doctor revive this story, (though they are honourable enough amongst them) but that from thence we may see how little they did discourage such proceedings, as those Jesuits were here in *England* concerned in, when such as were equally engaged with those that suffered, should live quietly and respectfully within *Rome* it self, and under the very Eye of his Holiness. From all which we may well say with *King James*, what a large liberty is by this Doctrine left to Church-men, to hatch or foster any treasonable attempts against Princes, I leave it to your [speaking to Monarchs, &c.] consideration, since do what they will, they are accountable to none of us: nay all their treasonable practices must be works of Piety, and they being justly punished for the same, must be presently

Catho. Apo.
Ibid.

King James
Premoniti-
on, in his
Works.p.
333.

presently inrolled in the List of Martyrs and Saints, &c.

If this be their practice, that Traitors are thus excused and protected ; and the Principles upon which they acted not recalled or censured ; We have little reason to think the World secured against practices of the like kind, when time shall serve and the necessity of things, in their estimation, so requires. And we shall not then need to vindicate the *History of the Powder-Treason* (as we now are forced to do) since we shall then see they will repeat it (*mutatis mutandis*) and we can never hope to be freed from attempts of that kind, till they quit their Principles, and the Romish Church come to be reformed ; which will more please us than the destruction of it, and what is by all good Protestants heartily prayed for.

*Compendium
of the late
Tryals, &c.
New Plot of
the Papists.*

New Plot.
p. 13.

I should now have concluded, but that I find there are some that do make use of the case and circumstances of the Gunpowder-Treason to overthrow the belief that is given to the present *Plot*, and by comparing one with another, One doth not question, as he saith, but to *convince all those whose hearts are not of Pharaoh's Temper, and whom the violence of passion has not totally deprived of all exercise of Reason*, that there is no Truth in the thing, nor reason to believe any of the Evidence we have for it. Now because of the relation which, this way that they have taken, hath to the Design that I have pursued in this Treatise ; I shall add somewhat by way of answer to it, and in doing so,

1. I shall consider the case as laid down by them.
2. I shall shew that there is not so much difference betwixt Plot and Plot, betwixt the Criminals then and Conspirators now, as there is an agreement ; which I shall do by my making a parallel betwixt the one and the other.

*

3. I

3. I shall shew the ground of that difference which is betwixt them ; and how that what hath been said in their way of comparison, to invalidate the discovery made of the present Plot, serves little to the purpose it was produced for.

There are four things, which the foresaid Author doth collect from the History of the Powder Treason. New Plot.
Ibid.

1. *There was then visible the overt act of Barrels of Powder laid in the place.*

2. *There was a flight of some of the Conspirators, and their resistance at their taking.*

3. *Those that were Executed, did all confess the fact at the time of Execution.*

4. *All persons indifferently, both Papists and Protestants, Forreigners and Natives believed the thing, &c.*

And from this he doth proceed to shew, that all things in the present Conspiracy run counter to every particular in that. When he begins to discourse upon the first, he saith, *This hainous Plot is built upon the bare testimony of the Swearers, and that there is not any matter of Fact visible and apparent, that has any proper tendency, or relation to a Conspiracy for destroying the King, and levying of War.* Indeed he cannot deny, but that there are two things, which if they could be proved to be done by them, as well as it is manifest that such things were, would be just matter of accusation ; and they are the death of Sir Edmonbury Godfry, and the Consult : but he can put off these (he thinks) with a wet finger ; and if this be done, leaves all the world to challenge them further with any thing of that nature. *Let not the death of Sir Edmond be urged, saith he, as matter of Fact, because the unfortunate end of that Gentleman, as to the true manner of it, is a Mystery yet unreveal'd, and is laid at the Papists door, just as Antichrist is charged upon the Pope.*

L

But

But is the death of that Gentleman so easily to be put up ? Or is it indeed *a mystery yet unrevealed* ? Was it not plainly made out that this Gentleman was murdered, and that he could not both strangle and thrust himself through ? And was it not so revealed that *Bedlow*, that was to have been one of the Assassins, and did see his body when dead, did of his own accord confess it ? and *Prance* that had an hand in his death did upon his apprehension also acknowledge it ? And was it not so reveal'd that some fled for it, and others that were taken, after an open Trial according to course at Law, were Executed for it ? And shall it be still *a Mystery unrevealed* ?

But saith he, *there are few unbiassed and discerning men, that are convinced, that these poor Creatures, that suffered upon that account, were truly guilty.* What in the mean while doth he make of the Judges and the Jury, were they neither *unbiassed nor discerning* ? or shall they be neither, who do believe them to have been guilty upon the same Evidence which the Court was then satisfied with ? But what should hinder *unbiassed and discerning men* from being *convinced* ? was there reason to think the matter of the Evidence not to be sufficient, or the Persons giving it not to be of sufficient Credit ? Let us consider the case, and that will best inform us. The persons were such as were either actually engaged, or invited so to be ; that either helped to do it, or did see it when done : Both, though not known to one another, concurring, as far as they were concerned, in the same circumstances, as to the Person murdered, the posture of his Body, the place where it was, and the way in which it was to be disposed of, &c. And as they did not vary from one another, so not from themselves, in above one point, that the Adversaries (as I remember) can after all their diligent search find them out in, (if that be true too)

too) and all this fortified by several Collateral and concurring Testimonies. Whilst in the mean time, the Prisoners were manifestly convinced of the contrary; saying and unsaying, affirming and denying the same things: Sometimes *Berry* did know *Prance* as he passed up and down the house only; at another time he knew him so, as often to drink with him. Sometimes he never had such an order, as he had the 13th and 14th of *October*, to suffer no Strangers, nor any Persons of Quality to come into *Somerset-House*; at another time he had received such orders before. Sometimes *Hill* knew not *Kelly*, at another time he owned that he knew him, (for 'tis *Kelly* and not *Girald* that he speaks of more expressly, notwithstanding what an Advocate of theirs saith.) Sometimes, he left the Lodgings before *Sir Edmonds* death; at another time it was a week or fortnight after, &c.

Tryals of
Green, &c.
p. 24.
p. 49.

p. 41. & 48.
Compared.
Compendium
p. 18.
Tryals p. 57.

But the above said Author, saith *Prance*, did once disclaim his Evidence before King and Council: This 'tis true he did, but was so little resolute in it, that as soon as he came to Newgate he most earnestly begged of Captain *Richardson* to go back and assure his Majesty, that all he had that day said at Council was false; and that he retracted before for fear of his life, having not a pardon; or if he had, knowing that he should never enjoy it, because of the attempts he might expect to be made upon him; or if both, that however he should lose his Trade & Livelihood: These, together with his perswasion that it was lawful to say or swear any thing in his way of Religion, did induce him to it. But however he is not rationally to be believed, saith the Author, until he shall in the same circumstance of dying, declare their guilt, in which they so solemnly declared their Innocency. By which way of arguing no man can ever dy with a Lye in his mouth; nor is any person or company

New Plot p.
p. 14.
Tryal's of
Green, &c.
p. 26, & 70.
Prance's Na-
rative. p.
23. &c.

New Plot.
Innocence

of men to be believed, in whatever they affirm against such an one, or upon what grounds soever they affirm it, unless they are, or till they come to be in the same circumstances with him, that did thus deny it ; which is very absurd to say. But to put it so far out of question, we are not without this kind of evidence also ; for *Prance* himself, when his Life was despair'd of, continued to affirm the truth of whatever he at first deposed, and as soon as he was recovered, did own it afresh before the King and Council. And *Bedlow* upon his Death-bed did declare *upon the Faith of a dying man, and as he hoped for Salvation, that he had wronged no man by his Testimony, and what ever he had testified concerning the Plot, was true.* Here is then the affirmation of Persons, not concerned to take away the Life of those men, against their denial, who were concerned to save their own Lives ; and the evidence of persons *declaring their guilt in the same circumstance of dying, in which the others did so solemnly declare their Innocence.*

And lastly, here is the affirmation of such Persons, who had no Principles of Religion to lead them thus to affirm, against them, whose Principles did encourage them thus to deny. But, saith the above cited Authour, *Berry at the same time [of his death] declared himself both innocent and a Protestant.* That Persons may declare themselves Protestants whilst they are Papists, is not what we are at this time a day ignorant of ; and of which we have store of Instances : And that professed Protestants may deny at their death those crimes which they are justly charged with and condemned for, is what we need not the help of an Author of theirs to shew us *Precedents* in ; for 'tis what we freely confess. But that our Religion should be the worse for it, or that *the Protestant Doctrine is guilty of it*, as he would have it, needs more than his bare affirmation

Prances's
Narrative.
p. 24, 25.

Bedlows Ex-
amination
in his last
sickness, p.
10.

New Plot
Ibid.
V. Abboti
Antilog. p.
34. a

Compendi-
um. p. 75.

tion to gain credit and belief; when we have no such thing as a Dispensation before-hand or Absolution after it, without detestation, &c, to befriend us. Now whether *Berry* did declare himself a Protestant, and deny the Fact upon their Principles; or whether he did deny the Fact upon no Principles, is one in effect as to the present case: But that he did deny what he knew to be true, besides the Evidence otherwise against him, we have no little reason to think from his silence at his death, *when he said not any thing, either in asserting his innocence as to the murder of Sir Edmund, neither as to the Religion he died in;* As one that was present, and not a little concerned to observe, doth affirm. It looks very odd that he should profess so much remorse for his dissimulation in his Religion, and so much innocency in the point he was condemned for; and yet at his Execution, should not clear himself, but pass by both as if he had not bin concerned. This is so irreconcilable either to his sincerity in the one, or innocency in the other, that it was foreseen; and therefore as a Speech was prepared for *Hill*, before his death, so another is made for *Berry* after it. *He then declared himself both innocent and a Protestant, saith one: He absolutely denied at the very Gallows, the Fact: Nay, as the Cart was drawing away, he lifted up his hands, and said, as I am innocent, so receive my Soul, O Jesus;* as another telleth us. And yet he spoke not one word to either. Now what reason have we to believe his silence beyond others protestations at their death? and yet some Mens Protestations of that kind are no more to be believed by this Author, (as that of the Lord *Castlehaven's*, which he mentions) than we believe those of *Hill* and *Green*.

Smith's account of the 14 Malefactors, &c. p. 18.

New Plot. Ibid. Compendium. p. 20.

So far then we are not without Reason to convince us, that these persons were some of *Sir Edmund's true Murderers*

Trial of
Whitebread,
&c. p. 26.

Murderers. But then if we shall add to this, the strange circumstances of *Prance's* apprehension, and the description *Bedlow* gave of such a person before it. If we consider what *Sir Edmond* himself did foretell about his being the *first Martyr*; and the notice that *Dugdale* gave of his death, two days before it was known at *London* what became of him, and many other circumstances which might easily be collected; We have good marks to find out the Murtherers by, and *the door, at which his death is to be laid.*

The second thing owned by the abovesaid Author for an overt Act, is the Consult in *April 24* (not the 14th as he mistakes) But that he would have to be only a *Triennial meeting* in course. But then what needed so great secrecy as to time and place, and such care to be taken not to hasten to *London* long before the time, nor to appear much about the *Town* till the meeting be over, lest occasion should be given to suspect the Design, which the Letter doth speak of? Then, how came it to pass, that there were other Consults, and that *Mr. Ireland* should take such a Journey, as from *Staffordshire* to *London*, by Post in *August*, to be present at it; as besides the then proof, *Mr. Jennison* doth affirm, and his own hand hath made evident? or if the *Register* spoken of, was only about Consults for that purpose, why was not that Book produced, as desired, for their Vindication?

p. 40.

P. 47.

P. 54.

New-Plot.
p. 15.

What other overt Acts there were, as *Coleman's Letters*, *Seals for Commissions* (upon which *Whitebread* only answered, *the taking them out of his Chamber was more than they had power to do*), and the like, I shall not further search after, but leave it to what is, and will be further made publick by Authority. But what hath been said already is sufficient to shew, how little truth there is in what the abovesaid Author doth fantastically affirm, viz. that the charge of the Plot is only supported by the breath of the Witnesses coined into Oaths.

2. He

2. He saith that in the Powder-Treason *there was the flight of some of the Conspirators, and the resistance at their taking.* But not one Person in this pretended Conspiracy did either fly, or abscond (except only the Priests, who were obnoxious to the Law for their Priesthood) nay the greatest part of them, upon the first mention of their accusation, came in and tender'd themselves. Ibid.

But I deny, (1) that its an undoubted mark of a person's Innocency, that he did not fly when a Treason was discovered; and he had an opportunity of making his escape. For the case may be, that he may not be charged with it, and then if he flies he brings it upon himself. So Tresham in the Powder-Treason still continued about the Court, that he might thereby seem wholly free and innocent; as an Author above quoted observes. (2.) He may stay and yet be guilty, upon a presumption that the Charge may not be made good, and he may escape for want of proof, as Garnet hoped. (3.) He may stay and yet be guilty, as presuming, that though the Charge be made good; yet he hath persons of power and interest great enough to interpose betwixt him and danger. And therefore rather than be declared guilty by flight, or betray and discredit his Cause, or distrust his Friends, he may choose to stay, though he be no more innocent than those that fly. Compendium p. 74.

But after all, is it not possible that not one should be found, whose guilt, or fear did prevail upon him to fly and secure himself, &c. as he saith it is not? He grants the Priests did fly; but it was because they were obnoxious to the Law for their Priesthood. If that was the reason, then there had been no Priest but what would have fled; those that were not charged with this Treason, as well as those that were: for, setting aside this new charge, all as Priests are alike obnoxious; and yet we find all did not alike fly.

But

*Tryal of
Green, &c.
p. 21, 43. &c.*

But were there none but Priests that fled, then where are those *Laymen* that were concerned in the charge of Sir Edmund's murther, and that are so often mentioned in the Tryals? What are become of many persons whom it is not for me to name, but are known to have resided beyond Seas, ever since the Examination into this business?

Ibid. p. 67.

Now if what one of themselves saith be true, that *flight is a sign of guilt*, then these are self-condemned, that put it upon this issue, and say that *the stoutest man, had he been guilty, would have fled upon such warning: but the most timorous of Nature did not fly, because he was innocent.*

*New Plot.
Ibid.*

*New Plot
p. 13, 15.
Compendi-
um. p. 75.*

3. He saith, *those that were executed for the Powder-Treason, did all confess the Fact at the time of Execution: Whereas those that have been executed for this Plot have at their Deaths denied the Fact, and resisted all temptations of Pardon, and Reward, &c.* That the Traytors in the Powder-Treason did confess the Fact, we readily own; if they mean thereby the Treason, as it was at first hatched: But that they did thus confess, and not persist in the protestation of their Innocency to the Death, was not because *their Consciences would not dispense with it, or their Religion not permit them to be obstinate and forswear themselves*, (as a late Author of theirs would have us believe) but for other reasons; as I have shewed at large before*. For I question, not but that as *Faux* did lay the blame at first wholly upon himself: so he would have sworn to it also, if it had not been the Torture that he stood more in awe of, than his Conscience. It was upon this score and not his Religion, as the Author of the *Compendium* doth suppose, that *the Lords laught at his Huffing and Bravadoes*, since otherwise they would rather have put him to his Oath, than to the Rack, to have extorted a Confession from him; and therefore to make use of his case amongst others,

*Compend.
p. 73.*

**V. Pag. 35,
40, & 46.*

*Compend.
p. 73.*

as the abovesaid Author doth, to oppose to the case of the Persons that were lately executed, and that denied the Fact at their Execution, is nothing to the purpose. Before Their case then will be of use to the vindication of These, now, they must prove that the whole Plot was at that time confessed by the Conspirators, that they never denied any thing which they were upon Oath charged with, and that they had no Principles to warrant them if they did. But the contrary to these is manifest, as hath been already shewed, and so can do them little service. Without doubt had the Traytors then had as much Power to conceal the whole, as they did the greatest part of it, and could as well have kept to themselves what they did confess, as well as what they did not, we had been little the wiser. They then were of the same Religion, & acted upon the same Principles as the others now; and therefore that they then did confess, and these did not, was because their Circumstances were different, and not because They were guilty, and These were innocent. For if the other had been in these Mens condition, I do not doubt but they would as obstinately have denied; and if These had been in their condition, I as little doubt but that they would have confessed according as they did then. The others denied, as long as Denial would do them good, and till they saw it could not be denied, having clear proof against them: And these did deny and obstinately persist so to do, for want of other proof than the Oaths of others; and so their denial being opposed to the others affirming, their forswearing it to the other Oaths, their dying words to the others that were to live, they did not question but the World would believe they had Truth on their side. And when the Principles and Honour of their Religion, their own Credit, and safety of their Friends, and the fear

*Vid. pag. 35.
&c.*

of Damnation to boot (which often prevails with Men more then the hopes of a present Reward) do engage them; it's not impossible that they should deny, and dye in the denial of what is true.

4. The abovesaid Author adds, that *all persons indifferently, both Papists and Protestants, &c. believed the thing [the Powder-Treason] and no soul living did deny it.* Deny it; how could they, since there was Powder, and Match discovered, and *Faux* was apprehended upon the Place? Deny it how could they, since some of the Traytors were actually killed, or taken in an Insurrection; and those that were taken did confess it more or less? But what the Conspirators would have done themselves, and what others also of the same perswasion would have said, if there had been nothing, but the Oaths of Witnesses against them, we must go to their Principles and Practice to conjecture. But though they could not deny the matter of Fact, yet they have done what they could towards it; For some tell us, as hath been shewed, that *Cecil* (to ruin the Party) drew those fiery men in by his subtile tricks and artifice. Others, that this desperate Attempt seemed rather of a private kindred or acquaintance, than of any Religion. Nay they have the Confidence to say, That the true Priests and Catholicks of England knew them [the Traytors] not to be Papists &c. and they were never Frequenters of Catholick Sacraments with any Priest, &c. If men will dare to say these things, when their own Writings are against them, and when we read there of the great endearedness 'twixt *Catesby's* family and the Jesuits, 'twixt *Catesby* and *Garnet*, 'twixt *Sir Everard* and *Gerard*, &c. they may as well deny the whole, and we may thereby know what they would do if they had not matter of Fact, and overt Acts too visibly and apparently in their way. If they

Compend. P.
74.
Advocate
of Consci-
ence p. 226.

Ibid. &
A Plea for
Engl. Priests
printed
1621.
p. 55, & 58.

they will say things so notoriously and evidently false, New-Plot.
p. 12.
 what may we not expect when a Plot is made out *purely*
by the dint of swearing? (as one doth phrase it): Though
 in our present case there is *more then the Credulity of people*
to corroborate that Testimony, notwithstanding whatever
 he is there pleased to say.

From what hath been said, we may see how little foundation there is for the opposing the Plot of the Powder-Treason to the late one amongst our selves; and how little the Proceedings and Confessions of the Conspirators in the former, will serve to clear the Innocency of those that suffered in the later.

But because they have thus opposed the one to the other, I shall on the other side, before I conclude, consider how they do agree; and that we may observe,

1. As the Plots were in prosecution, & before discovery.
2. In the way by which they were discovered.
3. In the event, and what happened upon and after Discovery.

In the first of these, I have the way in part traced out by Sir Samuel Baldwyn, one of his Majesties Serjeants at Law, in Mr. Ireland's Trial, who doth there mention two or three Particulars, in which this Plot doth resemble that of the Powder-Treason. And that it doth, in the matter of it, the principal Agents concerned in it, the Principles which they proceeded upon, and the way in which it was managed, &c.

*Tryals of
Ireland, &c.
p. 12.*

(1.) There is an agreement in the matter, so saith that worthy person, *that horrid Design* [of the Powder-Treason] *was to take away the life of the then King, to subvert the Government, to introduce the Popish Religion, and to destroy the established Protestant Religion in England; and so we think our proofs will make it out, that in each of these particu-*

Coleman's
2d Letter in
his Tryal.
p. 69.

lars this Design is the same that that was. Thus far he. That it was so in that former Plot is universally acknowledged; and that it was so here is what the Evidence doth concur in. How far it was to introduce the Popish Religion, Mr. Coleman's Letter doth shew, who saith, *we have here a mighty work upon our hands, no less than the Conversion of three Kingdoms, and by that means the utter subduing of a pestilent Heresie which has domineer'd over a great part of this Northern World a long time; there was never such hopes of success since the death of our Queen Mary, as now in our days.* And how all this could be done without subverting the Government, or how both the one and the other could be done without taking away the Life of his Majesty, is not easie to be understood.

(2.) There is an agreement in the principal Agents concerned in it. *The great Actors in the Powder Treason, saith Sir Samuel, were Priests and Jesuits, &c. and so are they in this. That chiefly guided and managed by Henry Garnet, Provincial of the Jesuits in England; and the great Actor in this design is Mr. Whitebread, Provincial of the same Order.*

(3.) There is an agreement in the Principles which they proceeded upon. As first in General, *that any thing is lawful which may serve the Cause,* and in particular *that an Heretick Prince may be deposed and killed; That an Heretick People may be destroyed; and that a Forreign Force, to serve those ends, may be invited over, and introduced.* That these were the Principles which they in the Powder-Treason went upon, is evident from the History it self, and what hath been said before*: and they were the same considerations which gave birth and encouragement to the present Design, as we may see throughout the Trials. This was the ground of Staley's displeasure against the King,

* p. 25, 46,
48, 56, &c.

Staley's
Tryal p. 5.

King, *that he was an Heretick*; this was the ground of the other practices against him not only here, but also in *Ireland*. And *the subduing the pestilent Heresie which domineer'd here*, was the great reason of Mr. *Colemans* correspondence with the French King's Confessor, and of soliciting *Aid and Assistance* from thence.

Fitz Gerald's Nar. p. 7.

**Vid. p. 31.*

Ireland's

Trial. pag.

10-28.

Dugdale's further Informat. p. 16

(a) Coleman's Trial. p. 26.

(b) Fitz-Gerald's Nar.

p. 4, &c.

(4.) There is an agreement in the management of both' (1.) In point of secrecy, obliging one another by Oaths and the Sacrament. I have shewed that so it was in the Powder-Treason. * And that it was so here, all the Witnesses do maintain. (2.) In the secret Preparations that were made. So it was in the other, as I have shewed*. And the like information we have here of Moneys, (a) Forces, and (b) Commissions, &c.

(5.) They agree in the State they were in, and the little provocation that was given them to begin and form such a Design. So it was in the Powder-Treason, when they *had not so much as a pretended cause of grief*, as K. James in his Speech said, but were obliged by him, as I have shewed*. And so it had been here: For whereas by the Statute of 25 Eliz. *the Priests might be tried as such, and ought to die for it, yet they at this time have been so mercifully dealt with, as they have been suffered to live amongst us under the danger of the Statute*, as Sir *Creswel Levins* observed: and the Laity hath been little disturbed by the enforcements of the Laws made against them. Thus it was in *England*; As the Parliament in their late Address to his Majesty, hath abundantly shewed; and how it was in *Ireland*, a Gentleman of that Nation gives us an Account.

† Trials of Whitebread; &c. p. 10, 11.

Address, Novemb. 29.

Fitz Gerald's Narrative.

p. 30.

(6.) There is an agreement in the Prophecies (as they would have them accounted) of the great Change that would happen in a short time. So it was before the *Powder Treason*, as I have shewed*. And so it was now;

**p. 16, &c. 25.*
what

Smith's
Narrative
p. 27.

what Cardinal *Barbarin* should say of this nature, hath bin depofed before the Lord's, and Reports of the ſame kind have been very common at home and abroad, as hundreds can teſtific.

2. As there was an agreement in the ſtate of things before it was diſcovered ; ſo there is no little reſemblance in the way by which they were diſcovered. For, was there a Letter writ ? ſo were here Papers found of *Coleman's*, and *Harcourt's*. Did there ſome confeſs then ? ſo ſome did here. Did ſome of them fly and abſcond for it then ? ſo they have done here alſo ; as I have ſhewed before.

3. There is great reſemblance in the Event, and what happened and was done upon and after the diſcovery. As,
(1.) More was left undiscovered than was diſcovered. What kind of help the deſign of the Powder-Treafon required in it ſelf, and what Intelligence the State had then of Forces, Arms, Horſes and Moneys, I have before ſhewed *. And yet little of any of theſe was found out ; inſomuch as an Apologiſt of theirs doth venture to plead, as to one Branch, *Where was that great ſum of Money, talk'd of, found ? or, how much of it was confiscated and brought into the Kings Exchequer ?* And ſo it happened now ; for tho the Deſign could not be carried on without, and Information accordingly hath been given of Proviſions made in that kind ; yet what from the pretences thoſe Forces and Moneys were raiſed under (as we have the Account*)

* p. 20, &c.

Eudemon
Apol. p. 278.

* *Fitz. Gerald's* infor-
mat. p. 11.
Smith's
Narrat. p.
30.
Compend.
p. 85.

what from the diſtribution of Arms into ſeveral hands, without keeping Stores and Magazines ; what from the timely notice they had to diſpoſe of them ; not ſo much hath been diſcovered, but that alſo an Advocate of theirs, doth plead after the like manner as before, *There has not been found any ill Letter, any Commiſſion, any Bill of Exchange, any Mony, any Arms, any Horſes, or any thing elſe ſuſpi-*
tious

(41)
tious. With how much truth this is said in all respects, *Coleman's Letters*, and *Arm* in some quantities taken, and other particulars, do prove. But yet it must be acknowledged that though much is proved against them, yet more is still undiscovered than discovered.

(2.) There is a great resemblance in the ways taken to fling off what hath been discovered, and to conceal what hath not. As,

i. By charging it upon others. Thus we find them practising in the business of the Powder-Treason. If it had succeeded, the whole was to have been laid to the charge of the Puritans; and when it did not succeed, they tell us it was *the trick of a Minister of State*, and that *the Conspirators were not Papists*, as hath been before declared. And that same method hath been observed now. For if the present Design had taken, and the King had been killed; *they had settled some, whom they should pitch the Action upon*, and intended to lay it upon the *Presbyterians*, as hath been deposed. But since its now broke forth, and hath not hitherto succeeded, they have taken care to charge as much of it as they can elsewhere. First, There is a *sham-Plot* started, and a Design laid to make the *Presbyterians*, or whomsoever they pleased so to call, to be the only Conspirators. And because the death of *Sir Edmund-bury*, if found upon them, would lend us a great light toward the revealing the Plot, and be no little inducement to mankind to believe it, they had thoughts of charging it upon *debauched persons, of whom he was a prosecutor*. When that was not likely to take, they did endeavour to make the *Earl of Danby* the Contriver of it. And because that was soon disproved, then, its said, that his own Party did murder him, and laid it upon the *Papists* to make them odious.

Bedlow's last Examinat.

p. 5.

Dugdale's Informat.

p. 5.

Dangerfield's Nar.

Dugdale's Informat.

p. 8.

Reflections on the E. of Danby.

2. There

2. There is the like method taken to avoid the Charge, *by calumniating of Authority*. So they did in the Powder-Treason: Then the Judges were *Lyars*; the Privy-Councillors *cruel*, for ordering *Garnet*, and *Hall*, &c. to be tortured; (as they published, but publish'd falsely to the World, as hath been shewed before*.) And the publick Writings, and what was justified to be true by Authority, were said to be *forged*. In like manner have they now proceeded, for they tell us that those that suffered by the Sentence of the Court *were innocent in the judgment of unbiassed and discerning men*. That *Prance* was *threatned by the Lords that went to examine him*, and was tortured to make him accuse others.

* Hist. p. 26.
Vindicat.
p. 13. & 36.
Endem. parallel Torti,
&c. p. 261.
Compendium. p. 16. &
67.

Malice defeated. p. 3.

* P. 63, & 65

V. The printed Narat.

Mr. Reading's Trial.

3. To avoid or weaken the Charge, false reports are raised upon those that amongst themselves do confess. So in the Powder-Treason we are told that *Bates* and *Littleton* *recanted*, and that what ever *Bates* accused the rest of was *through the hopes of life*, as hath been shewed before. * So they have proceeded at this time much after the like manner. Not to repeat all the stories that they have made, or made use of to impair the Credit of the Witnesses; nor to undertake to distinguish betwixt what's true and what's false in this matter, I shall only instance in that which is made publick to the World. Of this kind was the Design which was laid to charge *Oates* with *Sodomy*, and him and *Bedlow* with a *Conspiracy against the Lord Treasurer*. And, which is somewhat a kin to this, the tampering with *Bedlow*, to recall what he had said, or to make him *easy* in what he should say against the great Conspirators; that so they might either make him theirs, or render him less able to hurt them, when they could accuse him of listning to such Proposals.

4. They did endeavour to disguise and conceal it, by
being

being obstinate when apprehended. This hath been before discoursed of with respect to the Gunpowder-Treason * when they denied whatever could be denied, and equivocated in what was not to be denied, even to the death. And thus it was in this present Plot. Without doubt had *Coleman's* Letters not been taken, all the Correspondence that was maintained in that way betwixt him and the French King's Confessor, would as obstinately be denied, as it was by him, that any such was continued after 1675, which was the year the last of those Letters was dated in. Or had not the Letter been found amongst *Harcourt's* Papers, which mentions the Consult April 24th, they would sooner have denied the thing, than have rack'd their Wit to have put it upon the score of a *Triennial meeting*. Things that were not to be denied, 'tis no wonder if they do confess; but things that depend upon yea and no, 'tis no wonder that they do deny. This *Hall* and *Garnet* did practise, and the same liberty that they took, 'tis likely the persons of late amongst us also did use, when they have the same Principles, to allow it.

From what hath been said we see, that the Powder-Treason and this present Plot do agree in far more Circumstances than they differ, and those that they differ in are not so great but they are capable of an easie accommodation. And this leads me to the

3. General. To shew the ground of that difference which is betwixt Plot and Plot, Criminals and Criminals. And the great instance is, the Confession of the one, and Denial of the other. This an Author of theirs doth triumph in; *I challenge, saith he, all mankind to assign a Cause of this difference with the least colour of Reason and Humanity.* But, as I have before said *, He must first prove that the Conspirators then did confess ingenuously, candidly and freely. For if they confess'd what they could not deny; if

* P. 34, &c.
p. 63, & 84.

New Plot
p. 16.

* p. 85.

* p. 37, &c.

New Plot.
Ibid.

* p. 46.

Proceed.
p. 37.* As I before
observed p.
84.
Paper 9.

they again would have denied what they had confessed; if, further, they did often equivocate when they did pretend to confess; if, lastly, they did deny and conceal more of what they knew, then they did confess and discover, as I have made it evident they did *: Then Garnet's Confession is equal to *Whitebread's* Denial; and *Whitebread's* Denial differs not materially from *Garnet's* Confession. Both these may be, and yet there be *no new Creed, nor new Faith since those days amongst them*; as the aforesaid Author would infer there must, upon this different event, if we allow not both to be innocent. Denying and confessing are indeed in themselves incompatible, and had it bin true which the above-cited Authors do say, that *all of the Conspirators in the Powder-Treason did acknowledge their Treasons, and asked God and the King pardon* (which I have shewed to be otherwise *) and impartially confessed all that they knew of that matter; then their Confession might be well opposed to these men's Denial: but when the Confession was so restrained and qualified (as I have above shewed) it's a plain sign, that had there bin nothing but Conscience and Principles in their way (as these pretend) they would have taken another course; and the *Scævola Faux*, that had the Courage to say, and without doubt to do what he said, that *if he had happened to be within the House, as he was without, when they took him, he would not have failed to have blown up Himself, Them, House and all*: and he that also laid all the blame upon himself, and would own no Complices, would have died with the same Roman resolution, had not the Rack brought him to better manners *. This Sir *Everard Digby* did believe of him, I knew, saith he, that he [*Faux*] had been employed in great matters, and till Torture, sure he carried it very well. There is a time that it is either not possible, or to no purpose to deny, and then there can be no trial of a Man's Principles.

Thus

Thus it was with *Watson and Clark* in King *James's* time, who knew that they were betrayed by the Jesuits, and so were thereby disabled to prevent the danger and scandal likely to besal their Party by their Confession, had they been willing to swear they were innocent, and to take it upon their death. There was not an opportunity for them to make that Experiment upon themselves, nor to give us an Evidence how far their Consciences would have dispensed with so doing. And so it was no fit case for the above said Authour to oppose to this at present for that reason as well as another, viz. that they were not Jesuits, nor of their Party. They must make the circumstances the same, and shew that what was then confessed, was sincere & free, full and particular; that they never did deny when asked upon Oath, nor equivocate in what they did confess, nor ever unsay what they had said; before we can believe they did confess meerly because *their Consciences could not dispence with so horrid a thing* (as that Author calls it) *as swearing they were innocent, and taking it upon their death.* But if they cannot prove this, and the case is apparently otherwise, as I have before shewed; then for all this discourse and bustle of theirs, in comparing the Powder-Treason with this Plot, and the Passages and Comportments of the Criminals upon that occasion, with these of our modern pretended (as they say) Conspirators, we are still where we were, and have good reason to believe that both Those then, and These now did act by like Principles and Measures; and that they did confess or deny with the like sincerity that our Author gave a Book that he writ in defence of the Papists and Popish Traitors, the Title of the new Plot of the Papists, to transform Traitors into Martyrs; and call'd that a New Plot, which we in England know to be as ancient as the days of *Thomas a Becket*.

Compend.
P. 73.

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AN IMPARTIAL
CONSIDERATION
OF
Those Speeches,
Which pass under the Name of the
FIVE JESUITS
LATELY EXECUTED.

Viz. { Mr. *Whitebread*.
 { Mr. *Harcourt*.
 { Mr. *Gawen*.
 { Mr. *Turner*, and
 { Mr. *Fenwick*.

In which it is proved, That according to their Principles, they
not only might, but also ought to die after that manner,
with Solemn Protestations of their Innocency.

L O N D O N :
Printed for *Richard Chiswell*, at the Rose and Crown in *St. Paul's*
Church-yard, MDCLXXIX.

A N
A N S W E R
T O T H E

Late S P E E C H E S of the Five Jesuits.

TH E words of dying persons have always been esteemed of greatest Authority, as Mr. Harcourt in his Speech doth observe: and at the first sight, what was spoken by him and his Associates just before their Execution, doth seem to command it; when Mr. Gaven after the like Preface doth add, *I do solemnly swear, protest and vow by all that is sacred in Heaven or on Earth, and as I hope to see the Face of God in Glory, that I am as Innocent as the child unborn, &c.* A Speech of so great Assurance, that if it were not for the clearness of the Evidence that was brought in against them, the impartiality of the Court which they stood before and were Condemned by, the Order which they were of, and the cursed Principles held by that Order; and Lastly, other things spoken by them at the same time that were manifestly untrue, I should have had so much charity as to believe. But when all this and more doth appear against them, and confute what they have with so much confidence maintained before God and the World, it will be a work of Justice and Charity to detect their Hypocrisie, and to shew that the *Jesuits* have a Gospel by themselves.

And this I shall do:

A 2

First,

First, By shewing that their present case is such, that although they had been guilty, such a Protestation of their innocence was necessary, if it might be consistent with the principles of Religion.

Secondly, That such a Protestation is consistent with their Principles, and what is agreeable to the practice of their Order.

Thirdly, That from the consideration of their circumstances, and a careful perusal of what was said by these persons at the time of their death, there is sufficient reason to believe that they acted upon such Principles.

First, It was necessary for them at this time, and in their circumstances, tho never so deeply guilty, to stand upon their own vindication, and to vindicate themselves after the most solemn way imaginable. For if this Plot should be believed, and they discovered to be the Contrivers and Promoters of it, it would be a foul blemish to their Religion, and so great a disparagement to their Society, that all their Art and Industry could never be able to wipe it off. It would awaken the Princes of Christendom, and they would never think themselves secure till this Order followed that of the Templers, and was Universally dissolved and extirpated. It would make those that mean well too among themselves to abhor them, and open a fair way for Protestantism to enter in upon them. And therefore it concerned them as much as might be to prevent it; and how could it be prevented, but by this way that they have taken. For if they had been silent under so great a charge as this, all the World would have concluded them Guilty; or if they had but faintly denied it, when the Evidence was so full and peremptory against them, the suspicions that are abroad would have increased, and the Evidence already given in would be fur-

further enquired into and made out. It was not a sorry Evasion, or some puny Equivocation that would put a stop to these mischiefs, and set them right in the opinion of the World, as they well enough understood; and therefore it concerned them, if the honour of their Religion, or that of their Society was dear to them, to betake themselves to the most formal Protestations to ensure it; if so be it might be done with consistency to their Religion, or their own safety in another World.

Secondly, I shall therefore shew that such Protestations are consistent with their Religion, and that altho they were never so Guilty, they might stand upon their own Innocency and Justification to the Death. And that is to be done upon these Principles. (1) If what they are charged with be made Legitimate by a Superior Authority. (2.) If they are under a precedent and sufficient Obligation not to confess what they are justly charged with. (3.) If they are indemnified and declared Innocent. (4.) If they are charged before an incompetent Authority. (5.) If the Charge it self be laid wrong.

First, If what they are charged with be made Legitimate and allowable by a Superior Authority; which may be done two ways.

First, By a dispensation from the Pope, or by others ordinarily deputed thereunto in their Church. This is what they do now deny amongst us, confidently maintaining that a Dispensation is never given beforehand. But this is vainly alledged, whether we consider the nature of a Dispensation, which hath a relation to an action yet to be done, or to the continuation of it; or whether we consider the *practice of their Church*, of which we have a very modern instance. For whereas the Marrying of a Brothers Wife, the Brother being yet alive, is both contrary to the Law of God and Nature; there is a Prince
now

now in the World that is dispensed with in that matter, and enjoys the Wife and Kingdom of his Brother by virtue of the Popes Authority. Now if the Pope hath a Power of altering the nature of things, and of giving a Dispensation for what would without that Dispensation have been in it self unlawful; then the doing of an Action otherwise evil is, by virtue of that Dispensation, no sin; and he that hath that for his Authority, is so far Innocent.

Secondly, The Action may be made Legitimate, by virtue of the command of such a Superior, as they are bound fully and universally to obey. And this is the case of the *Jesuits*, who are under a perfect Subjection to their Superiors, and whose commands they are not to dispute. This is the first thing which they are taught, *to be so Conformable to the Catholick Church (which in their sence is the Pope) that if it defines that to be black, which appears to them to be white, they are notwithstanding without more ado to account it black (a).* And this is an obedience which they are not only bound to yield to the Apostolick Chair, but to the rest of their Superiors, and which their Founder *Ignatius* writ an Epistle on purpose to confirm them (b) in. An Epistle, that nothing can be added to, or taken from, saith their General *Fr. Borgia* (c). An Epistle that is truly Divine, saith their General *Mutius Vitellescus* (d). In this Epistle it is that *Ignatius* doth lay down these things.

First, That they must look upon their Superior, not as a person obnoxious to error, but as Christ himself—who could not be deceived, nor would deceive.

Secondly, That Whatever their Superior commands or thinks, that they must always be ready to defend, and by no means to reject.

Thirdly, Whatever he commands, that they must resolve to look upon as the command of Christ, and with a
blind

(a) *Ignatii Exercit. Spirit.*
p. 141. reg. 13.
Antw. 1635.

(b) *Epist. ad Patr. & Fratres Societ. in Lusit.*

(c) *Epist. ad Patres & Fratres Aquitaniae*, p. 63. num 9.

(d) *Epist. ad Patres prov. Societ.* p. 44¹.

blind Resolution without any doubt or delay, resolve to do (e) without giving way to any humane reasonings and discourses, as their General Aquaviva expounds it (f), that they renounce not only their own wills, but understandings also, and submit them wholly to his, without calling any thing into question; for otherwise the excellent virtue of blind obedience would fail, as Ignatius saith (g). That every one must perswade himself, that he is acted and governed by Divine Providence, through his Superiors Orders, and that he ought to be in that case as a Carcase, which suffers it self to be carried or disposed of any way; or as a staff in an old mans hand, which he directs as he pleaseth, as it's fully expressed in their Constitutions (h). Now if they are thus obliged blindly to obey their Superiors, and that whatever they command them, is without any demur to be done, they are so far innocent in their own account, and think that they may safely without doubt, purge themselves as such.

But they may say that they are only obliged to this obedience in things Lawful, and no further, according to what Ignatius himself doth say (i), and is further confirmed by their constitutions (k). But is this likely to be the sence, when their Superior is in the place of Christ (l), and whom they are to submit to as to him, and whom they are to attend to, whatever he be, how weak or insufficient soever, as he represents the person of him, whose wisdom cannot be deceived, as Ignatius saith (m)? Is this likely to be, when they must universally and wholly submit their own understandings to his, and are without delay or doubt to do what he requires? And that it is not so, whatever they pretend, is evident from their own Constitutions (n), where the Title of one Chapter is, that the Constitutions do not bring any under an obligation to sin; but how little it answers that Title, any one

(e) N. 16. 17.
(f) Cl. Aquaviva Industriæ, cap. 5. num. 6.

(g) Ibid. n. 3.
9. & n. 12.

(h) Pars 6. c. 1.

(i) Epist. p. 25.
n. 18.

(k) Pars 6. c. 1. p. 234.

(l) Aquaviva Industriæ, c. 5. n. 6. Constitut. par. 6. c. 1. p. 234. & par. 4. c. 10. p. 183. &c.

(m) Epist. n. 3. p. 13.

(n) Pars 6. c. 5. p. 256.

Visum est nobis nullas constitutiones, declarationes vel ordinem ullum vivendi posse obligationem ad peccatum mortale vel veniale inducere, nisi superior ea in nomine D. N. J. Christi, vel in virtute obedientie juberet, quod in rebus vel personis illis in quibus judicabitur, quod ad particulare uniuscujusque, vel ad universale bonum multum conveniet, fieri poterit.

one that reads the Chapter may perceive; for it's there said, that it seems to us ——— that no Constitutions, &c. can bring under an obligation to mortal or venial sin, unless the Superior in the name of Christ, or in the virtue of obedience should command it: and then that may be done in the cases so judged of, which tends much to a private or universal good. So that a general or particular good may make it lawful for a Superior to command what otherwise would be a sin; and the Vow of obedience makes it necessary for him that is under command to obey. By which means any sin shall be none, and the greatest Criminal be Innocent.

2. They may justifie themselves if they are under a precedent and sufficient obligation not to confess what they are justly charged with. And such an obligation is (1.) the disadvantage of Religion, or the injury of another. For which reasons it was that Sir Everard Digby did clear all the Priests before the Lords; and when asked by the Lord Chief Justice, if he had not taken the Sacrament to keep secret the Plot as others did, boldly said, that he had not; because, saith he, I would avoid the question, at whose hands it were. * And upon this Principle Parsons the Jesuit doth proceed, when he saith, ‡ that if a Priest taken in a mans house, of whose overthrow he either must be a cause, or doth suspect that he may be so, should be asked whether he is a Priest, he is bound to deny himself so to be.

* Sir Everards first Paper, printed at the end of the Gunpowder-Treason, 1679.
‡ Mitigation, c. 13 p. 349.

2. Such an Obligation also is Confession; of which I shall give you their sence in the words of Parsons.
|| If a Confessor that hath heard another man's Confession should be demanded, whether such an one had confessed such

|| Ibid. c. 10.
Sect 1. p. 48.

such a sin unto him or not, he may not only say I know not, but answer directly, that he hath not confessed any such thing unto him, albeit he had so done; and that the said Confessor may not only say, but swear also this answer of his, understanding and reserving in his mind, that the Penitent hath not confessed unto him so as he may utter it, &c. All Divines and Lawyers do hold that in this case of Confession, the obligation of Secrecy is so great, as for no respect whatsoever, nor to what person soever, though he be never so lawful a Judge, Prince, Prelate, or Superior, nor for saving of a whole Kingdom or Commonwealth, and much less the lives of any particular men or women, or of the Confessor himself; no, nor of the whole world together, if it were possible, or to work never so much good thereby might he utter the same. To which another Author of the same Order * adds, though the matter confessed was no less than the subversion of Religion, and the destruction of the Sacraments.

* *Henr. Hen-
riq. sum. Theol.
moral. de Sacr.
penit. l. 3. c.
19. præversio*

religionis, & omnium Sacramentorum intentata demolitio.

This was the Defence which Garnet made for himself, why he at the first did not discover the Conspiracy of the Gunpowder Treason, and why he afterwards did obstinately deny his knowledg of it; because as he pretended, it was disclosed unto him by Greenwel the Jesuit in Confession, and that it would endanger the lives of divers men *: by which he said he was so bound up, that if one confessed this day to him, that to morrow morning he meant to kill the King with a Dagger, he must conceal it ||. The case then is, That if at any time a dangerous Conspiracy is made known to them in Confession, which they themselves were actually before engaged in; yet it being thus complicated, that their own concurrence in it is joyned with the others confession, they

* *Proceedings
against the
Traytors, p.
190.
|| Ibid. p. 215.*

then may and are bound to stand upon their own innocence, because they cannot plead guilty, though they are so, without betraying what they heard in Confession.

3. They may justify themselves, when they are indemnified and declared innocent by Absolution. Pardon is a discharge from punishment, and Absolution is a legal declaration of Pardon; and in it self is not a making Innocent, but only an assurance, that a person, notwithstanding his former crimes, shall be dealt with as if he were such. But they extend this further, for such a growing thing is power in the *Roman Church*, that it would bring every thing within its compass. Sometimes Sin by the Pope's power shall be made none; and a Man shall violate his Oath, and by virtue of a Dispensation from his Holiness shall become perjur'd without Sin. Sometimes the Guilty shall be made Innocent, and by the power of Absolution shall be able to swear it. *For if a person by confession to a Priest, and Absolution from him, hath what is sufficient to Salvation, and to set him right in the sight of God (as is the common opinion among them *)* then it may be thought sufficient also to make him innocent amongst Men, and to give him reason to think so. This seems to be the ground of the present practice amongst them; as when *Gurphy*, after his Absolution denied at his Death with all assurance imaginable, That he was guilty of that Burglary, which he was in *Ireland* condemned for; though the Rope breaking he lived to confess it †. And this principle hath so far prevailed at this day; that Mr. *Prance* doth ingenuously acknowledg ||, *That if he had been absolved after the Murther of Sir Edmond-Bury Godfry, as Hill, and his other Accomplices in it were, that he should have probably persisted in avowing his*
Inno-

* Navar. Man.
c. 25. n. 38.
Dia. Sum. V.
Reus. n. 12.
&c.

† Vid. *The late printed Relation of it, in a Letter to the Earl of Essex.*
|| Pag. 24. of his Narrative.

Innocence, as they did, and never, or without extream difficulty have been brought to any acknowledgment.

Agreeable to this is that which is said by *Lud. Lopez*, 1. p. *Instruct.* c. 42. who is quoted as good Authority by *Raynaudus* the Jesuit, *ut supra*. *A Woman that hath been false to her Husband, doth sin, if she without cause doth swear that she is Innocent, and doth so swear because she hath done Penance for the same; unless her Husband doth unjustly compel her to swear.* The meaning of which is, that if she doth swear it vainly, when not put to it, and there is no reason for it, then she offends; but if her Husband threatens, and she is in danger (for that is often the meaning of *unjustly* in the sense of these Casuists) then she may safely swear that she is Innocent, forasmuch as she hath repented, and given satisfaction to the Priest, and been Absolved by him.

From whence it appears, that if persons be compelled to swear unjustly, as (in their opinion they all are when made to swear before Hereticks) that then they may swear, though never so Guilty, that they are Innocent and without fault, as having been Absolved for it.

4. They may plead their own Innocency, and justify it with an Oath, &c. if they stand charged before an incompetent Authority. Of this Opinion is *Parsons*, for he saith, (a) *If a Judg be not lawful or competent, the party charged may answer as if he was alone, and no Man by, for that he hath no necessary reference to him at all, &c.* And much to the same purpose saith *Lessius*. (b) *Now an incompetent Judg, is one that hath no lawful Jurisdiction over a Person; as may be gathered from Parsons.* (c) And such with them are

(1.) All Hereticks, who are incompetent, because they are *uncapable of rule*, as *Gab. Vasquez* saith; (d) *and as soon as a Prince is fallen from the Catholick Reli-*

(a) *Mitigation in Equiv.* c. 8. part 3. Sect. 2. n. 52.

(b) *De Just. & jure, lib. 2. c. 42. dub. 9. n. 47.*

(c) *Mitig c. 11. Sect. 9.*

(d) *Com. in 1. 2. Thom. Tom. 2. dist. 152. Sect. 8.*

(e) In his *Philopater*, p. 194. for he is said to be the Author of it, by *Watson* in his *Quodl.* p. 11, 71, 284.

(f) *Lib. de cler. c.* 30. p. 554, 80.

(g) *Apher. Tit. Clericus. Edit.* Antwerp. & Colon.

(h) *Ibid. c.* 28. p. 538.

(i) *Mitig. c.* 8. *Part 3. Sect. 2.* n. 52.

(k) *Ibid. c.* 10. *Sect. 3. p.* 415. n. 11.

gion, he presently falls from all his Power and Dignity, saith *Parsons*. (e) And thus was the case determined with an especial respect to *England*, as you may see in *Greg. Martin* in *lib. resolut. cas.* and *Dr. Stillingfleet's* Sermon, on *Matt. 10. 16.* p. 42.

(2.) Such again, according to *Them*, are all Lay-Magistrates, with respect to the Clergy. A Priest being exempted from all civil Jurisdiction, saith *Bellarmino* (f). The belief of which led *Emanuel Sa*, so far as to say, (g) That Rebellion in a Clergy-Man is no Treason, because he is not subject to the Civil Power. And *Bellarmino* saith little less, when he maintains (h) that Kings are not the Superiors of the Clergy, and therefore such are not bound to obey them, but only as to matter of direction. This is clearly stated and applied to our purpose by *Parsons* (i); If a Judge, saith he, be not lawful or competent; as if a Lay-Magistrate in a Catholic Country would enquire of matters not belonging to his Jurisdiction, as for example, sacred or secret: then he may answer as if he were alone, and no man by, for that he hath no reference to him at all. For, as he saith afterward, (k) Priests both by divine and humane Law, according to Catholic Doctrine, are exempted from Laymens Jurisdiction. When therefore Priests are brought before Lay-Magistrates, and Catholics before Heretics, they have a liberty to say what they please, and what may best serve their purpose and convenience: they may protest and swear that they are Innocent, though never so guilty, that they know not what they know, and did not what they did.

And if they may thus stand upon their own Vindication, how unjustifiable soever their case be in it self, before incompetent Authority; then they may as well do it before incompetent Witnesses and Auditors. For the

the Hereticks at Tyburn have no more right to Truth, than those at the Old Baily; and they may as well protest and vow by all that is sacred, that they are innocent, when they come to die, as when they were upon their Trial; since the People there, as well as the Judges here, were alike incompetent and heretical.

5. They may plead Innocency when the Charge is laid wrong. This we acknowledg, when we say that a Person guilty of the Fact, may yet plead not guilty as to matter and form. But now the Charge with them shall always be laid wrong, when they answer to it by Equivocation or Mental Reservation. For then it is not what the Charge is in it self, but what they charge themselves with, that they direct their answer to. As if a Person be charged with a Crime, but by an incompetent Authority, or illegally, he may securely say, I did not do it, *reserving within himself that he did not do it in Prison; or that he had no design upon the King, thereby meaning a painted King* (l). And this is a current Opinion among them. If a Judg be not lawful or competent, the Defendent may answer as if he were alone and no Man by, and may frame to himself any Proposition that is true of it self, and in his own sence and meaning, though the other that heareth, understandeth it in a different sence, and be thereby deceived, saith Parsons (m). If he be guilty, in such Cases he is to turn himself to Almighty God the Judg of all, and frame to himself some true reserved sence, may say, I have not done it, I have not seen him, I have not killed him; understanding thereby that he hath not done it, so as the Examination or Punishment of it is subject to that Tribunal, or he subject to their Jurisdiction, whereby he is bound to utter the same to them; as that Author further saith (n). But what if he be put to his Oath? Lessius answers, (o) That as often as it is lawful

(l) Lessius de
Instir. l. 2. c. 42.
Dub. 9. n. 47.
48.

(m) Mitigar.
c. 8. part 3.
Sect. 2. n. 52.

(n) Ibid. c. 10.
Sect. 4. n. 21.
(o) Ibid. n. 48.

lawful to use a doubtful Speech, or a secret Reservation, it is lawful to use an Oath, if necessity or some notable Cause requireth it, namely, to avoid a great evil, &c. And accordingly Parsons (p) doth lay it down from Azorius, &c. If the Judg that exacteth the Oath be not a lawful Judg, or proceedeth not lawfully in exacting the same; then hath he that sweareth, no Obligation to swear to his Intention at all, but may swear to his own, &c.

Amongst other Examples of this way, we have in Dr. Abbot's *Antilogia*, p. 12. b. of one John Underwood, that being examined before the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, 1612. denied that ever he was beyond Sea; and affirmed, *That he was Married, and had six Children, and was an Husbandman.* And yet acknowledged afterward, that he had been formerly six years at Rome in the College, was admitted there into Orders, and was a Jesuit, and that his true Name was Cornford; and that in what he said before, he meant, *That he was married to his Breviary, and that he had six Spiritual Children; and that he had not been beyond Sea, so as to confess it to the Arch-Bishop.* This Answer was much talked of, and what *Sancta Clara* hath defended under his own hand, as is yet to be seen. This was also the opinion of Garnet, and the way he took (q), for having an Oath administered to him, and being examined upon the word of a Priest, whether he had ever sent or writ to Greenwel the Jesuit, since they were together at Coughton? answered, No; and when convinced of it by the Letters produced, said, *he had done nothing in his denial but what was lawful.* But supposing this should be at the point of Death, may this then be practised? Lud. Lopez (r) saith, *That if a Woman having been excommunicated for not living with her Husband, should at the point of Death, to obtain Absolution, swear, if she recovered,*

(p) If. Casauboni *Epist. ad Front. Ducaum* p. 118, 123.

(r) 1 p. instruct. c. 37. as quoted by Raynaudus in his Defence of Lessius against Barns, c. 15. n. 9.

vered, to return to him; reserving in her self, if it might be without Sin, she shall not be guilty of Perjury (if she knew an impediment) though she recovers and lives from him. And this was Mr. Tresham's case, (a) who having accused Garnet of the Spanish Treason, for fear this might be to the prejudice of the Jesuit, three hours before he died subscribed a Paper, in which he testified upon his Salvation, that he had not seen him of 16 years before: whereas Garnet himself confessed, that within two years before they had frequently been together. All which Garnet said he believed, Mr. Tresham might have done, as he meant to equivocate. And it is an Example may safely be followed, as he maintained (b). This was the Case of Parry, that attempted the Life of Queen Elizabeth, who upon his Apprehension, and after at his Trial, confessed it; but at last denies it, lays his Blood upon the Queen and Judges, and summons the Queen to answer for his Blood before God (c).

But what if they voluntarily renounce all Equivocations, and Mental Reservations, or are required so to do in Oaths and Protestations; Is this defensible upon their Principles? So saith Parsons (d); *When thou answerest to a Judg, that is incompetent, by Equivocation: If he ask, whether you Equivocate, or not? You may answer, No, but with a further Equivocation. If he urges again, and asks whether you did not Equivocate in your denying it? You may answer, No, with another secret Equivocation, and so as often as you are asked. Nay, he saith further (e); When a Judg is not lawful, though a Person hath first sworn to answer directly, he may use doubtful words; which if they prevail not, then say the Doctors, that he may deny, and say, I know nothing, I have seen nothing, &c. reserving in his mind, that he knoweth nothing which in that unjust Examination he is bound*

(a) Proceedings against the Traytors, p. 176, 219, 220, 221.

(b) In some Papers of his, quoted by If. Casaub. Epist. ad Duceum. p. 122.

(c) Foulis Romish Treasons l. 7. c. 4. p. 442.

(d) As quoted by Barns, contra Equiv. Sect. 20. p. 174, and Sect. 22. p. 200.

(e) Mitigat. c. 10. Sect 5. p. 426. n. 26.

bound to utter. This was the measure *Garnet* the Provincial of the Jesuits took; for when he was called before the Lords, and was asked, Whether *Hall* the Jesuit and he had any Conference together in the *Tower*? and being desired not to Equivocate; he stiffly denied it upon his Soul, reiterating it with many detestable Execrations: And yet when proved against him, cryed the Lords Mercy, and said, *He had offended, if Equivocation did not help him* *.

*Proceedings,
p. 195. *Casaub.*
Epist. p. 117.
|| *Rob. Abbotti*
Antilogia. c. 2.
p. 12.

Of this we have a notable Instance || in one *John Coome*, that Anno 1609, being examined by the Bishop of *London*, and required to set down his Answer in writing, did it after this manner; *Whatsoever I now affirm, I affirm upon the Faith of a Christian, without all Equivocation and Mental Reservation, or secret Interpretation kept to my self; and affirm it according to the plain sense of the Words by me spoken; So God me help, through Jesus Christ. First, I say, therefore that my Name is John Coome, neither have I been called by any other Name here, or beyond Seas; and particularly that my ordinary Name is not Scammel, neither is it my true Name. Furthermore I affirm, upon the Faith of a Christian, that I never was in Orders according to the Way of the Church of Rome, and did never enter into a Vow according to the Rule of the Jesuits; nor ever studied in any English Seminary in Spain or Flanders. And to the truth of all this I have subscribed, and of my own accord have subscribed, John Coome.* These things he swore, and yet did all by Equivocation and Reservation; for he afterwards confessed that he was a Priest, and Jesuit, and did commonly write his name *Scammel*. And that they may use Equivocation when they declare against it; see it further made good by *Dr. Stillingfleet* in the fore-quoted Sermon, pag. 29.

If

If we reflect upon these Propositions, we may be able to reconcile all that Mr. *Whitebread* and his Brethren did declare at their late Execution, or whatever they are made to say in these Speeches that pass up and down in their Names, to the justice of the Sentence they suffered by. It's true, amongst Protestants, nay amongst Heathens, such solemn Protestations would be hearkned to; and those that are honest and sincere, could hardly think those that use such Asseverations to be otherwise. But if we consider what hath been before said, we have reason to judge of *Them* by other measures. For some of their Principles do shew that they may do it. As those of being dispensed with in it; and of having Absolution after it; and of denying and swearing, with Reservation before an incompetent Authority. But others of the abovesaid Principles make it necessary, and shew that they ought to do it. As if they were required so to do by their Superiors, whose Commands they are not to question or dispute: If it were for a notable Good, or preventing a considerable Mischief; or if they heard it in Confession; In these cases they are obliged to deny, and to deny again; to equivocate upon Equivocation; to die, and, I had almost said, to damn themselves, rather than confess when they are thus bound to be secret.

But that they need not fear, for besides the security that they have otherwise, it's said, in a famous Book of theirs, * that *God granted to their Order, that for the first 300 years, none of them should be damned.* And perhaps they may think it worth the while to venture Purgatory to secure their present Plot from Miscarriage; as the Lord *Cordes* is said || to have been content to lie seven years in Hell, on condition *Calice* might be recovered from the English.

* *Imago primi
Sac. Societ. Je-
su.* p. 650.

|| *Bacon's Hen-
ry* the 7th.

3 *General.* That if we consider their Circumstances, and peruse their Speeches, it may be presumed that they acted according to these Principles. And here I shall not repeat what I before said to make it evident, that if they had been guilty, this way of proceeding was necessary to maintain the credit of their Religion and Society, &c. But shall observe, (1.) That there are not in any of these Speeches, higher Protestations and Appeals to God, than what was in the words of *Garnet*, and the writing of *Come* before spoken of; which yet were plainly Sophistical, as the Sequel shewed. (2.) That there is in the most material parts of them such an agreement, and that in the phrase it self, (as hath been already observed) as if they were to act a prescribed part, and to observe particular Orders in what they should say. (3.) That the Elder, and those who it's likely were to give absolution, spake with greater caution and reservedness, whilst the others spoke with greater freedom and boldness. (4.) That notwithstanding all, there are some things notoriously false, and in which at least they do equivocate; which may give just reason to suspect that they do equivocate also where it is not so evident. And this falls the hardest upon Mr. *Gawen*, who thus delivers himself; *Because they [Jesuits] are so falsely charged for holding King-killing Doctrine, I think it my duty to protest to you with my last dying words, that neither I in particular; nor the Jesuits in general, hold any such opinion, but utterly abhor and detest it; and I assure you, that among the multitude of Authors, which among the Jesuits have printed Philosophy, Divinity, Cases or Sermons, there is not one to the best of my knowledge that allows of King-killing Doctrine, or holds this position, That it is lawful for a private Person to kill a King, although an Heretick, although a Pagan, although a Tyrant; that is to say, not any Jesuit that holds this, except Mariana the Spanish Jesuit,*

Mr. *Gawen's*
Speech.

Jesuit, and he defends it not absolutely, but only problematically, for which his Book was called in again, and the Opinions expugned and sentenced. Now towards the clearing of this, four things are to be enquired into.

1. What the Opinion of *Mariana* was touching killing of Kings?

2. Whether *Mariana* held it problematically only?

3. Whether and how *Mariana* was censured for it?

4. Whether any of the Jesuits besides *Mariana* were of that Opinion?

1. What the Opinion of *Mariana* was touching killing of Kings? Mr. *Gawen* saith, That he held it lawful for a private Person to kill a King, if an Heretick or Tyrant, &c. His Opinion is to be sought for in his Book, *De Rege & Regis Institutione**; where he thus delivers himself,

(1.) If a lawful Prince becomes a Tyrant, and doth oppress and violate the publick Laws, &c. he is to be admonished; and if he afterward persist therein, he may be declared a publick Enemy, and may be killed (if otherwise the Commonwealth cannot be defended) and that by a private Person. (2.) That in case there cannot be a publick Convention of the People (as a Parliament) that then the common Voice of the People shall be sufficient to warrant it; and he who then favouring the Publick Wish doth attempt his Life, doth nothing unjustly. (3.) That yet it is not lawful for any private person to kill a King. So that he takes a private person in two senses; (1.) For one that doth it upon a private account, as for his own Pleasure, or Revenge; and then he declares it to be unlawful for such an one to kill a King. (2.) For one that is commissioned by Authority, as by a Pope, or Convention of People, or that doth it for a general Good; and then it is lawful and honourable for him so to do.

2. Whether *Mariana* held this problematically only?

* Lib. 1. cap. 6,
§ 7. Edis. 2.
Typis Wechel.
p. 59, 60.

*In Respons. ad
Amic. c. 1.

|| Dissertatio
contra Equiv.
Epist. Dedic.
& p. ult. libri.

So saith Mr. *Gawen*, and so did also *Eudemon-Johannes* *, saying, That *he delivered his Opinion with doubt*. The advantage they take of saying so, is from what *Mariana* saith towards the conclusion of Chap. 6. viz. *This our Opinion doth certainly proceed from a sincere mind; in which, since I may be deceived, as a man, I will thank any one that shall bring better*. But this is no more than what is ordinarily said, even by those that write most positively. Thus did Father *Barns* begin and end his Book against Equivocation ||; *If I commit an Error, yet since I submit my Writings to the Canonical Censure of your Holiness, (writing to the Pope) my Error is not obstinate. I am a Man, and if I err, it is only an humane Error*: And yet that Learned Person was conceived to be so dogmatical in the Point, that he was fetched to *Rome* by the contrivance of the Jesuits, against whom he wrote it, and died distracted in Prison. But there is nothing more evident, than that *Mariana* was as positive in this Opinion, as Mr. *Barns* in the other; For he not only commends the Murder of *Henry the Third of France* (a), but also saith, That *the lawfulness of killing a King, in the Cases above mentioned, is as clear as the day* (b); and *who is so void of counsel as not to believe it* (c) ? and saith, to exterminate such out of the society of men, is a glorious Work (d): And determines for the lawfulness of killing him by Poison, provided it be not in his meat (e).

(a) C. 6. p. 53,
54.

(b) C. 6. p. 60.
(c) Ibid. p. 62.

(d) C. 7. p. 64.
(e) P. 66.

3. Whether and how *Mariana* was censured for this? Mr. *Gawen* saith, That *the Book was called in again, and the Opinions expugned and censured*. But I would fain know when the former of these was done. I know that there was once a great talk of a Book of *Mariana's* censured by the Pope, and the Jesuits took an occasion from thence to stop the mouths of those that understood no better; but alas, it was far from any thing of this Nature; for whereas a Book of *the change of money* was

was written by *Mariana*; in which, saith an Author of theirs *, *He had sharply censured some corruptions in that kind; he contracted thereby so much displeasure, that at the instance of the Spanish Ambassador, Pope Paul the 5th did prohibit it for a while till the storm was over.* But as for the other Book, *De Rege, &c.* there is not a word in the foresaid Author concerning any such Censure, tho he is so particular as to tell where and when it was first printed; and who would doubtless have made some remark upon it, if any such thing had been. Which doth mightily confirm what is said by the Abbot *Sylvius* (a) (or whoever was the Author of the *Inscriptio ad Gallos ingenuos*) that the Censure of this Book of *Mariana* by the Jesuits at *Paris*, in 1606, and the Letter of *Aquaviva* their General to them upon it, was wholly fictitious, and brought in by Father *Cotton* to serve a turn, and a little to cast off the odium from themselves, after the Murther of *Henry the 4th*, and the Decree of the Parliament of *Paris* for burning this Book of *Mariana's* by the Common Hangman, as containing many cursed blasphemies against *King Henry the Third*; and principles pernicious to the Lives of Kings, &c. (b) as it's there declared. And that which doth more discover the imposture is, since *Aquaviva* is there made to say, That he was troubled that he knew nothing of this before; which how unlikely it is, will be evident, if it be considered, that it was about seven years betwixt the first publishing of this Book of *Mariana*, and this Letter said to be written by *Aquaviva*; the Book being licensed *Decemb. 1598*, and printed at *Toledo 1599*, and the Letter was written 1606. Now that their General should be so long ignorant of a Book written by one of their Order, and by so learned a Man as *Mariana*, and a Book that had set the World in

* *Alegambe in Biblioth. Scrip. Societ. Jesu, p. 258.*

(a) *Continuat. Thuan. p. 101. Francof. 1628.*

(b) *Ibid. p. 86.*

in a flame, cannot be conceived. But indeed I do not find this Censure at *Paris* much insisted upon by themselves. And the recalling of it is much like the Censure, for besides that Edition at *Toledo*, there was another at *Mentz* by *Balthazar Lippius*, which the Jesuits there did revise sheet by sheet ; not to speak of that printed at *Frankford* by the Heirs of *Wechelus*, which a Learned Person saith they did by the instruction of a famous Jesuit (c).

(c) Casauboni
Epist. ad Du-
cæum, p. 48.

(d) Eudem. Job.
ad Amic. c. 1.

But however the principles of it are expugned and censured, saith Mr. *Gawen*. I will take that at the present for granted, which an Author of theirs saith (d), viz. That upon a Consultation of the Jesuits at *Rome*, their General *Aquaviva*, made a Decree, whereby he forbad to teach, either by Word or Writing, that it was lawful for any person whatsoever under any pretext of Tyranny, to kill Kings, or to plot their Death. A Decree that looks very speciously ; but (1.) we are here to observe, That there is no censure of what hath been already written or taught, or the persons so writing or teaching. (2.) We may very well suppose that the any person whatsoever, will admit of their common limitation, and is to be understood of any private person, that doth it without the command or sentence of the Judg, according to the words of the Decree of the Council at *Constance* (e). And I have the greater reason so to think, because when it was objected that the Council of *Constance* had condemned this Position (that the Tyrant may and ought to be kill'd by any one of his Subjects whatsoever]. *Suarez* (f) answers, Where do you find, in the Acts of that Council, that it's spoken of Princes excommunicate by the Pope, or degraded ? (3.) There is no little exception to be taken against the word *King*, as it's here laid ; for in their sence, an Heretical, Excommunicated and Deposed King

(e) Non expe-
ctata sententia
aut mandato
Judicis Con-
cil. Const. Sess.
15.

(f) Defens.
Fid. l. 6. c. 4.

King, is no King ; and he only is with them a King that is not under such a censure, and so the killing of such an one only is to be declared against. (4.) And this we may be the more assured of, since it's said only *under any pretext of Tyranny* ; but it's not said under any pretext of Heresie, Excommunication or Deposition. So that after all, here is no security for a King, if an Heretick ; or for a Catholick King, if Deposed or Excommunicated : And the Doctrine is still left much where it was before the Decree. So that this deserves the like Censure given by the Abbot *Sylvius* of that before spoken of, that *it's a Censure full of Equivocations and doubtful Expressions* (g). But the best way to find out the strength and validity of this Decree, is to observe their practice. Were these Principles never reassumed by them ? What must we think of the book of *Suarez*, printed at *Colein*, 1614 (h), and which was condemned by the Parliament of *Paris* to be burnt, as containing Propositions highly Scandalous and Seditious, and which tended to the subversion of Kingdoms, and the stirring up Subjects to murder their Kings (i) And upon which occasion the Senate sent for *Amandus*, and the chief of the Jesuits, to let them know how little respect was had to the abovesaid Decree of their General, in Anno 1610. What shall we say to a book of *Sanctarellus* the Jesuit, printed at *Rome* 1625 (k), not only under the Eye of *Vitelliscus* their General, but with his expresse Allowance ? in which were eleven Propositions condemn'd by the Parliament of *Paris*, and for which it was commanded to be burnt by the Common Hangman.

Amoungst which it is maintained, That the Pope may depose Princes, if insufficient or negligent, and adjudg them to Death, &c. When this Book was produced, the

Par-

(g) Continuat.
Thua. p. 101.

(h) Defens. Fi-
dei Cath. adv.
Angl. Sect.

(i) Contin Thua-
ani, p. 410.

(k) Tracta-
tus de Here-
si, &c.

Parliament sent for several of the Jesuits, and asked them what they thought of that Book? Father Cotton answered in the name of the rest, That *they disapproved it*. Being further examined, How it came to pass that they condemned what their General did allow? He replied, That their *General being at Rome, could do no less*. When it was asked again, What they would do if at *Rome*? He replied, *They should think as they do at Rome*. This you may see particularly set down by *Gramondus* (l), a Friend of Cottons. So that such Declarations as these are of no force, but are only to serve a present need, to pacify Princes, or please the People, but what they themselves are not obliged by: therein making good that Character of them, which I find in a sober Author of their own, (m) That a *Jesuit is every man*; of which that book will afford some other instances, p. 235, 236.

(l) *Gram Hist.*
p. 676. *Francof.*
1674.

(m) *Jesuits Cat.*
l. 3. p. 234.
Engl. 1602.

4 And so way is made to consider: Whether any of the Jesuits besides *Mariana* have bin of that Opinion; I hope it will be granted, that some there are, by what hath been already said; and it will be further allowed,

(1) That they are of the same mind with him that do commend him for having well acquitted himself upon that argument: Such are *Stephen Hoieda*, Visitor of their Society in the Province of *Toledo*, that licensed it, and those that gave their approbation of it to him; such again are *Scribanius* (n) *Gretser*, *Becanus*, &c.

(n) For he is said by *Alegambe* to be the Author of *Amphitheat. Honor.*

(o) *Defens. Fid.*
l. 6. c. 4. Sect. 4.
§ 18.

(p) *De Instit.*
l. 2. c. 9. Dub. 4.
Sect. 10, 12.

(2) They again are of his Opinion, that do hold, not only that a King may be deposed by a Prince or People; but that also, when deposed, he is no King. So *Suarez* (o), *When a King is deposed, then he is neither lawful King nor Prince*. So (p) *Lessius*, *Greg. Valentia*, and many others.

(3.) They

(3.) They are of *Mariana's* Opinion, that hold a Deposed King may be killed. So *Lessius**, Any having authority, may, if a Prince's Tyranny grow intolerable, Depose him, &c. whereby any thing may be attempted against his Person, because he then is no more a Prince. So *Becanus* (a), The Pope may deprive Princes, and if contumacious, he may have them deprived of their Life. So *Suarez* (b), *Eman. Sa* (c), *Molina*, &c.

* Ibid.

(a) Controv.

Ang. p. 115.

(b) Ibid. ut prius.

(c) Aphor. Tyrannus.

(4.) They are of his Opinion, that say, A private person may kill a King so Deposed; The Sentence being issued out, any one may be the Executioner of it. So *Eman. Sa* (d); so *Molina* (e). The People may Depose their King, and punish him when he is deposed.

(d) Ibid.

(e) De Instit.

Tom. 4. Tract.

3. Disp. 6.

Sect. 2.

So that we see *Mariana* is still a Jesuit, and they have no Reason to clamour against him, and to cry out of the rashness of one man, as *Mr. Gaven* doth, when as it's the prevailing Opinion amongst them; and it is disingenuously done of them, to do by him as the Deer by one that is wounded, clear themselves of his Company, when he is of the same Herd with them.

Indeed after all that *Mr. Gaven* hath said towards the Vindication of himself and his Order, he hath said but what *Mariana* did before him; for *Mariana* held, as I have before shewed, That it's not lawful for a private person to kill a King; and therefore saith, || That *John Duke of Burgundy* was condemned by the Council of *Constance*, because he caused *Lewis Duke of Orleance* to be killed, *Non expectata Sententia Superioris*, without attending the Sentence of a Superior, as the Pope, i. e. he did it upon his own head, and out of private Revenge. And if this be the meaning of *Mr. Gaven*, which is the received Sence of those of his Order, we are much beholden to him. For then our Prince is left to the Mercy of the Pope's Bull, or that of the People; for as soon

|| Cap. 6. fin.

as he is by them declared against, or is an Heretick, or grows intolerable, or is deposed, then any private Man is the Minister of Justice, and doth right to God and his Church, or the People, if he kill him. If Mr. *Gawen* had meant honestly, he should have told us that it was not his Opinion, that a King may be Deposed, or that upon Deposition he is no King, and that tho thus deposed it was unlawful for any Person whatsoever to attempt his life. But as long as he useth the current phrase among them, we must take their Interpretation of it also; and then he must say any private Person may kill a King in the Circumstances before spoken of; so that a King is only secur'd against private Revenge, or the present rage of his Subjects; but if they have Warrant for so doing from the Pope or People, then Lord have mercy on him, for he is like to find none from them.

So that after all his renouncing of Equivocation, &c. he in his *last dying* words is found basely to Equivocate, whilst he neither tells us what the King is whom a private person ought not to kill, nor what that private person is, that ought not to kill him. And when if he means according to the stile of his Order, it is no more but that whilst a lawful King is not Excommunicate, an Heretick, or deposed, no one may kill him: and when he is either of those, no one of a private revenge or malice may be allowed so to do: But if the publick good be concerned in it, or there be Authority or Commission from Superiors [that is, Pope or People in Parliament] then the private person is no private person, and there is no bar to secure a Prince's life from the Assaults even of such.

And if there be such a notorious Equivocation in this so set a performance of his; and that he acted so conformably to his own Principles, of obeying his Superiors

Periors in whatever they commanded, in denying whatever may be to the prejudice of their Cause or Party, in using mental reservations, even whilst he renounced them, for these and the other ends before spoken of; what hinders but we are to think that all the rest wrote after the same Copy with him; as when they say that *they are as innocent as the Child unborn, of treasonable crimes*; is not this reconcileable to the principles of Dispensation and Absolution? (which last they might, and it's probable did give one to another) Is it not reconcileable to the Excommunication and Deposition of his present Majesty, and to the Title which the Pope challengeth to these Kingdoms, by the ancient claim of Surrender? When they speak of the King, might they not apply it either to the Pope or a Successor, doing therein much as a certain Priest did, that when asked who was Supream in all Causes in the Church of *England*, presently answered the King, meaning thereby the King of Heaven, as he afterward Expounded it?

* When they do declare against a Plot for the Alteration of Government, is not that easily applied to the kind or form, or some main parts of it? When they renounce Equivocations, &c. Did not *Garnet* and *Cocme* do the same, and yet in the mean while did Equivocate or Lye? Did they do all this at their Death, and call God to Witness, and pawn their Souls to verifie and confirm what they said? Is this more than what was practised by Mr. *Tresham* and *Gurphy*; and what is frequently done by Villains at their Execution without such Reasons for it from Religion or Interest as these Men had? When I read their Speeches, I can hardly but believe them; When I think of their Accusations, their Principles, and the Practices usual amongst them, I begin to tremble: To think that at such a time, and in so great

* *Abbot. Autolog. cap. 2. p. 12. b.*

great a case as this is, men should prevaricate, and to deceive the World, care not what becomes of their own Souls; or else that they can be so stupid as to think that the Salvation of their Souls can be consistent with such Impieties. I question not but that time will make this as clear as the day, and then what they did to strengthen their Cause, will be the greatest blow to it that perhaps it ever yet had. When it shall be upon record, and published before all the World, That so good may come of it, the good of their Church and Order, they care not what Evil they do, nor how they Subvert the Laws of God and Nature, so they may establish their own.

FINIS.

